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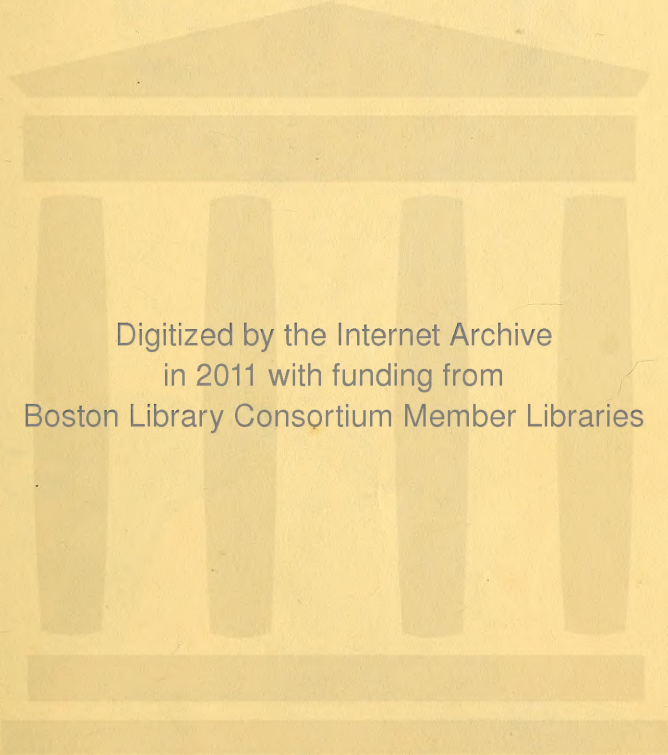


THE HISTORY OF THE DECLINE AND FALL  
OF THE  
ROMAN EMPIRE.

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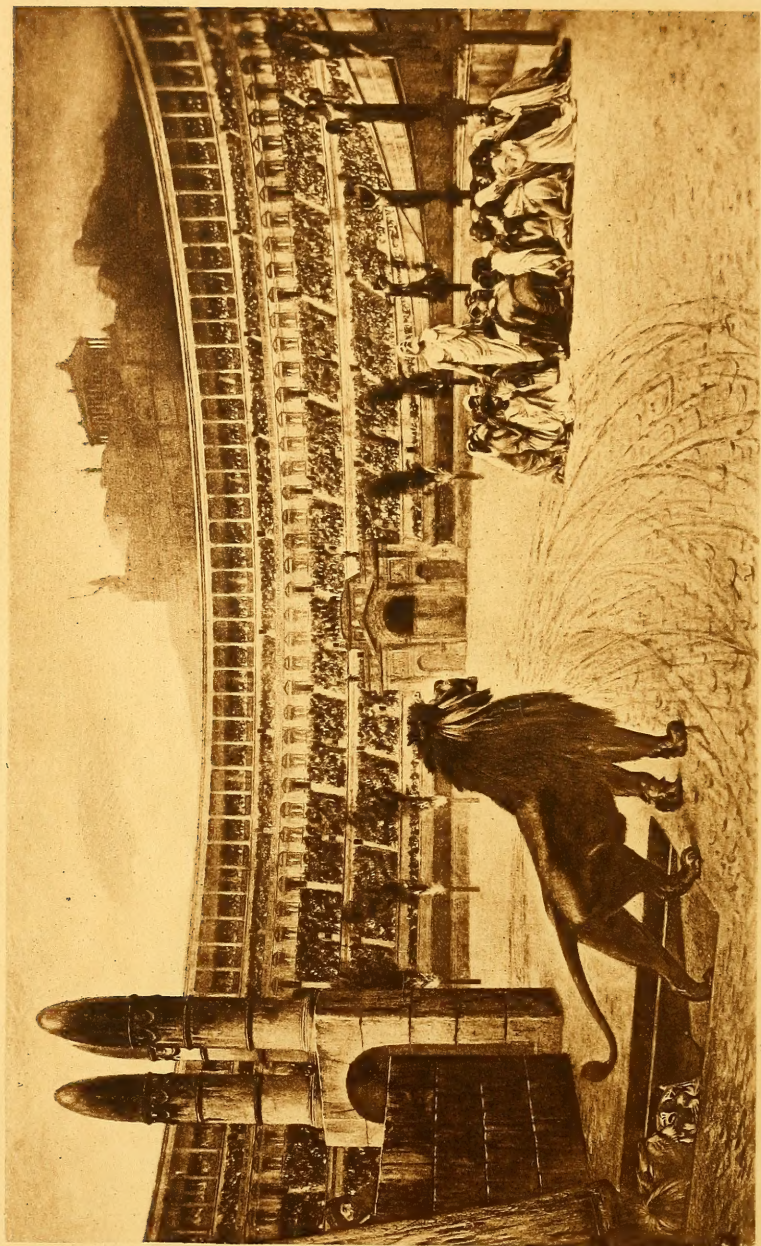
VOL. II.





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EDITION DE LUXE

*The History of the  
Decline and Fall of  
the Roman Empire*

*By Edward Gibbon*

VOLUME II.

*With Notes by*

DEAN MILMAN, M. GUIZOT

*and*

DR. WILLIAM SMITH

THE NOTTINGHAM SOCIETY

New York

Philadelphia

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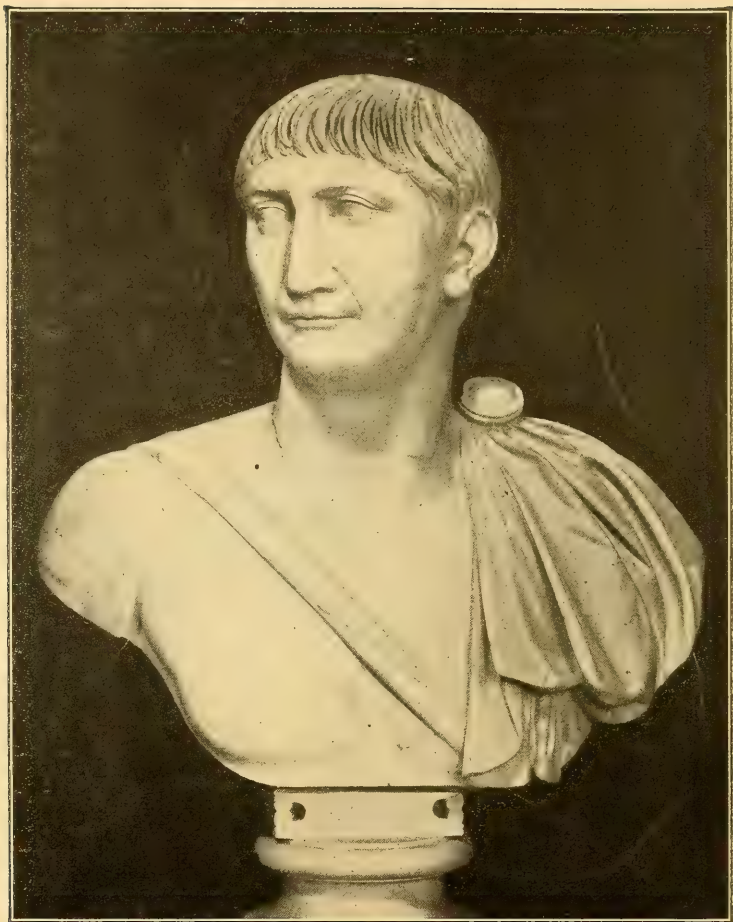
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Painting by J. L. Gerome	
A Chariot Race in the Circus	582
"And they (Emperors) frequently remained the greater part of the day as idle spectators, and as a part of the splendid spectacle, till the ordinary round of twenty-four races was completely finished."	
Painting by Ulpiano Checa	







THE EMPEROR  
**MARCUS ULPIUS TRAJANUS**  
(surnamed Dacicus and Parthicus)

Frontispiece

Born in Italica, Spain, about 53 A.D.; died at Selinus, Cilicia, July or August,  
117 A.D.  
Gibbon's Rome, Vol. II.

Marble Bust, Vatican Museum, Rome



# THE HISTORY

OF

## THE DECLINE AND FALL

OF THE

### ROMAN EMPIRE.

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#### CHAPTER XIV.

Troubles after the Abdication of Diocletian.—Death of Constantius.—Elevation of Constantine and Maxentius.—Six Emperors at the Same Time.—Death of Maximian and Galerius.—Victories of Constantine over Maxentius and Licinius.—Reunion of the Empire under the Authority of Constantine.

THE balance of power established by Diocletian subsisted no longer than while it was sustained by the firm and dexterous hand of the founder. It required such a fortunate mixture of different tempers and abilities as could scarcely be found, or even expected, a second time; two emperors without jealousy, two Cæsars without ambition, and the same general interest invariably pursued by four independent princes. The abdication of Diocletian and Maximian was succeeded by eighteen years of discord and confusion. The empire was afflicted by five civil wars; and the remainder of the time was not so much a state of tranquillity as a suspension of arms between several hostile monarchs, who, viewing each other with an eye of fear and hatred, strove to increase their respective forces at the expense of their subjects.

As soon as Diocletian and Maximian had resigned the purple, their station, according to the rules of the new constitu-

Period of civil wars and confusion.  
A.D. 305-323.

tion, was filled by the two Cæsars—Constantius and Galerius—who immediately assumed the title of Augustus.<sup>1</sup>

Character  
and situation  
of Constantius.

The honors of seniority and precedence were allowed to the former of those princes, and he continued, under a new appellation, to administer his ancient department of Gaul, Spain, and Britain. The government of those ample provinces was sufficient to exercise his talents and to satisfy his ambition. Clemency, temperance, and moderation distinguished the amiable character of Constantius, and his fortunate subjects had frequently occasion to compare the virtues of their sovereign with the passions of Maximian, and even with the arts of Diocletian.<sup>2</sup> Instead of imitating their Eastern pride and magnificence, Constantius preserved the modesty of a Roman prince. He declared, with unaffected sincerity, that his most valued treasure was in the hearts of his people; and that, whenever the dignity of the throne or the danger of the State required any extraordinary supply, he could depend with confidence on their gratitude and liberality.<sup>3</sup> The provincials of Gaul, Spain, and Britain, sensible of his worth and of their own happiness, reflected with anxiety on the declining health of the Emperor Constantius and the tender age of his numerous family, the issue of his second marriage with the daughter of Maximian.

The stern temper of Galerius was cast in a very different mould; and while he commanded the esteem of his subjects, he seldom condescended to solicit their affections. His fame in arms, and, above all, the success of the

Of Galerius.

<sup>1</sup> M. de Montesquieu (*Considérations sur la Grandeur et la Décadence des Romains*, ch. 17) supposes, on the authority of Orosius and Eusebius, that, on this occasion, the empire, for the first time, was *really* divided into two parts. It is difficult, however, to discover in what respect the plan of Galerius differed from that of Diocletian.

<sup>2</sup> *Hic non modo amabilis; sed etiam venerabilis Gallis fuit; præcipue quòd Diocletiani suspectam prudentiam, et Maximiani sanguinariam violentiam imperii ejus evaserant.*—Eutrop. Breviar. x. i.

<sup>3</sup> *Divitiis Provincialium (mel. provinciarum) ac privatorum studens, fisci comoda non admodum affectans; ducensque melius publicas opes a privatis haberi, quam intra unum claustrum reservari.*—Id. *ibid.* He carried this maxim so far that, whenever he gave an entertainment, he was obliged to borrow a service of plate.

Persian war, had elated his haughty mind, which was naturally impatient of a superior, or even of an equal. If it were possible to rely on the partial testimony of an injudicious writer, we might ascribe the abdication of Diocletian to the menaces of Galerius, and relate the particulars of a *private* conversation between the two princes, in which the former discovered as much pusillanimity as the latter displayed ingratitude and arrogance.\* But these obscure anecdotes are sufficiently refuted by an impartial view of the character and conduct of Diocletian. Whatever might otherwise have been his intentions, if he had apprehended any danger from the violence of Galerius, his good sense would have instructed him to prevent the ignominious contest; and as he had held the sceptre with glory, he would have resigned it without disgrace.

After the elevation of Constantius and Galerius to the rank of *Augusti*, two new *Cæsars* were required to supply their place and to complete the system of the imperial government. Diocletian was sincerely de-

The two Cæsars, Severus and Maximin.

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\* Lactantius de Mort. Persecutor. c. 18. Were the particulars of this conference more consistent with truth and decency, we might still ask how they came to the knowledge of an obscure rhetorician?<sup>a</sup> But there are many historians who put us in mind of the admirable saying of the great Condé to Cardinal de Retz: “Ces coquins nous font parler et agir comme ils auroient fait eux-mêmes à notre place.”

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<sup>a</sup> This attack upon Lactantius is unfounded. Lactantius was so far from having been an obscure rhetorician that he had taught rhetoric publicly, and with the greatest success, first in Africa, and afterwards in Nicomedia. His reputation obtained him the esteem of Constantine, who invited him to his court, and intrusted to him the education of his son Crispus.—G.

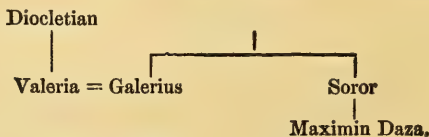
But it should be borne in mind that the authorship of the treatise *De Mortibus Persecutorum* is uncertain. The piece is wanting in the earlier editions of Lactantius, and was first brought to light by Stephen Baluze, who printed it at Paris in his *Miscellanea* (vol. ii. 1679), from an ancient MS. bearing the inscription “Lucii Cecilius incipit Liber ad Donatum Confessorem de Mortibus Persecutorum.” Baluze entertained no doubt that he had discovered the tract of Lactantius quoted by Hieronymus as “*De Persecutione Liber Unus*,” an opinion corroborated by the fact that Cæcilius was one of the names of Lactantius, by the date, by the dedication to Donatus—apparently the same person with the Donatus addressed in the discourse *De Ira Dei*—and by the general resemblance in style and expression. But these arguments are not conclusive, and most impartial critics will admit the justice of Dean Milman’s opinion, that “the fame of Lactantius for eloquence as well as for truth would suffer no loss if it should be adjudged to some more ‘obscure rhetorician.’” On the authorship of the treatise, see *Smith’s Dict. of Greek and Roman Biog.* vol. i. p. 526.—S.

sirous or withdrawing himself from the world. He considered Galerius, who had married his daughter, as the firmest support of his family and of the empire; and he consented, without reluctance, that his successor should assume the merit as well as the envy of the important nomination. It was fixed without consulting the interest or inclination of the princes of the West. Each of them had a son who was arrived at the age of manhood, and who might have been deemed the most natural candidates for the vacant honor. But the impotent resentment of Maximian was no longer to be dreaded; and the moderate Constantius, though he might despise the dangers, was humanely apprehensive of the calamities of civil war. The two persons whom Galerius promoted to the rank of Cæsar were much better suited to serve the views of his ambition; and their principal recommendation seems to have consisted in the want of merit or personal consequence. The first of these was Daza, or, as he was afterwards called, Maximin, whose mother was the sister of Galerius.<sup>a</sup> The inexperienced youth still betrayed by his manners and language his rustic education, when, to his own astonishment as well as that of the world, he was invested by Diocletian with the purple, exalted to the dignity of Cæsar, and intrusted with the sovereign command of Egypt and Syria.<sup>b</sup> At the same time, Severus, a faithful servant, addicted to pleasure, but not incapable of business, was sent to Milan to receive from the reluctant hands of Maximian the Cæsarian ornaments and the possession of Italy and Africa.<sup>c</sup> According to the forms of the constitu-

<sup>a</sup> Sublatus nuper a pecoribus et silvis (says Lactantius de M. P. c. 19) statim Scutarius, continuo Protector, mox Tribunus, postridie Cæsar, accepit Orientem. Aurelius Victor is too liberal in giving him the whole portion of Diocletian.

<sup>b</sup> His diligence and fidelity are acknowledged even by Lactantius de M. P. c. 18.

<sup>c</sup> The following table shows the connection between the above-mentioned persons:



See Clinton, Fast. Rom. vol. ii. p. 72.—S.



tion, Severus acknowledged the supremacy of the Western emperor; but he was absolutely devoted to the commands of his benefactor Galerius, who, reserving to himself the intermediate countries from the confines of Italy to those of Syria, firmly established his power over three fourths of the monarchy. In the full confidence that the approaching death of Constantius would leave him sole master of the Roman world, we are assured that he had arranged in his mind a long succession of future princes, and that he meditated his own retreat from public life after he should have accomplished a glorious reign of about twenty years.<sup>7</sup>

But, within less than eighteen months, two unexpected revolutions overturned the ambitious schemes of Galerius. The hopes of uniting the Western provinces to his empire were disappointed by the elevation of Constantine, whilst Italy and Africa were lost by the successful revolt of Maxentius.

Ambition of Galerius disappointed by the elevation of Constantine, whilst Italy and Africa were lost by the successful revolt of Maxentius.

I. The fame of Constantine has rendered posterity attentive to the most minute circumstances of his life and actions. The place of his birth, as well as the condition of his mother Helena, have been the subject not only of literary but of national disputes. Notwithstanding the recent tradition which assigns for her father a British king,<sup>8</sup> we are obliged to confess that Helena was the daughter of an innkeeper; but, at the same time, we may defend the legality of her marriage against those who have represented her as the concubine of Constantius.<sup>9</sup> The great Con-

Birth, education, and escape of Constantine.  
A.D. 274.

<sup>7</sup> These schemes, however, rest only on the very doubtful authority of Lactantius de M. P. c. 20.

<sup>8</sup> This tradition, unknown to the contemporaries of Constantine, was invented in the darkness of monasteries, was embellished by Jeffrey of Monmouth and the writers of the twelfth century, has been defended by our antiquarians of the last age, and is seriously related in the ponderous History of England compiled by Mr. Carte (vol. i. p. 147). He transports, however, the kingdom of Coil, the imaginary father of Helena, from Essex to the wall of Antoninus.

<sup>9</sup> Eutropius (x. 2) expresses, in a few words, the real truth and the occasion of the error, "*ex obscuriori matrimonio ejus filius.*" Zosimus (l. ii. [c. 8] p. 78) eagerly seized the most unfavorable report, and is followed by Orosius (vii. 25), whose authority is, oddly enough, overlooked by the indefatigable but partial Tille-

stantine was most probably born at Naissus, in Dacia;<sup>10</sup> and it is not surprising that, in a family and province distinguished only by the profession of arms, the youth should discover very little inclination to improve his mind by the acquisition of knowledge.<sup>11</sup> He was about eighteen years of age

A. D. 292.

when his father was promoted to the rank of Cæsar; but that fortunate event was attended with his mother's divorce, and the splendor of an imperial alliance reduced the son of Helena to a state of disgrace and humiliation. Instead of following Constantius in the West, he remained in the service of Diocletian, signalized his valor in the wars of Egypt and Persia, and gradually rose to the honorable station of a tribune of the first order. The figure of Constantine was tall and majestic. He was dexterous in all his exercises, intrepid in war, affable in peace. In his whole conduct the active spirit of youth was tempered by habitual prudence; and while his

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mont. By insisting on the divorce of Helena, Diocletian acknowledged her marriage.

<sup>10</sup> There are three opinions with regard to the place of Constantine's birth. 1. Our English antiquarians were used to dwell with rapture on the words of his panegyrist, "*Britannias illic oriendo nobiles fecisti.*" But this celebrated passage may be referred with as much propriety to the accession as to the nativity of Constantine. 2. Some of the modern Greeks have ascribed the honor of his birth to Drepanum, a town on the Gulf of Nicomædia (Cellarius, tom. ii. p. 174), which Constantine dignified with the name of Helenopolis, and Justinian adorned with many splendid buildings (Procop. de Edificiis, v. 2). It is indeed probable enough that Helena's father kept an inn at Drepanum, and that Constantius might lodge there when he returned from a Persian embassy in the reign of Aurelian. But, in the wandering life of a soldier, the place of his marriage and the places where his children are born have very little connection with each other. 3. The claim of Naissus is supported by the anonymous writer published at the end of Ammianus, p. 710 [vol. ii. p. 295, ed. Bip.], and who, in general, copied very good materials; and it is confirmed by Julius Firmicus (de Astrologia, l. i. c. 4), who flourished under the reign of Constantine himself. Some objections have been raised against the integrity of the text, and the application of the passage, of Firmicus; but the former is established by the best MSS., and the latter is very ably defended by Lipsius de Magnitudine Romana, l. iv. c. 11, et Supplement.<sup>a</sup>

<sup>11</sup> Literis minus instructus. Anonym. ad. Ammian, p. 710.

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<sup>a</sup> Other authorities place the birth of Constantine at Naissus. See Steph. Byz. s. v. *Ναῖσός*; Constantin. Porphy. Them. ii. 9, p. 26; quoted by Clinton, Fast. Rom. vol. ii. p. 80.—S.

mind was engrossed by ambition, he appeared cold and insensible to the allurements of pleasure. The favor of the people and soldiers, who had named him as a worthy candidate for the rank of Cæsar, served only to exasperate the jealousy of Galerius; and though prudence might restrain him from exercising any open violence, an absolute monarch is seldom at a loss how to execute a sure and secret revenge.<sup>12</sup> Every hour increased the danger of Constantine and the anxiety of his father, who, by repeated letters, expressed the warmest desire of embracing his son. For some time the policy of Galerius supplied him with delays and excuses, but it was impossible long to refuse so natural a request of his associate without maintaining his refusal by arms. The permission of the journey was reluctantly granted, and, whatever precautions the emperor might have taken to intercept a return, the consequences of which he with so much reason apprehended, they were effectually disappointed by the incredible diligence of Constantine.<sup>13</sup> Leaving the palace of Nicomedia in the night, he travelled post through Bithynia, Thrace, Dacia, Pannonia, Italy, and Gaul; and, amidst the joyful acclamations of the people, reached the port of Boulogne in the very moment when his father was preparing to embark for Britain.<sup>14</sup>

The British expedition and an easy victory over the barbari-

<sup>12</sup> Galerius, or perhaps his own courage, exposed him to single combat with a Sarmatian (Anonym. p. 710), and with a monstrous lion. See Praxagoras apud Photium, p. 63. Praxagoras, an Athenian philosopher, had written a life of Constantine in two books, which are now lost. He was a contemporary.

<sup>13</sup> Zosimus, l. ii. [c. 8] p. 78, 79. Lactantius de M. P. c. 24. The former tells a very foolish story that Constantine caused all the post-horses which he had used to be hamstrung. Such a bloody execution, without preventing a pursuit, would have scattered suspicions, and might have stopped his journey.<sup>a</sup>

<sup>14</sup> Anonym. p. 710. Panegy. Veter. vii. 7. But Zosimus, l. ii. [c. 9] p. 79, Eusebius de Vit. Constant. l. i. c. 21, and Lactantius de M. P. c. 24, suppose, with less accuracy, that he found his father on his death-bed.<sup>b</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Zosimus is not the only writer who tells this story. Aurelius Victor (de Cæsar. 40; Epit. 41) says the same thing—G.—as also the Anonymus Valesii.—M. Manso (Leben Constantins, p. 18) observes that the story has been exaggerated; he took this precaution during the first stage of his journey.—M.

<sup>b</sup> Aurelius Victor (de Cæsar. 40; Epit. 41) agrees with Zosimus, Eusebius, and Lactantius.—S.

ans of Caledonia were the last exploits of the reign of Constantius. He ended his life in the imperial palace of York, fifteen months after he had received the title of Augustus, and almost fourteen years and a half after he had been promoted to the rank of Cæsar. His death was immediately succeeded by the elevation of Constantine. The ideas of inheritance and succession are so very familiar that the generality of mankind consider them as founded not only in reason, but in nature itself. Our imagination readily transfers the same principles from private property to public dominion; and whenever a virtuous father leaves behind him a son whose merit seems to justify the esteem, or even the hopes, of the people, the joint influence of prejudice and of affection operates with irresistible weight. The flower of the Western armies had followed Constantius into Britain, and the national troops were reinforced by a numerous body of Alemanni, who obeyed the orders of Crocus, one of their hereditary chieftains.<sup>15</sup> The opinion of their own importance, and the assurance that Britain, Gaul, and Spain would acquiesce in their nomination, were diligently inculcated to the legions by the adherents of Constantine. The soldiers were asked whether they could hesitate a moment between the honor of placing at their head the worthy son of their beloved emperor and the ignominy of tamely expecting the arrival of some obscure stranger, on whom it might please the sovereign of Asia to bestow the armies and provinces of the West? It was insinuated to them that gratitude and liberality held a distinguished place among the virtues of Constantine; nor did that artful prince show himself to the troops till they were prepared to salute him with the names of Augustus and Em-

<sup>15</sup> *Cunctis qui aderant annitentibus, sed præcipue Croco (alii Eroco) [Erich?] Alemannorum Rege, auxilii gratiâ Constantium comitato, imperium capit.*—Victor Junior, c. 41. This is perhaps the first instance of a barbarian king who assisted the Roman arms with an independent body of his own subjects. The practice grew familiar, and at last became fatal.<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup> The name Erocos may perhaps be a corruption of Ertocus, a Latinization of the old Saxon Heritogo (A.-S. Heretoga, Germ. Herzog), dux. See Lappenberg's *Hist. of England*, translated by Thorpe, vol. i. p. 47.—S.



peror. The throne was the object of his desires, and had he been less actuated by ambition, it was his only means of safety. He was well acquainted with the character and sentiments of Galerius, and sufficiently apprised that, if he wished to live, he must determine to reign. The decent, and even obstinate, resistance which he chose to affect<sup>16</sup> was contrived to justify his usurpation; nor did he yield to the acclamations of the army till he had provided the proper materials for a letter, which he immediately despatched to the Emperor of the East. Constantine informed him of the melancholy event of his father's death, modestly asserted his natural claim to the succession, and respectfully lamented that the affectionate violence of his troops had not permitted him to solicit the imperial purple in the regular and constitutional manner. The first emotions of Galerius were those of surprise, disappointment, and rage; and as he could seldom restrain his passions, he loudly threatened that he would commit to the flames both the letter and the messenger. But his resentment insensibly subsided, and when

He is acknowledged by Galerius, who gives him only the title of Cæsar, and that of Augustus to Severus.

he recollected the doubtful chance of war, when he had weighed the character and strength of his adversary, he consented to embrace the honorable accommodation which the prudence of Constantine had left open to him. Without either condemning or ratifying the choice of the British army, Galerius accepted the son of his deceased colleague as the sovereign of the provinces beyond the Alps; but he gave him only the title of Cæsar, and the fourth rank among the Roman princes, whilst he conferred the vacant place of Augustus on his favorite Severus. The apparent harmony of the empire was still preserved; and Constantine, who already possessed the substance, expected, without impatience, an opportunity of obtaining the honors of supreme power.<sup>17</sup>

The children of Constantius by his second marriage were

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<sup>16</sup> His panegyrist Eumenius (vii. 8) ventures to affirm, in the presence of Constantine, that he put spurs to his horse, and tried, but in vain, to escape from the hands of his soldiers.

<sup>17</sup> Lactantius de M. P. c. 25, Eumenius (vii. 8) gives a rhetorical turn to the whole transaction.

six in number, three of either sex, and whose imperial descent might have solicited a preference over the meaner extraction of the son of Helena. But Constantine was in the thirty-second year of his age, in the full vigor both of mind and body, at the time when the eldest of his brothers could not possibly be more than thirteen years old. His claim of superior merit had been allowed and ratified by the dying emperor.<sup>18</sup> In his last moments, Constantius bequeathed to his eldest son the care of the safety as well as greatness of the family, conjuring him to assume both the authority and the sentiments of a father with regard to the children of Theodora. Their liberal education, advantageous marriages, the secure dignity of their lives, and the first honors of the State with which they were invested attest the fraternal affection of Constantine; and as those princes possessed a mild and grateful disposition, they submitted without reluctance to the superiority of his genius and fortune.<sup>19</sup> \*

The brothers  
and sisters of  
Constantine.

II. The ambitious spirit of Galerius was scarcely reconciled to the disappointment of his views upon the Gallic provinces, before the unexpected loss of Italy wounded his pride as well as power in a still more sensible part. The long absence of the emperors had filled Rome with discontent and indignation, and the people gradually discovered that the preference given to Nicomedia and Milan was not to be ascribed to the particular inclination of Diocletian, but to the permanent form of government which he had instituted. It was in vain that a few months after his abdication his successors dedicated, under his name, those magnificent baths whose ruins still supply the ground as well as

Discontent of  
the Romans  
at the apprehension of  
taxes.

<sup>18</sup> The choice of Constantine by his dying father, which is warranted by reason and insinuated by Eumenius, seems to be confirmed by the most unexceptionable authority, the concurring evidence of Lactantius (de M. P. c. 24), and of Libanius (Oratio i.), of Eusebius (in Vit. Constantin. l. i. c. 21), and of Julian (Oratio i. [p. 7]).

<sup>19</sup> Of the three sisters of Constantine, Constantia married the Emperor Licinius, Anastasia the Cæsar Bassianus, and Eutropia the Consul Nepotianus. The three brothers were Dalmatius, Julius Constantius, and Annibalianus, of whom we shall have occasion to speak hereafter.

\* See genealogical table at the beginning of ch. xviii.—S.

the materials for so many churches and convents.<sup>20</sup> The tranquillity of those elegant recesses of ease and luxury was disturbed by the impatient murmurs of the Romans, and a report was insensibly circulated that the sums expended in erecting those buildings would soon be required at their hands. About that time the avarice of Galerius, or perhaps the exigencies of the State, had induced him to make a very strict and rigorous inquisition into the property of his subjects for the purpose of a general taxation, both on their lands and on their persons. A very minute survey appears to have been taken of their real estates, and wherever there was the slightest suspicion of concealment, torture was very freely employed to obtain a sincere declaration of their personal wealth.<sup>21</sup> The privileges which had exalted Italy above the rank of the provinces were no longer regarded; and the officers of the revenue already began to number the Roman people, and to settle the proportion of the new taxes. Even when the spirit of freedom had been utterly extinguished, the tamest subjects have sometimes ventured to resist an unprecedented invasion of their property; but on this occasion the injury was aggravated by the insult, and the sense of private interest was quickened by that of national honor. The conquest of Macedonia, as we have already observed, had delivered the Roman people from the weight of personal taxes. Though they had experienced every form of despotism, they had now enjoyed that exemption near five hundred years; nor could they patiently brook the insolence of an Illyrian peasant, who, from his distant residence in Asia, presumed to number Rome among the tributary cities of his empire.<sup>a</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> See Gruter, Inscip. p. 178. The six princes are all mentioned, Diocletian and Maximian as the senior Augusti and fathers of the emperors. They jointly dedicate, for the use of *their own* Romans, this magnificent edifice. The architects have delineated the ruins of these *Thermæ*; and the antiquarians, particularly Donatus and Nardini, have ascertained the ground which they covered. One of the great rooms is now the Carthusian church, and even one of the porter's lodges is sufficient to form another church, which belongs to the Feuillans.

<sup>21</sup> See Lactantius de M. P. c. 26, 31.

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<sup>a</sup> Notwithstanding the discontent of the people, the system of taxation which had prevailed in the provinces was now permanently established in Italy. This has

The rising fury of the people was encouraged by the authority, or, at least, the connivance, of the senate; and the feeble remains of the Prætorian guards, who had reason to apprehend their own dissolution, embraced so honorable a pretence, and declared their readiness to draw their swords in the service of their oppressed country. It was the wish, and it soon became the hope, of every citizen that, after expelling from Italy their foreign tyrants, they should elect a prince who, by the place of his residence and by his maxims of government, might once more deserve the title of Roman emperor. The name as well as the situation of Maxentius determined in his favor the popular enthusiasm.

Maxentius was the son of the Emperor Maximian, and he had married the daughter of Galerius. His birth and alliance seemed to offer him the fairest promise of succeeding to the empire; but his vices and incapacity procured him the same exclusion from the dignity of Cæsar which Constantine had deserved by a dangerous superiority of merit. The policy of Galerius preferred such associates as would never disgrace the choice, nor dispute the commands, of their benefactor. An obscure stranger was therefore raised to the throne of Italy, and the son of the late Emperor of the West was left to enjoy the luxury of a private

Maxentius  
declared em-  
peror at  
Rome.  
A.D. 306.  
October 28.

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been shown by Savigny, who quotes a remarkable passage of Aurelius Victor (de Cæsar, c. 39): "Hinc denique parti Italiæ in vectum tributorum ingens malum;" where "pars Italiæ" does not mean a part of Italy, but the land of Italy, for, even in classical writers, "pars" frequently signifies a land or country. The "tributa" were the land-tax and poll-tax, which were established in the provinces under the early emperors. See note, vol. i. p. 302 seq. Thus there was now one uniform system of taxation throughout the Roman empire, of which an account is given below, in ch. xvii. It may, however, be observed here that exemption from taxation continued to be enjoyed by those towns in the provinces which possessed the *jus Italicum*, and that this name continued to be employed, although no longer appropriate, since Italy had ceased to possess any special rights. The taxation of Italy did not arise from the avarice of the emperor, but was necessary in consequence of the division of the empire. So long as Italy and all the provinces were under one and the same government, the provinces alone might bear the expenses without any great hardship; but when Italy and Africa were formed into a separate kingdom, it was impossible that the whole burden of the government should be borne by Africa alone. It is true that this division did not long continue; but it was natural that Italy should never regain its exemption from taxation, more especially as it came to be regarded less and less as the ruling land. Savigny, *Römische Steuerverfassung*, in *Vermischte Schriften*, vol. ii. p. 108 seq.—S.



fortune in a villa a few miles distant from the capital. The gloomy passions of his soul, shame, vexation, and rage were inflamed by envy on the news of Constantine's success; but the hopes of Maxentius revived with the public discontent, and he was easily persuaded to unite his personal injury and pretensions with the cause of the Roman people. Two Prætorian tribunes and a commissary of provisions undertook the management of the conspiracy; and, as every order of men was actuated by the same spirit, the immediate event was neither doubtful nor difficult. The præfect of the city and a few magistrates, who maintained their fidelity to Severus, were massacred by the guards; and Maxentius, invested with the imperial ornaments, was acknowledged by the applauding senate and people as the protector of the Roman freedom and dignity. It is uncertain whether Maximian was previously acquainted with the conspiracy; but as soon as the standard of rebellion was erected at Rome, the old emperor

Maximian re-assumes the purple.

broke from the retirement where the authority of Diocletian had condemned him to pass a life of melancholy solitude, and concealed his returning ambition under the disguise of paternal tenderness. At the request of his son and of the senate, he condescended to reassume the purple. His ancient dignity, his experience, and his fame in arms added strength as well as reputation to the party of Maxentius.<sup>22</sup>

According to the advice, or rather the orders, of his colleague, the Emperor Severus immediately hastened to Rome,

Defeat and death of Severus.

in the full confidence that, by his unexpected celerity, he should easily suppress the tumult of an unwarlike populace, commanded by a licentious youth. But he found, on his arrival, the gates of the city shut against him, the walls filled with men and arms, an experienced general at the head of the rebels, and his own troops without spirit or affection. A large body of Moors deserted to the

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<sup>22</sup> The Sixth Panegyric represents the conduct of Maximian in the most favorable light; and the ambiguous expression of Aurelius Victor [de Cæsar. c. 40], "retractante diu," may signify either that he contrived or that he opposed the conspiracy. See Zosimus, l. ii. [c. 9] p. 79, and Lactantius de M. P. c. 24

enemy, allured by the promise of a large donative; and, if it be true that they had been levied by Maximian in his African war, preferring the natural feelings of gratitude to the artificial ties of allegiance. Anulinus, the Prætorian præfect, declared himself in favor of Maxentius, and drew after him the most considerable part of the troops accustomed to obey his commands. Rome, according to the expression of an orator, recalled her armies; and the unfortunate Severus, destitute of force and of counsel, retired, or rather fled, with precipitation to Ravenna. Here he might for some time have been safe. The fortifications of Ravenna were able to resist the attempts, and the morasses that surrounded the town were sufficient to prevent the approach, of the Italian army. The sea, which Severus commanded with a powerful fleet, secured him an inexhaustible supply of provisions, and gave a free entrance to the legions which, on the return of spring, would advance to his assistance from Illyricum and the East. Maximian, who conducted the siege in person, was soon convinced that he might waste his time and his army in the fruitless enterprise, and that he had nothing to hope either from force or famine. With an art more suitable to the character of Diocletian than to his own, he directed his attack, not so much against the walls of Ravenna as against the mind of Severus. The treachery which he had experienced disposed that unhappy prince to distrust the most sincere of his friends and adherents. The emissaries of Maximian easily persuaded his credulity that a conspiracy was formed to betray the town, and prevailed upon his fears not to expose himself to the discretion of an irritated conqueror, but to accept the faith of an honorable capitulation. He was at first received with humanity and treated with respect. Maximian conducted the captive emperor to Rome, and gave him the most solemn assurances that he had secured his life by the resignation of the purple.

A.D. 307.  
February.

But Severus could obtain only an easy death and an imperial funeral. When the sentence was signified to him, the manner of executing it was left to his own choice. He preferred the favorite mode of the ancients, that of opening his veins; and, as soon as he expired, his body was

carried to the sepulchre which had been constructed for the family of Gallienus.<sup>23</sup>

Though the characters of Constantine and Maxentius had very little affinity with each other, their situation and interest were the same, and prudence seemed to require that they should unite their forces against the common enemy. Notwithstanding the superiority of his age and dignity, the indefatigable Maximian passed the Alps, and, courting a personal interview with the sovereign of Gaul, carried with him his daughter Fausta as the pledge of the new alliance. The marriage was celebrated at Arles with every circumstance of magnificence; and the ancient colleague of Diocletian, who again asserted his claim to the Western empire, conferred on his son-in-law and ally the title of Augustus. By consenting to receive that honor from Maximian, Constantine seemed to embrace the cause of Rome and of the senate; but his professions were ambiguous, and his assistance slow and ineffectual. He considered with attention the approaching contest between the masters of Italy and the Emperor of the East, and was prepared to consult his own safety or ambition in the event of the war.<sup>24</sup>

The importance of the occasion called for the presence and abilities of Galerius. At the head of a powerful army collected from Illyricum and the East, he entered Italy, resolved to revenge the death of Severus and to chastise the rebellious Romans, or, as he expressed his intentions, in the furious language of a barbarian, to extirpate the sen-

Maximian  
gives his  
daughter  
Fausta and  
the title of  
Augustus to  
Constantine.  
A.D. 307.  
March 31.

Galerius in-  
vades Italy.

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<sup>23</sup> The circumstances of this war and the death of Severus are very doubtfully and variously told in our ancient fragments (see Tillemont, *Hist. des Empereurs*, tom. iv. part i. p. 555). I have endeavored to extract from them a consistent and probable narration.<sup>a</sup>

<sup>24</sup> The Sixth Panegyric was pronounced to celebrate the elevation of Constantine; but the prudent orator avoids the mention either of Galerius or of Maxentius. He introduces only one slight allusion to the actual troubles and to the majesty of Rome.<sup>b</sup>

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<sup>a</sup> Manso justly observes that two totally different narratives might be formed, almost upon equal authority (Beylage iv.).—M.

<sup>b</sup> Compare Manso, Beylage iv. p. 302. Gibbon's account is at least as probable as that of his critic.—M.

ate and to destroy the people by the sword. But the skill of Maximian had concerted a prudent system of defence. The invader found every place hostile, fortified, and inaccessible; and though he forced his way as far as Narni, within sixty miles of Rome, his dominion in Italy was confined to the narrow limits of his camp. Sensible of the increasing difficulties of his enterprise, the haughty Galerius made the first advances towards a reconciliation, and despatched two of his most considerable officers to tempt the Roman princes by the offer of a conference and the declaration of his paternal regard for Maxentius, who might obtain much more from his liberality than he could hope from the doubtful chance of war.<sup>25</sup> The offers of Galerius were rejected with firmness, his perfidious friendship refused with contempt; and it was not long before he discovered that unless he provided for his safety by a timely retreat, he had some reason to apprehend the fate of Severus. The wealth which the Romans defended against his rapacious tyranny they freely contributed for his destruction. The name of Maximian, the popular arts of his son, the secret distribution of large sums, and the promise of still more liberal rewards checked the ardor and corrupted the fidelity of the Illyrian legions; and when Galerius at length gave the signal of the retreat, it was with some difficulty that he could prevail on his veterans not to desert a banner which had so often conducted them to victory and honor. A contemporary writer assigns two other causes for the failure of the expedition; but they are both of such a nature that a cautious historian will scarcely venture to adopt them. We are told that Galerius, who had formed a very imperfect notion of the greatness of Rome by the cities of the East with which he was acquainted, found his forces inadequate to the siege of that immense capital. But the extent of a city serves only to render it more accessible to the enemy. Rome had long since been accustomed to submit on the approach of a conqueror; nor could the tem-

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<sup>25</sup> With regard to this negotiation see the fragments of an anonymous historian published by Valesius at the end of his edition of Ammianus Marcellinus, p. 711. These fragments have furnished us with several curious, and, as it should seem, authentic anecdotes.



porary enthusiasm of the people have long contended against the discipline and valor of the legions. We are likewise informed that the legions themselves were struck with horror and remorse, and that those pious sons of the republic refused to violate the sanctity of their venerable parent.<sup>26</sup> But when we recollect with how much ease, in the more ancient civil wars, the zeal of party and the habits of military obedience had converted the native citizens of Rome into her most implacable enemies, we shall be inclined to distrust this extreme delicacy of strangers and barbarians who had never beheld Italy till they entered it in a hostile manner. Had they not been restrained by motives of a more interested nature, they would probably have answered Galerius in the words of Cæsar's veterans: "If our general wishes to lead us to the banks of the Tiber, we are prepared to trace out his camp. Whatsoever walls he has determined to level with the ground, our hands are ready to work the engines; nor shall we hesitate should the name of the devoted city be Rome itself." These are indeed the expressions of a poet, but of a poet who has been distinguished, and even censured, for his strict adherence to the truth of history.<sup>27</sup>

The legions of Galerius exhibited a very melancholy proof of their disposition by the ravages which they committed in their retreat. They murdered, they ravished, they plundered, they drove away the flocks and herds of the Italian; they burned the villages through which they passed, and they endeavored to destroy the country which it had not been in their power to subdue. During the whole march Maxentius hung on their rear, but he very prudently declined a general engagement with those brave and desperate veterans. His father had undertaken a second journey into Gaul

His retreat.

<sup>26</sup> Lactantius de M. P. c. 27. The former of these reasons is probably taken from Virgil's Shepherd: "Illam . . . ego huic nostræ similem, Melibœe, putavi," etc. Lactantius delights in these poetical allusions.

<sup>27</sup> Castra super Tusci si ponere Tybridis undas (*jubeas*)  
Hesperios audax veniam metator in agros.  
Tu quoscunque voles in planum effundere muros,  
His aries actus disperget saxa lacertis;  
Illa licet penitus tolli quam jusseris urbem  
Roma sit.—Lucan. Pharsal i. 381.

with the hope of persuading Constantine, who had assembled an army on the frontier, to join the pursuit and to complete the victory. But the actions of Constantine were guided by reason, and not by resentment. He persisted in the wise resolution of maintaining a balance of power in the divided empire, and he no longer hated Galerius when that aspiring prince had ceased to be an object of terror.<sup>28</sup>

The mind of Galerius was the most susceptible of the sterner passions, but it was not, however, incapable of a sincere and lasting friendship. Licinius, whose manners as well as character were not unlike his own, seems to have engaged both his affection and esteem. Their intimacy had commenced in the happier period, perhaps, of their youth and obscurity. It had been cemented by the freedom and dangers of a military life. They had advanced almost by equal steps through the successive honors of the service; and as soon as Galerius was invested with the imperial dignity, he seems to have conceived the design of raising his companion to the same rank with himself. During the short period of his prosperity he considered the rank of Cæsar as unworthy of the age and merit of Licinius, and rather chose to reserve for him the place of Constantius and the empire of the West. While the emperor was employed in the Italian war, he intrusted his friend with the defence of the Danube; and, immediately after his return from that unfortunate expedition, he invested Licinius with the vacant purple of Severus, resigning to his immediate command the provinces of Illyricum.<sup>29</sup> The news of his promotion was no sooner carried into the East than Maximin, who governed, or rather oppressed, the countries of Egypt and Syria, betrayed his envy and discontent, disdained the inferior name of Cæsar, and, notwithstanding the prayers as well as argu-

Elevation of  
Licinius to  
the rank of  
Augustus,  
A.D. 307,  
November 11;

and of  
Maximin.

<sup>28</sup> Lactantius de M. P. c. 27. Zosimus l. ii. [c. 10.] p. 82. The latter insinuates that Constantine, in his interview with Maximian, had promised to declare war against Galerius.

<sup>29</sup> M. de Tillemont (Hist. des Empereurs, tom. iv. part i. p. 599) has proved that Licinius, without passing through the intermediate rank of Cæsar, was declared Augustus the 11th of November, A.D. 307, after the return of Galerius from Italy.

ments of Galerius, exalted, almost by violence, the equal title of Augustus.<sup>30</sup> For the first, and indeed for the last time, the Roman world was administered by six emperors. In the West, Constantine and Maxentius affected to reverence their father Maximian; in the East, Licinius and Maximin honored with more real consideration their benefactor Galerius. The opposition of interest and the memory of a recent war divided the empire into two great hostile powers; but their mutual fears produced an apparent tranquillity, and even a feigned reconciliation, till the death of the elder princes, of Maximian, and more particularly of Galerius, gave a new direction to the views and passions of their surviving associates.

When Maximian had reluctantly abdicated the empire, the venal orators of the times applauded his philosophic moderation. When his ambition excited, or at least encouraged, a civil war, they returned thanks to his generous patriotism, and gently censured that love of ease and retirement which had withdrawn him from the public service.<sup>31</sup> But it was impossible that minds like those of Maximian and his son could long possess in harmony an undivided power. Maxentius considered himself as the legal sovereign of Italy, elected by the Roman senate and people; nor would he endure the control of his father, who arrogantly declared that by *his* name and abilities the rash youth had been established on the throne. The cause was solemnly pleaded before the Prætorian guards; and those troops who dreaded the severity of the old emperor espoused the party of Maxentius.<sup>32</sup> The life

Six emperors.  
A.D. 308.  
Misfortunes  
of Maximian.

<sup>30</sup> Lactantius de M. P. c. 32. When Galerius declared Licinius Augustus with himself, he tried to satisfy his younger associates by inventing for Constantine and Maximin (not Maxentius, see Baluze, p. 81) the new title of Sons of the Augusti. But when Maximin acquainted him that he had been saluted Augustus by the army, Galerius was obliged to acknowledge him, as well as Constantine, as equal associates in the imperial dignity.

<sup>31</sup> See Panegyr. Vet. vi. [v.] 9. "Audi doloris nostri liberam vocem," etc. The whole passage is imagined with artful flattery, and expressed with an easy flow of eloquence.

<sup>32</sup> Lactantius de M. P. c. 28. Zosimus l. ii. [c. 11] p. 82. A report was spread that Maxentius was the son of some obscure Syrian, and had been substituted by the wife of Maximian as her own child. See Aurelius Victor [Epit. 40], Anonym. Valesian. [§ 12], and Panegyr. Vet. ix. 3, 4.

and freedom of Maximian were, however, respected, and he retired from Italy into Illyricum, affecting to lament his past conduct and secretly contriving new mischiefs. But Galerius, who was well acquainted with his character, soon obliged him to leave his dominions, and the last refuge of the disappointed Maximian was the court of his son-in-law Constantine.<sup>33</sup> He was received with respect by that artful prince, and with the appearance of filial tenderness by the Empress Fausta. That he might remove every suspicion, he resigned the imperial purple a second time,<sup>34</sup> professing himself at length convinced of the vanity of greatness and ambition. Had he persevered in this resolution, he might have ended his life with less dignity, indeed, than in his first retirement, yet, however, with comfort and reputation. But the near prospect of a throne brought back to his remembrance the state from whence he was fallen, and he resolved, by a desperate effort, either to reign or to perish. An incursion of the Franks had summoned Constantine with a part of his army to the

A.D. 309.

banks of the Rhine; the remainder of the troops were stationed in the southern provinces of Gaul which lay exposed to the enterprises of the Italian emperor; and a considerable treasure was deposited in the city of Arles. Maximian either craftily invented or hastily credited a vain report of the death of Constantine. Without hesitation he ascended the throne, seized the treasure, and, scattering it with his accustomed profusion among the soldiers, endeavored to awake in their minds the memory of his ancient dignity and exploits. Before he could establish his authority, or finish the negotiation which he appears to have entered into with his son Maxentius, the celerity of Constantine defeated all his hopes. On the first news of his perfidy and ingratitude, that prince returned by rapid marches from the Rhine to the Saone, embarked on the

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<sup>33</sup> Ab urbe pulsum, ab Italia fugatum, ab Illyrico repudiatum, tuis provinciis, tuis copiis, tuo palatio recepisti.—Eumen. in Panegy. Vet. vii. [vi.] 14.

<sup>34</sup> Lactantius de M. P. c. 29. Yet after the resignation of the purple, Constantine still continued to Maximian the pomp and honors of the imperial dignity, and on all public occasions gave the right-hand place to his father-in-law.—Panegy. Vet. viii. 15.



last-mentioned river at Châlons, and, at Lyons trusting himself to the rapidity of the Rhone, arrived at the gates of Arles with a military force which it was impossible for Maximian to resist, and which scarcely permitted him to take refuge in the neighboring city of Marseilles. The narrow neck of land which joined that place to the continent was fortified against the besiegers, whilst the sea was open, either for the escape of Maximian or for the succors of Maxentius, if the latter should choose to disguise his invasion of Gaul under the honorable pretence of defending a distressed, or, as he might allege, an injured father. Apprehensive of the fatal consequences of delay, Constantine gave orders for an immediate assault; but the scaling-ladders were found too short for the height of the walls; and Marseilles might have sustained as long a siege as it formerly did against the arms of Cæsar if the garrison, conscious either of their fault or of their danger, had not purchased their pardon by delivering up the city and the person of Maximian. A secret but irrevocable sentence of death was pronounced against the usurper.

His death.  
A.D. 310.  
February.

He obtained only the same favor which he had indulged to Severus, and it was published to the world that, oppressed by the remorse of his repeated crimes, he strangled himself with his own hands. After he had lost the assistance and disdained the moderate counsels of Diocletian, the second period of his active life was a series of public calamities and personal mortifications, which were terminated in about three years by an ignominious death. He deserved his fate; but we should find more reason to applaud the humanity of Constantine if he had spared an old man, the benefactor of his father and the father of his wife. During the whole of this melancholy transaction it appears that Fausta sacrificed the sentiments of nature to her conjugal duties.<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>35</sup> Zosimus l. ii. [c. 11] p. 82. Eumenius in Panegy. Vet. vii. 16-21. The latter of these has undoubtedly represented the whole affair in the most favorable light for his sovereign. Yet even from this partial narrative we may conclude that the repeated clemency of Constantine and the reiterated treasons of Maximian, as they are described by Lactantius (de M. P. c. 29, 30) and copied by the moderns, are destitute of any historical foundation.

The last years of Galerius were less shameful and unfortunate; and though he had filled with more glory the subordinate station of Cæsar than the superior rank of Augustus, he preserved till the moment of his death the first place among the princes of the Roman world. He survived his retreat from Italy about four years; and, wisely relinquishing his views of universal empire, he devoted the remainder of his life to the enjoyment of pleasure and to the execution of some works of public utility, among which we may distinguish the discharging into the Danube the superfluous waters of the lake Pelso, and the cutting down the immense forests that encompassed it—an operation worthy of a monarch, since it gave an extensive country to the agriculture of his Pannonian subjects.<sup>36</sup> His death was occasioned by a very painful and lingering disorder. His body, swelled by an intemperate course of life to an unwieldy corpulence, was covered with ulcers, and devoured by innumerable swarms of those insects who have given their name to a most loathsome disease;<sup>37</sup> but as Galerius had offended a very zealous and powerful party among his subjects, his sufferings, instead of exciting their compassion, have been celebrated as the visible effects of divine justice.<sup>38</sup> He had no sooner expired in his palace of Nicomedia than the two emperors who were indebted for their purple to his favor began to collect their forces, with the intention either of disputing or of dividing the dominions which he had left

Death of  
Galerius.  
A.D. 311.  
May.

His domin-  
ion shared  
between  
Maximin and  
Licinius.

<sup>36</sup> Aurelius Victor, c. 40. But that lake was situated on the Upper Pannonia, near the borders of Noricum; and the province of Valeria (a name which the wife of Galerius gave to the drained country) undoubtedly lay between the Drave and the Danube (Sextus Rufus, c. 8). I should therefore suspect that Victor has confounded the lake Pelso with the Volocean marshes, or, as they are now called, the lake Sabaton. It is placed in the heart of Valeria, and its present extent is not less than twelve Hungarian miles (about seventy English) in length and two in breadth. See Severini Pannonia, l. i. c. 9.

<sup>37</sup> Lactantius (de M. P. c. 33) and Eusebius (l. viii. c. 16) describe the symptoms and progress of his disorder with singular accuracy and apparent pleasure.

<sup>38</sup> If any, like the late Dr. Jortin (Remarks on Ecclesiastical History, vol. ii. p. 307-356), still delight in recording the wonderful deaths of the persecutors, I would recommend to their perusal an admirable passage of Grotius (Hist. l. vii. p. 332) concerning the last illness of Philip II. of Spain.

without a master. They were persuaded, however, to desist from the former design and to agree in the latter. The provinces of Asia fell to the share of Maximin, and those of Europe augmented the portion of Licinius. The Hellespont and the Thracian Bosphorus formed their mutual boundary, and the banks of those narrow seas which flowed in the midst of the Roman world were covered with soldiers, with arms, and with fortifications. The deaths of Maximian and of Galerius reduced the number of emperors to four. The sense of their true interest soon connected Licinius and Constantine. A secret alliance was concluded between Maximin and Maxentius, and their unhappy subjects expected with terror the bloody consequences of their inevitable dissensions, which were no longer restrained by the fear or the respect which they had entertained for Galerius.<sup>39</sup>

Among so many crimes and misfortunes, occasioned by the passions of the Roman princes, there is some pleasure in discovering a single action which may be ascribed to their virtue. In the sixth year of his reign Constantine visited the city of Autun, and generously remitted the arrears of tribute, reducing at the same time the proportion of their assessment from twenty-five to eighteen thousand heads, subject to the real and personal capitation.<sup>40</sup> Yet even this indulgence affords the most unquestionable proof of the public misery. This tax was so extremely oppressive, either in itself or in the mode of collecting it, that, whilst the revenue was increased by extortion, it was diminished by despair: a considerable part of the territory of Autun was left uncultivated; and great numbers of the provincials rather chose to live as exiles and outlaws than to support the weight of civil society. It is but too probable that the bountiful emperor relieved, by a partial act of liberality,

Administra-  
tion of Con-  
stantine in  
Gaul.  
A.D. 306-312.

<sup>39</sup> See Eusebius, l. ix. 6, 10. Lactantius de M. P. c. 36. Zosimus is less exact, and evidently confounds Maximian with Maximin.

<sup>40</sup> See the Eighth Panegyric, in which Eumenius displays, in the presence of Constantine, the misery and the gratitude of the city of Autun.

\* On this statement, see editor's note on ch. xvii. note 185.—S.

one among the many evils which he had caused by his general maxims of administration. But even those maxims were less the effect of choice than of necessity. And if we except the death of Maximian, the reign of Constantine in Gaul seems to have been the most innocent and even virtuous period of his life. The provinces were protected by his presence from the inroads of the barbarians, who either dreaded or experienced his active valor. After a signal victory over the Franks and Alemanni, several of their princes were exposed by his order to the wild beasts in the amphitheatre of Treves, and the people seem to have enjoyed the spectacle without discovering, in such a treatment of royal captives, anything that was repugnant to the laws of nations or of humanity.<sup>41</sup>

The virtues of Constantine were rendered more illustrious by the vices of Maxentius. Whilst the Gallic provinces enjoyed as much happiness as the condition of the times was capable of receiving, Italy and Africa groaned under the dominion of a tyrant as contemptible as he was odious. The zeal of flattery and faction has indeed too frequently sacrificed the reputation of the vanquished to the glory of their successful rivals; but even those writers who have revealed, with the most freedom and pleasure, the faults of Constantine, unanimously confess that Maxentius was cruel, rapacious, and profligate.<sup>42</sup> He had the good fortune to suppress a slight rebellion in Africa. The governor and a few adherents had been guilty; the province suffered for their crime. The flourishing cities of Cirtha and Carthage, and the whole extent of that fertile country, were wasted by fire and sword. The abuse of victory was followed by the abuse of law and justice. A formidable army of syco-

Tyranny of  
Maxentius in  
Italy and  
Africa.  
A.D. 306-312.

<sup>41</sup> Eutropius, x. 2. Panegy. Veter. vii. 10, 11, 12. A great number of the French youth were likewise exposed to the same cruel and ignominious death.

<sup>42</sup> Julian excludes Maxentius from the banquet of the Cæsars with abhorrence and contempt; and Zosimus (l. ii. [c. 14] p. 85) accuses him of every kind of cruelty and profligacy.

<sup>a</sup> Yet the panegyric assumes something of an apologetic tone: "Te vero, Constantine, quantumlibet oderint hostes, dum perhorrescant. Hæc est enim vera virtus, ut non ament et quiescant." The orator appeals to the ancient usage of the republic.—M.



phants and delators invaded Africa; the rich and the noble were easily convicted of a connection with the rebels; and those among them who experienced the emperor's clemency were only punished by the confiscation of their estates.<sup>43</sup> So signal a victory was celebrated by a magnificent triumph, and Maxentius exposed to the eyes of the people the spoils and captives of a Roman province. The state of the capital was no less deserving of compassion than that of Africa. The wealth of Rome supplied an inexhaustible fund for his vain and prodigal expenses, and the ministers of his revenue were skilled in the arts of rapine. It was under his reign that the method of exacting a *free gift* from the senators was first invented; and as the sum was insensibly increased, the pretences of levying it—a victory, a birth, a marriage, or an imperial consulship—were proportionably multiplied.<sup>44</sup> Maxentius had imbibed the same implacable aversion to the senate which had characterized most of the former tyrants of Rome; nor was it possible for his ungrateful temper to forgive the generous fidelity which had raised him to the throne and supported him against all his enemies. The lives of the senators were exposed to his jealous suspicions; the dishonor of their wives and daughters heightened the gratification of his sensual passions.<sup>45</sup> It may be presumed that an imperial lover was seldom reduced to sigh in vain; but whenever persuasion proved ineffectual, he had recourse to violence; and there remains *one* memorable example of a noble matron who preserved her chastity by a voluntary death. The soldiers were the only order of men whom he appeared to respect or studied to please. He filled Rome and Italy with armed troops, convived at their tumults, suffered them with impunity to plun-

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<sup>43</sup> Zosimus, l. ii. [c. 14] p. 83–85. Aurelius Victor [de Cæsar. 40].

<sup>44</sup> The passage of Aurelius Victor [l. c.] should be read in the following manner: "Primus instituto pessimo, *munerum specie*, Patres *Oratoresque* pecuniam conferre prodigenti sibi cogeret."

<sup>45</sup> Panegy. Vet. ix. 3. Euseb. Hist. Eccles. viii. 14, et in Vit. Constant. i. 33, 34. Rufinus, c. 17. The virtuous matron who stabbed herself to escape the violence of Maxentius was a Christian, wife to the præfect of the city, and her name was Sophronia. It still remains a question among the casuists whether, on such occasions, suicide is justifiable.

der, and even to massacre, the defenceless people;<sup>46</sup> and, indulging them in the same licentiousness which their emperor enjoyed, Maxentius often bestowed on his military favorites the splendid villa or the beautiful wife of a senator. A prince of such a character, alike incapable of governing either in peace or in war, might purchase the support, but he could never obtain the esteem, of the army. Yet his pride was equal to his other vices. Whilst he passed his indolent life either within the walls of his palace or in the neighboring gardens of Sallust, he was repeatedly heard to declare that *he alone* was emperor, and that the other princes were no more than his lieutenants, on whom he had devolved the defence of the frontier provinces, that he might enjoy without interruption the elegant luxury of the capital. Rome, which had so long regretted the absence, lamented, during the six years of his reign, the presence of her sovereign.<sup>47</sup>

Though Constantine might view the conduct of Maxentius with abhorrence, and the situation of the Romans with compassion, we have no reason to presume that he would have taken up arms to punish the one or to relieve the other. But the tyrant of Italy rashly ventured to provoke a formidable enemy whose ambition had been hitherto restrained by considerations of prudence rather than by principles of justice.<sup>48</sup> After the death of Maximian, his titles, according to the established custom, had been erased, and his statues thrown down with ignominy. His son, who had persecuted and deserted him

Civil war between Constantine and Maxentius. A.D. 312.

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<sup>46</sup> "Prætorianis cædem vulgi quondam annuerit," is the vague expression of Aurelius Victor [de Cæsar. 40]. See more particular, though somewhat different, accounts of a tumult and massacre which happened at Rome, in Eusebius (l. viii. c. 14) and in Zosimus (l. ii. [c. 13] p. 84).

<sup>47</sup> See in the Panegyrics (ix. 14) a lively description of the indolence and vain pride of Maxentius. In another place [ib. c. 3] the orator observes that the riches which Rome had accumulated in a period of 1060 years were lavished by the tyrant on his mercenary bands: "redemptis ad civile latrocinium manibus ingesserat."

<sup>48</sup> After the victory of Constantine it was universally allowed that the motive of delivering the republic from a detested tyrant would at any time have justified his expedition into Italy. Euseb. in Vit. Constantin. l. i. c. 26. Panegy. Vet. ix. 2.

when alive, affected to display the most pious regard for his memory, and gave orders that a similar treatment should be immediately inflicted on all the statues that had been erected in Italy and Africa to the honor of Constantine. That wise prince, who sincerely wished to decline a war with the difficulty and importance of which he was sufficiently acquainted, at first dissembled the insult, and sought for redress by the milder expedients of negotiation, till he was convinced that the hostile and ambitious designs of the Italian emperor made it necessary for him to arm in his own defence. Maxentius, who openly avowed his pretensions to the whole monarchy of the West, had already prepared a very considerable force to invade the Gallic provinces on the side of Rhætia; and though he could not expect any assistance from Licinius, he was flattered with the hope that the legions of Illyricum, allured by his presents and promises, would desert the standard of that prince, and unanimously declare themselves his soldiers and subjects.<sup>49</sup> Constantine no longer hesitated. He had deliberated with caution, he acted with vigor. He gave a private audience to the ambassadors who, in the name of the senate and people, conjured him to deliver Rome from a detested tyrant; and, without regarding the timid remonstrances of his council, he resolved to prevent the enemy, and to carry the war into the heart of Italy.<sup>50</sup>

The enterprise was as full of danger as of glory; and the unsuccessful event of two former invasions was sufficient to inspire the most serious apprehensions. The veteran troops, who revered the name of Maximian, had embraced in both those wars the party of his son, and were now restrained by a sense of honor as well as of inter-

Preparations.

<sup>49</sup> Zosimus, l. ii. [c. 14] p. 84, 85. Nazarius in Panegy. x. 7-13.

<sup>50</sup> See Panegy. Vet. ix. [viii.] 2. "Omnibus fere tuis Comitibus et Ducibus non solum tacite mussantibus, sed etiam aperte timentibus; contra consilia hominum, contra Haruspicum monita, ipse per temet liberandæ urbis tempus venisse sentires." The embassy of the Romans is mentioned only by Zonaras (l. xiii. [c. 1]), and by Cedrenus (in Compend. Hist. p. 270 [ed. Paris; vol. i. p. 474, ed. Bonn]); but those modern Greeks had the opportunity of consulting many writers which have since been lost, among which we may reckon the Life of Constantine by Praxagoras. Photius (p. 63) has made a short extract from that historical work.

est from entertaining an idea of a second desertion. Maxentius, who considered the Prætorian guards as the firmest defence of his throne, had increased them to their ancient establishment; and they composed, including the rest of the Italians who were enlisted into his service, a formidable body of fourscore thousand men. Forty thousand Moors and Carthaginians had been raised since the reduction of Africa. Even Sicily furnished its proportion of troops; and the armies of Maxentius amounted to one hundred and seventy thousand foot and eighteen thousand horse. The wealth of Italy supplied the expenses of the war; and the adjacent provinces were exhausted to form immense magazines of corn and every other kind of provisions.

The whole force of Constantine consisted of ninety thousand foot and eight thousand horse;<sup>61</sup> and as the defence of the Rhine required an extraordinary attention during the absence of the emperor, it was not in his power to employ above half his troops in the Italian expedition, unless he sacrificed the public safety to his private quarrel.<sup>62</sup> At the head of about forty thousand soldiers, he marched to encounter an enemy whose numbers were at least four times superior to his own. But the armies of Rome, placed at a secure distance from danger, were enervated by indulgence and luxury. Habituated to the baths and theatres of Rome, they took the field with reluctance, and were chiefly composed of veterans who had almost forgotten, or of new levies who had never acquired, the use of arms and the practice of war. The hardy legions of Gaul had long defended the frontiers of the empire against the barbarians of the North; and in the performance of that laborious service their valor was exercised and their discipline

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<sup>61</sup> Zosimus (l. ii. [c. 15] p. 86) has given us this curious account of the forces on both sides. He makes no mention of any naval armaments, though we are assured (Panegy. Vet. ix. 25) that the war was carried on by sea as well as by land; and that the fleet of Constantine took possession of Sardinia, Corsica, and the ports of Italy.

<sup>62</sup> Panegy. Vet. ix. 3. It is not surprising that the orator should diminish the numbers with which his sovereign achieved the conquest of Italy; but it appears somewhat singular that he should esteem the tyrant's army at no more than 100,000 men.



confirmed. There appeared the same difference between the leaders as between the armies. Caprice or flattery had tempted Maxentius with the hopes of conquest; but these aspiring hopes soon gave way to the habits of pleasure and the consciousness of his inexperience. The intrepid mind of Constantine had been trained from his earliest youth to war, to action, and to military command.

When Hannibal marched from Gaul into Italy, he was obliged, first to discover, and then to open, a way over mountains, and through savage nations that had never yielded a passage to a regular army.<sup>53</sup> The Alps were then guarded by nature; they are now fortified by art. Citadels, constructed with no less skill than labor and expense, command every avenue into the plain, and on that side render Italy almost inaccessible to the enemies of the King of Sardinia.<sup>54</sup> But in the course of the intermediate period, the generals who have attempted the passage have seldom experienced any difficulty or resistance. In the age of Constantine the peasants of the mountains were civilized and obedient subjects; the country was plentifully stocked with provisions, and the stupendous highways which the Romans had carried over the Alps opened several communications between Gaul and Italy.<sup>55</sup> Constantine preferred the road of the Cottian Alps, or, as it is now called, of Mount Cenis, and

Constantine  
passes the  
Alps.

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<sup>53</sup> The three principal passages of the Alps between Gaul and Italy are those of Mount St. Bernard, Mount Cenis, and Mount Genève. Tradition and a resemblance of names (*Alpes Penninæ*) had assigned the first of these for the march of Hannibal (see Simler de Alpibus). The Chevalier de Folard (Polyb. tom. iv.) and M. d'Anville have led him over Mount Genève. But notwithstanding the authority of an experienced officer and a learned geographer, the pretensions of Mount Cenis are supported in a specious, not to say a convincing, manner by M. Grouley, *Observations sur l'Italie*, tom. i. p. 40, etc.<sup>a</sup>

<sup>54</sup> La Brunette near Suse, Demont, Exiles, Fenestrelles, Coni, etc.

<sup>55</sup> See Ammian. Marcellin. xv. 10. His description of the roads over the Alps is clear, lively, and accurate.

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<sup>a</sup> Most modern scholars have maintained that Hannibal crossed the Graian Alps, or the Little St. Bernard; but a recent writer has advocated with much ingenuity the claims of Mont Cenis. See Ellis, *A Treatise on Hannibal's Passage of the Alps*, 1853.—S.

led his troops with such active diligence that he descended into the plain of Piedmont before the court of Maxentius had received any certain intelligence of his departure from the banks of the Rhine. The city of Susa, however, which is situated at the foot of Mount Cenis, was surrounded with walls, and provided with a garrison sufficiently numerous to check the progress of an invader; but the impatience of Constantine's troops disdained the tedious forms of a siege. The same day that they appeared before Susa they applied fire to the gates and ladders to the walls; and, mounting to the assault amidst a shower of stones and arrows, they entered the place sword in hand, and cut in pieces the greatest part of the garrison. The flames were extinguished by the care of Constantine, and the remains of Susa preserved from total destruction. About forty miles from thence a more severe contest awaited him. A numerous army of Italians was assembled under the lieutenants of Maxentius, in the plains of Turin.

**Battle of  
Turin.**

Its principal strength consisted in a species of heavy cavalry, which the Romans, since the decline of their discipline, had borrowed from the nations of the East. The horses as well as the men were clothed in complete armor, the joints of which were artfully adapted to the motions of their bodies. The aspect of this cavalry was formidable, their weight almost irresistible; and as, on this occasion, their generals had drawn them up in a compact column or wedge, with a sharp point and with spreading flanks, they flattered themselves that they should easily break and trample down the army of Constantine. They might, perhaps, have succeeded in their design, had not their experienced adversary embraced the same method of defence which in similar circumstances had been practised by Aurelian. The skilful evolutions of Constantine divided and baffled this massy column of cavalry. The troops of Maxentius fled in confusion towards Turin; and, as the gates of the city were shut against them, very few escaped the sword of the victorious pursuers. By this important service Turin deserved to experience the clemency and even favor of the conqueror. He made his entry into the imperial palace of Milan, and almost all the cities of Italy between the Alps

and the Po not only acknowledged the power, but embraced with zeal the party, of Constantine.<sup>56</sup>

From Milan to Rome, the Æmilian and Flaminian highways offered an easy march of about four hundred miles; but though Constantine was impatient to encounter the tyrant, he prudently directed his operations against another army of Italians, who, by their strength and position, might either oppose his progress, or, in case of a misfortune, might intercept his retreat. Ruricius Pompeianus, a general distinguished by his valor and ability, had under his command the city of Verona, and all the troops that were stationed in the province of Venetia. As soon as he was informed that Constantine was advancing towards him, he detached a large body of cavalry, which was defeated in an engagement near Brescia, and pursued by the Gallic legions as far as the gates of Verona. The necessity, the importance, and the difficulties of the siege of Verona immediately presented themselves to the sagacious mind of Constantine.<sup>57</sup> The city was accessible only by a narrow peninsula towards the west, as the other three sides were surrounded by the Adige, a rapid river, which covered the province of Venetia, from whence the besieged derived an inexhaustible supply of men and provisions. It was not without great difficulty, and after several fruitless attempts, that Constantine found means to pass the river at some distance above the city, and in a place where the torrent was less violent. He then encompassed Verona with strong lines, pushed his attacks with prudent vigor, and repelled a desperate sally of Pompeianus. That intrepid general, when he had used every means of defence that the strength of the place or that of the garrison could afford, secretly escaped from

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<sup>56</sup> Zosimus as well as Eusebius hastens from the passage of the Alps to the decisive action near Rome. We must apply to the two Panegyrics for the intermediate actions of Constantine.

<sup>57</sup> The Marquis Maffei has examined the siege and battle of Verona with that degree of attention and accuracy which was due to a memorable action that happened in his native country. The fortifications of that city, constructed by Galienus, were less extensive than the modern walls, and the amphitheatre was not included within their circumference. See Verona Illustrata, part i. p. 142, 150.

Verona, anxious not for his own but for the public safety. With indefatigable diligence, he soon collected an army sufficient either to meet Constantine in the field, or to attack him if he obstinately remained within his lines. The emperor, attentive to the motions and informed of the approach of so formidable an enemy, left a part of his legions to continue the operations of the siege, whilst, at the head of those troops on whose valor and fidelity he more particularly depended, he advanced in person to engage the general of Maxentius. The army of Gaul was drawn up in two lines, according to the usual practice of war; but their experienced leader, perceiving that the numbers of the Italians far exceeded his own, suddenly changed his disposition, and, reducing the second, extended the front of his first line to a just proportion with that of the enemy. Such evolutions, which only veteran troops can execute without confusion in a moment of danger, commonly prove decisive; but as this engagement began towards the close of the day, and was contested with great obstinacy during the whole night, there was less room for the conduct of the generals than for the courage of the soldiers. The return of light displayed the victory of Constantine, and a field of carnage covered with many thousands of the vanquished Italians. Their general, Pompeianus, was found among the slain; Verona immediately surrendered at discretion, and the garrison was made prisoners of war.<sup>58</sup> When the officers of the victorious army congratulated their master on this important success, they ventured to add some respectful complaints, of such a nature, however, as the most jealous monarchs will listen to without displeasure. They represented to Constantine that, not contented with performing all the duties of a commander, he had exposed his own person with an excess of valor which almost degenerated into rashness; and they conjured him for the future to pay more regard to the preservation of a life in which the safety of Rome and of the empire was involved.<sup>59</sup>

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<sup>58</sup> They wanted chains for so great a multitude of captives, and the whole council was at a loss; but the sagacious conqueror imagined the happy expedient of converting into fetters the swords of the vanquished.—Panegy. Vet. ix. 9.

<sup>59</sup> Panegy. Vet. ix. 10.



While Constantine signalized his conduct and valor in the field, the sovereign of Italy appeared insensible of the calamities and danger of a civil war which raged in the heart of his dominions. Pleasure was still the only business of Maxentius. Concealing, or at least attempting to conceal, from the public knowledge the misfortunes of his arms,<sup>60</sup> he indulged himself in a vain confidence, which deferred the remedies of the approaching evil without deferring the evil itself.<sup>61</sup> The rapid progress of Constantine<sup>62</sup> was scarcely sufficient to awaken him from this fatal security; he flattered himself that his well-known liberality, and the majesty of the Roman name, which had already delivered him from two invasions, would dissipate with the same facility the rebellious army of Gaul. The officers of experience and ability who had served under the banners of Maximian were at length compelled to inform his effeminate son of the imminent danger to which he was reduced; and, with a freedom that at once surprised and convinced him, to urge the necessity of preventing his ruin by a vigorous exertion of his remaining power. The resources of Maxentius, both of men and money, were still considerable. The Prætorian guards felt how strongly their own interest and safety were connected with his cause; and a third army was soon collected, more numerous than those which had been lost in the battles of Turin and Verona. It was far from the intention of the emperor to lead his troops in person. A stranger to the exercises of war, he trembled at the apprehension of so dangerous a contest; and, as fear is commonly superstitious, he listened with melancholy attention to the rumors of omens and presages which seemed to menace his life and empire. Shame at length supplied the place of courage, and forced him to take the field. He was unable to sustain the contempt of the Roman people. The circus re-

<sup>60</sup> Literas calamitatum suarum indices supprimebat.—Panegyr. Vet. ix. 15.

<sup>61</sup> "Remedia malorum potius quam mala differebat," is the fine censure which Tacitus passes on the supine indolence of Vitellius.

<sup>62</sup> The Marquis Maffei has made it extremely probable that Constantine was still at Verona the 1st of September, A.D. 312, and that the memorable era of the Indictions was dated from his conquest of the Cisalpine Gaul.

sounded with their indignant clamors, and they tumultuously besieged the gates of the palace, reproaching the pusillanimity of their indolent sovereign, and celebrating the heroic spirit of Constantine.<sup>63</sup> Before Maxentius left Rome, he consulted the Sibylline books. The guardians of these ancient oracles were as well versed in the arts of this world as they were ignorant of the secrets of fate; and they returned him a very prudent answer, which might adapt itself to the event and secure their reputation, whatever should be the chance of arms.<sup>64</sup>

The celerity of Constantine's march has been compared to the rapid conquest of Italy by the first of the Cæsars; nor is the flattering parallel repugnant to the truth of history, since no more than fifty-eight days elapsed between the surrender of Verona and the final decision of the war. Constantine had always apprehended that the tyrant would consult the dictates of fear, and perhaps of prudence; and that, instead of risking his last hopes in a general engagement, he would shut himself up within the walls of Rome. His ample magazines secured him against the danger of famine; and as the situation of Constantine admitted not of delay, he might have been reduced to the sad necessity of destroying with fire and sword the imperial city, the noblest reward of his victory, and the deliverance of which had been the motive, or rather indeed the pretence, of the civil war.<sup>65</sup> It was with equal surprise and pleasure that, on his arrival at a place called Saxa Rubra, about nine miles from Rome,<sup>66</sup> he discovered the army of Maxentius prepared to give

Victory of  
Constantine  
near Rome.  
A.D. 312.  
October 28.

<sup>63</sup> See Panegyr. Vet. xi. 16 [ix. 14?]. Lactantius de M. P. c. 44.

<sup>64</sup> "Illo die hostem Romanorum esse periturum." [Lact. l. c.] The vanquished prince became of course the enemy of Rome.

<sup>65</sup> See Panegyr. Vet. ix. 16, x. 27. The former of these orators magnifies the hoards of corn which Maxentius had collected from Africa and the islands. And yet, if there is any truth in the scarcity mentioned by Eusebius (in Vit. Constantin. l. i. c. 36), the imperial granaries must have been open only to the soldiers.

<sup>66</sup> Maxentius . . . tandem urbe in Saxa Rubra, millia ferme novem ægerrime progressus.—Aurelius Victor [de Cæsar. 40]. See Cellarius, Geograph. Antiq. tom. i. p. 463. Saxa Rubra was in the neighborhood of the Cremera, a trifling rivulet, illustrated by the valor and glorious death of the three hundred Fabii.

him battle.<sup>67</sup> Their long front filled a very spacious plain, and their deep array reached to the banks of the Tiber, which covered their rear and forbade their retreat. We are informed, and we may believe, that Constantine disposed his troops with consummate skill, and that he chose for himself the post of honor and danger. Distinguished by the splendor of his arms, he charged in person the cavalry of his rival; and his irresistible attack determined the fortune of the day. The cavalry of Maxentius was principally composed either of unwieldy cuirassiers or of light Moors and Numidians. They yielded to the vigor of the Gallic horse, which possessed more activity than the one, more firmness than the other. The defeat of the two wings left the infantry without any protection on its flanks, and the undisciplined Italians fled without reluctance from the standard of a tyrant whom they had always hated and whom they no longer feared. The Prætorians, conscious that their offences were beyond the reach of mercy, were animated by revenge and despair. Notwithstanding their repeated efforts, those brave veterans were unable to recover the victory: they obtained, however, an honorable death; and it was observed that their bodies covered the same ground which had been occupied by their ranks.<sup>68</sup> The confusion then became general, and the dismayed troops of Maxentius, pursued by an implacable enemy, rushed by thousands into the deep and rapid stream of the Tiber. The emperor himself attempted to escape back into the city over the Milvian bridge, but the crowds which pressed together through that narrow passage forced him into the river, where he was immediately drowned by the weight of his armor.<sup>69</sup> His body, which had

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<sup>67</sup> The post which Maxentius had taken, with the Tiber in his rear, is very clearly described by the two Panegyrist, ix. 16, x. 28.

<sup>68</sup> *Exceptis latrocinii illius primis auctoribus, qui desperatâ veniâ, locum quem pugnæ sumpserant texere corporibus.*—Panegy. Vet. ix. 17.

<sup>69</sup> A very idle rumor soon prevailed that Maxentius, who had not taken any precaution for his own retreat, had contrived a very artful snare to destroy the army of the pursuers; but that the wooden bridge, which was to have been loosened on the approach of Constantine, unluckily broke down under the weight of the flying Italians. M. de Tillemont (*Hist. des Empereurs*, tom. iv. part i. p. 576) very seriously examines whether, in contradiction to common-sense, the testimony of Eu-



sunk very deep into the mud, was found with some difficulty the next day. The sight of his head, when it was exposed to the eyes of the people, convinced them of their deliverance, and admonished them to receive with acclamations of loyalty and gratitude the fortunate Constantine, who thus achieved by his valor and ability the most splendid enterprise of his life.<sup>70</sup>

In the use of victory Constantine neither deserved the praise of clemency nor incurred the censure of immoderate rigor.<sup>71</sup>

He inflicted the same treatment to which a defeat  
 Constantine's reception, would have exposed his own person and family, put to death the two sons of the tyrant, and carefully extirpated his whole race. The most distinguished adherents of Maxentius must have expected to share his fate, as they had shared his prosperity and his crimes; but when the Roman people loudly demanded a greater number of victims, the conqueror resisted, with firmness and humanity, those servile clamors, which were dictated by flattery as well as by resentment. Informers were punished and discouraged; the innocent who had suffered under the late tyranny were recalled from exile and restored to their estates. A general act of oblivion quieted the minds and settled the property of the people both in

sebius and Zosimus ought to prevail over the silence of Lactantius, Nazarius, and the anonymous but contemporary orator who composed the Ninth Panegyric.<sup>a</sup>

<sup>70</sup> Zosimus, l. ii. [c. 15 seq.] p. 86-88, and the two Panegyrics, the former of which was pronounced a few months afterwards, afford the clearest notion of this great battle. Lactantius, Eusebius, and even the Epitomes, supply several useful hints.

<sup>71</sup> Zosimus, the enemy of Constantine, allows (l. ii. [c. 17] p. 88) that only a few of the friends of Maxentius were put to death; but we may remark the expressive passage of Nazarius (Panegyric. Vet. x. 6): "Omnibus qui labefactari statum ejus poterant cum stirpe deletis."<sup>b</sup> The other orator (Panegyric. Vet. ix. 20, 21) contents himself with observing that Constantine, when he entered Rome, did not imitate the cruel massacres of Cinna, of Marius, or of Sylla.

<sup>a</sup> Manso (Beylage vi.) examines the question, and adduces two manifest allusions to the bridge from the Life of Constantine by Praxagoras, and from Libanius. Is it not very probable that such a bridge was thrown over the river to facilitate the advance, and to secure the retreat, of the army of Maxentius? In case of defeat, orders were given for destroying it, in order to check the pursuit: it broke down accidentally, or in the confusion was destroyed, as has not unfrequently been the case, before the proper time.—M.

<sup>b</sup> This may refer to the son or sons of Maxentius.—M.



Italy and in Africa.<sup>72</sup> The first time that Constantine honored the senate with his presence he recapitulated his own services and exploits in a modest oration, assured that illustrious order of his sincere regard, and promised to re-establish its ancient dignity and privileges. The grateful senate repaid these unmeaning professions by the empty titles of honor which it was yet in their power to bestow; and, without presuming to ratify the authority of Constantine, they passed a decree to assign him the first rank among the three *Augusti* who governed the Roman world.<sup>73</sup> Games and festivals were instituted to preserve the fame of his victory, and several edifices, raised at the expense of Maxentius, were dedicated to the honor of his successful rival. The triumphal arch of Constantine still remains a melancholy proof of the decline of the arts, and a singular testimony of the meanest vanity. As it was not possible to find in the capital of the empire a sculptor who was capable of adorning that public monument, the arch of Trajan, without any respect either for his memory or for the rules of propriety, was stripped of its most elegant figures. The difference of times and persons, of actions and characters, was totally disregarded. The Parthian captives appear prostrate at the feet of a prince who never carried his arms beyond the Euphrates; and curious antiquarians can still discover the head of Trajan on the trophies of Constantine. The new ornaments which it was necessary to introduce between the vacancies of ancient sculpture are executed in the rudest and most unskilful manner.<sup>74</sup>

The final abolition of the Prætorian guards was a measure of prudence as well as of revenge. Those haughty troops, whose numbers and privileges had been

and conduct  
at Rome.

<sup>72</sup> See the two Panegyrics, and the laws of this and the ensuing year, in the Theodosian Code.

<sup>73</sup> Panegy. Vet. ix. 20. Lactantius de M. P. c. 44. Maximin, who was confessedly the eldest Cæsar, claimed, with some show of reason, the first rank among the Augusti.

<sup>74</sup> *Adhuc cuncta opera quæ magnifice construxerat, urbis fanum, atque basilicam, Flavii meritis patres sacravere.*—Aurelius Victor [de Cæsar. 40]. With regard to the theft of Trajan's trophies, consult Flaminius Vacca, apud Montfaucon, *Diarium Italicum*, p. 250, and *L'Antiquité Expliquée* of the latter, tom. iv. p. 171.

restored, and even augmented, by Maxentius, were forever suppressed by Constantine. Their fortified camp was destroyed, and the few Prætorians who had escaped the fury of the sword were dispersed among the legions and banished to the frontiers of the empire, where they might be serviceable without again becoming dangerous.<sup>75</sup> By suppressing the troops which were usually stationed in Rome, Constantine gave the fatal blow to the dignity of the senate and people, and the disarmed capital was exposed, without protection, to the insults or neglect of its distant master. We may observe that, in this last effort to preserve their expiring freedom, the Romans, from the apprehension of a tribute, had raised Maxentius to the throne. He exacted that tribute from the senate under the name of a free gift. They implored the assistance of Constantine. He vanquished the tyrant and converted the free gift into a perpetual tax. The senators, according to the declaration which was required of their property, were divided into several classes. The most opulent paid annually eight pounds of gold, the next class paid four, the last two, and those whose poverty might have claimed an exemption were assessed, however, at seven pieces of gold. Besides the regular members of the senate, their sons, their descendants, and even their relations, enjoyed the vain privileges and supported the heavy burdens of the senatorial order; nor will it any longer excite our surprise that Constantine should be attentive to increase the number of persons who were included under so useful a description.<sup>76</sup> After the defeat of Maxentius, the victorious emperor passed no more than two or three months in Rome, which he visited

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<sup>75</sup> Prætoriae legiones ac subsidia factionibus aptiora quam urbi Romæ, sublata penitus; simul arma atque usus indumenti militaris.—Aurelius Victor [l. c.]. Zosimus (l. ii. [c. 17] p. 89) mentions this fact as an historian, and it is very pompously celebrated in the Ninth Panegyric.

<sup>76</sup> Ex omnibus provinciis optimates viros Curiae tuæ pigneraveris; ut Senatûs dignitas . . . ex totius Orbis flore consisteret.—Nazarius in Panegyri. Vet. x. [ix.] 35. The word *pigneraveris* might almost seem maliciously chosen. Concerning the senatorial tax, see Zosimus, l. ii. [c. 38] p. 115; the second title of the sixth book of the Theodosian Code, with Godefroy's Commentary; and Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions, tom. xxviii. p. 726.

twice during the remainder of his life to celebrate the solemn festivals of the tenth and of the twentieth years of his reign. Constantine was almost perpetually in motion, to exercise the legions or to inspect the state of the provinces. Treves, Milan, Aquileia, Sirmium, Naissus, and Thessalonica were the occasional places of his residence till he founded a NEW ROME on the confines of Europe and Asia.”

Before Constantine marched into Italy he had secured the friendship, or at least the neutrality, of Licinius, the Illyrian emperor. He had promised his sister Constantia in marriage to that prince; but the celebration of the nuptials was deferred till after the conclusion

His alliance  
with Licinius.  
A.D. 313.  
March.

of the war, and the interview of the two emperors at Milan, which was appointed for that purpose, appeared to cement the union of their families and interests.”<sup>77</sup> In the midst of the public festivity, they were suddenly obliged to take leave of each other. An inroad of the Franks summoned Constantine to the Rhine, and the hostile approach of the sovereign of

War between  
Maximin and  
Licinius.  
A.D. 313.

Asia demanded the immediate presence of Licinius. Maximin had been the secret ally of Maxentius, and, without being discouraged by his fate, he resolved to try the fortune of a civil war. He moved out of Syria, towards the frontiers of Bithynia, in the depth of winter. The season was severe and tempestuous; great numbers of men as well as horses perished in the snow; and as the roads were broken up by incessant rains, he was obliged to leave behind him a considerable part of the heavy baggage, which was unable to follow the rapidity of his forced marches. By this extraordinary effort of diligence he arrived, with a harassed but formidable army, on the banks of the Thracian Bosphorus before the lieutenants of Licinius were apprised of

<sup>77</sup> From the Theodosian Code we may now begin to trace the motions of the emperors; but the dates both of time and place have frequently been altered by the carelessness of transcribers.

<sup>78</sup> Zosimus (l. ii. [c. 17] p. 89) observes that before the war the sister of Constantine had been betrothed to Licinius. According to the younger Victor [Epit. c. 39], Diocletian was invited to the nuptials; but having ventured to plead his age and infirmities, he received a second letter filled with reproaches for his supposed partiality to the cause of Maxentius and Maximin.

his hostile intentions. Byzantium surrendered to the power of Maximin after a siege of eleven days. He was detained some days under the walls of Heraclea; and he had no sooner taken possession of that city than he was alarmed by the intelligence that Licinius had pitched his camp at the distance of only eighteen miles. After a fruitless negotiation, in which the two princes attempted to seduce the fidelity of each other's adherents, they had recourse to arms. The Emperor of the East commanded a disciplined and veteran army of above seventy thousand men; and Licinius, who had collected about thirty thousand Illyrians, was at first oppressed by the superiority of numbers. His military skill and the firmness of his troops restored the day and obtained a decisive victory. The incredible speed which Maximin exerted in his flight is much more celebrated than his prowess in the battle. Twenty-four hours afterwards he was seen pale, trembling, and without his imperial ornaments at Nicomedia, one hundred and sixty miles from the place of his defeat. The wealth of Asia was yet unexhausted; and though the flower of his veterans had fallen in the late action, he had still power, if he could obtain time, to draw very numerous levies from Syria and Egypt. But he survived his misfortune only three or four months. His death, which happened at Tarsus, was variously ascribed to despair, to poison, and to the divine justice. As Maximin was alike destitute of abilities and of virtue, he was lamented neither by the people nor by the soldiers. The provinces of the East, delivered from the terrors of civil war, cheerfully acknowledged the authority of Licinius.<sup>79</sup>

The defeat,  
April 30,

and death of  
Maximin,  
August.

Cruelty of  
Licinius.

The vanquished emperor left behind him two children, a boy of about eight and a girl of about seven years old. Their inoffensive age might have excited compassion; but the compassion of Licinius was a very feeble resource, nor did it restrain him from *extinguishing* the name

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<sup>79</sup> Zosimus mentions the defeat and death of Maximin as ordinary events; but Lactantius expatiates on them (de M. P. c. 45-50), ascribing them to the miraculous interposition of Heaven. Licinius at that time was one of the protectors of the Church.



and memory of his adversary. The death of Severianus will admit of less excuse, as it was dictated neither by revenge nor by policy. The conqueror had never received any injury from the father of that unhappy youth, and the short and obscure reign of Severus, in a distant part of the empire, was already forgotten. But the execution of Candidianus was an act of the blackest cruelty and ingratitude. He was the natural son of Galerius, the friend and benefactor of Licinius. The prudent father had judged him too young to sustain the weight of a diadem; but he hoped that, under the protection of princes who were indebted to his favor for the imperial purple, Candidianus might pass a secure and honorable life. He was now advancing towards the twentieth year of his age, and the royalty of his birth, though unsupported either by merit or ambition, was sufficient to exasperate the jealous mind of Licinius.<sup>80</sup> To these innocent and illustrious victims of his tyranny we must add the wife and daughter of the emperor Diocletian. When that prince conferred on Galerius the title of Cæsar, he had given him in marriage his daughter Valeria, whose melancholy adventures might furnish a very singular subject for tragedy. She had fulfilled and even surpassed the duties of a wife. As she had not any children herself, she condescended to adopt the illegitimate son of her husband, and invariably displayed towards the unhappy Candidianus the tenderness and anxiety of a real mother. After the death of Galerius, her ample possessions provoked the avarice, and her personal attractions excited the desires, of his successor, Maximin.<sup>81</sup> He had a wife still alive; but divorce was permitted by the Roman law, and the fierce passions of the tyrant demanded an

Unfortunate  
fate of the  
empress  
Valeria and  
her mother.

<sup>80</sup> Lactantius de M. P. c. 50. Aurelius Victor touches on the different conduct of Licinius and of Constantine in the use of victory.

<sup>81</sup> The sensual appetites of Maximin were gratified at the expense of his subjects. His eunuchs, who forced away wives and virgins, examined their naked charms with anxious curiosity, lest any part of their body should be found unworthy of the royal embraces. Coyness and disdain were considered as treason, and the obstinate fair one was condemned to be drowned. A custom was gradually introduced that no person should marry a wife without the permission of the emperor, "*ut ipse in omnibus nuptiis prægustator esset*" (Lactantius de M. P. c. 38).

immediate gratification. The answer of Valeria was such as became the daughter and widow of emperors; but it was tempered by the prudence which her defenceless condition compelled her to observe. She represented to the persons whom Maximin had employed on this occasion "that, even if honor could permit a woman of her character and dignity to entertain a thought of second nuptials, decency at least must forbid her to listen to his addresses at a time when the ashes of her husband and his benefactor were still warm, and while the sorrows of her mind were still expressed by her mourning garments. She ventured to declare that she could place very little confidence in the professions of a man whose cruel inconstancy was capable of repudiating a faithful and affectionate wife."<sup>82</sup> On this repulse, the love of Maximin was converted into fury; and as witnesses and judges were always at his disposal, it was easy for him to cover his fury with an appearance of legal proceedings, and to assault the reputation as well as the happiness of Valeria. Her estates were confiscated, her eunuchs and domestics devoted to the most inhuman tortures; and several innocent and respectable matrons who were honored with her friendship suffered death on a false accusation of adultery. The empress herself, together with her mother Prisca, was condemned to exile; and as they were ignominiously hurried from place to place before they were confined to a sequestered village in the deserts of Syria, they exposed their shame and distress to the provinces of the East, which, during thirty years, had respected their august dignity. Diocletian made several ineffectual efforts to alleviate the misfortunes of his daughter; and, as the last return that he expected for the imperial purple which he had conferred upon Maximin, he entreated that Valeria might be permitted to share his retirement of Salona and to close the eyes of her afflicted father.<sup>83</sup> He entreated; but, as he could no longer threaten,

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<sup>82</sup> Lactantius de M. P. c. 39.

<sup>83</sup> Diocletian at last sent "*cognatum suum, quendam militarem ac potentem virum*," to intercede in favor of his daughter (Lactantius de M. P. c. 41). We are not sufficiently acquainted with the history of these times to point out the person who was employed.

his prayers were received with coldness and disdain; and the pride of Maximin was gratified in treating Diocletian as a suppliant and his daughter as a criminal. The death of Maximin seemed to assure the empresses of a favorable alteration in their fortune. The public disorders relaxed the vigilance of their guard, and they easily found means to escape from the place of their exile, and to repair, though with some precaution, and in disguise, to the court of Licinius. His behavior, in the first days of his reign, and the honorable reception which he gave to young Candidianus, inspired Valeria with a secret satisfaction, both on her own account and on that of her adopted son. But these grateful prospects were soon succeeded by horror and astonishment; and the bloody executions which stained the palace of Nicomedia sufficiently convinced her that the throne of Maximin was filled by a tyrant more inhuman than himself. Valeria consulted her safety by a hasty flight, and, still accompanied by her mother Prisca, they wandered above fifteen months<sup>64</sup> through the provinces, concealed in the disguise of plebeian habits. They were at length discovered at Thessalonica; and as the sentence of their death was already pronounced, they were immediately beheaded, and their bodies thrown into the sea. The people gazed on the melancholy spectacle; but their grief and indignation were suppressed by the terrors of a military guard. Such was the unworthy fate of the wife and daughter of Diocletian. We lament their misfortunes, we cannot discover their crimes; and whatever idea we may justly entertain of the cruelty of Licinius, it remains a matter of surprise that he was not contented with some more secret and decent method of revenge.<sup>65</sup>

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<sup>64</sup> Valeria quoque per varias provincias quindecim mensibus plebeio cultu pervagata.—Lactantius de M. P. c. 51. There is some doubt whether we should compute the fifteen months from the moment of her exile or from that of her escape. The expression of *pervagata* seems to denote the latter; but in that case we must suppose that the treatise of Lactantius was written after the first civil war between Licinius and Constantine. See Cuper, p. 254.

<sup>65</sup> Ita illis pudicitia et conditio exitio fuit.—Lactantius de M. P. c. 51. He relates the misfortunes of the innocent wife and daughter of Diocletian with a very natural mixture of pity and exultation.

The Roman world was now divided between Constantine and Licinius, the former of whom was master of the West, and the latter of the East. It might perhaps have been expected that the conquerors, fatigued with civil war, and connected by a private as well as public alliance, would have renounced, or at least would have suspended, any further designs of ambition. And yet a year had scarcely elapsed after the death of Maximin, before the victorious emperors turned their arms against each other. The genius, the success, and the aspiring temper of Constantine may seem to mark him out as the aggressor; but the perfidious character of Licinius justifies the most unfavorable suspicions, and by the faint light which history reflects on this transaction<sup>86</sup> we may discover a conspiracy fomented by his arts against the authority of his colleague. Constantine had lately given his sister Anastasia in marriage to Bassianus, a man of a considerable family and fortune, and had elevated his new kinsman to the rank of Cæsar. According to the system of government instituted by Diocletian, Italy, and perhaps Africa, were designed for his department in the empire. But the performance of the promised favor was either attended with so much delay, or accompanied with so many unequal conditions, that the fidelity of Bassianus was alienated rather than secured by the honorable distinction which he had obtained. His nomination had been ratified by the consent of Licinius; and that artful prince, by the means of his emissaries, soon contrived to enter into a secret and dangerous correspondence with the new Cæsar, to irritate his discontents, and to urge him to the rash enterprise of extorting by violence what he might in vain solicit from the justice of Constantine. But the vigilant emperor discovered the conspiracy before it was ripe for execution; and, after solemnly renouncing the alliance of Bassianus, despoiled him of the purple, and inflicted the deserved punishment on his treason and ingrati-

Quarrel between Constantine and Licinius.  
A. D. 314.

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<sup>86</sup> The curious reader who consults the Valesian fragment, p. 713, will probably accuse me of giving a bold and licentious paraphrase; but if he considers it with attention, he will acknowledge that my interpretation is probable and consistent.



tude. The haughty refusal of Licinius, when he was required to deliver up the criminals who had taken refuge in his dominions, confirmed the suspicions already entertained of his perfidy; and the indignities offered at *Æmona*, on the frontiers of Italy, to the statues of Constantine became the signal of discord between the two princes.<sup>87</sup>

The first battle was fought near *Cibalis*, a city of Pannonia, situated on the river *Save*, about fifty miles above *Sirmium*.<sup>88</sup>

First civil  
war between  
them. Battle  
of *Cibalis*,  
A.D. 315.<sup>a</sup>  
October 8.

From the inconsiderable forces which in this important contest two such powerful monarchs brought into the field, it may be inferred that the one was suddenly provoked, and that the other was unexpectedly surprised. The Emperor of the West had only twenty thousand, and the sovereign of the East no more than five-and-thirty thousand, men. The inferiority of number was, however, compensated by the advantage of the ground. Constantine had taken post in a defile about half a mile in breadth, between a steep hill and a deep morass, and in that situation he steadily expected and repulsed the first attack of the enemy. He pursued his success, and advanced into the plain. But the veteran legions of Illyricum rallied under the standard of a leader who had been trained to arms in the school of Probus and Diocletian. The missile weapons on both sides were soon exhausted; the two armies, with equal valor, rushed to a closer engagement of swords and spears, and the doubtful contest had already lasted from the dawn of the day to a late hour of the evening, when the right wing, which Constantine led in person, made a vigorous and decisive charge. The ju-

<sup>87</sup> The situation of *Æmona*, or, as it is now called, *Laybach*, in *Carniola* (*D'Anville*, *Géographie Ancienne*, tom. i. p. 187), may suggest a conjecture. As it lay to the northeast of the Julian Alps, that important territory became a natural object of dispute between the sovereigns of Italy and of Illyricum.

<sup>88</sup> *Cibalis* or *Cibalæ* (whose name is still preserved in the obscure ruins of *Swilei*) was situated about fifty miles from *Sirmium*, the capital of Illyricum, and about one hundred from *Taurunum*, or *Belgrade*, and the conflux of the *Danube* and the *Save*. The Roman garrisons and cities on those rivers are finely illustrated by *M. d'Anville*, in a memoir inserted in *L'Académie des Inscriptions*, tom. xxviii.

<sup>a</sup> Rather A.D. 314. See *Clinton*, *Fasti Rom.* vol. i. p. 367.—S.

ditional retreat of Licinius saved the remainder of his troops from a total defeat; but when he computed his loss, which amounted to more than twenty thousand men, he thought it unsafe to pass the night in the presence of an active and victorious enemy. Abandoning his camp and magazines, he marched away with secrecy and diligence at the head of the greatest part of his cavalry, and was soon removed beyond the danger of a pursuit. His diligence preserved his wife, his son, and his treasures, which he had deposited at Sirmium. Licinius passed through that city, and, breaking down the bridge on the Save, hastened to collect a new army in Dacia and Thrace. In his flight he bestowed the precarious title of Cæsar on Valens, his general of the Illyrian frontier.<sup>89</sup>

The plain of Mardia in Thrace was the theatre of a second battle no less obstinate and bloody than the former. The troops on both sides displayed the same valor and discipline; and the victory was once more decided by the superior abilities of Constantine, who directed a body of five thousand men to gain an advantageous height, from whence, during the heat of the action, they attacked the rear of the enemy, and made a very considerable slaughter. The troops of Licinius, however, presenting a double front, still maintained their ground till the approach of night put an end to the combat, and secured their retreat towards the mountains of Macedonia.<sup>90</sup> The loss of two battles, and of his bravest veterans, reduced the fierce spirit of Licinius to sue for peace. His ambassador, Mistrianus, was admitted to the audience of Constantine; he expatiated on the common topics of moderation and humanity, which are so familiar to the eloquence of the vanquished; represented in the most insinuating language that the event of the war was still doubtful, whilst its inevitable calamities were alike pernicious to both the contending parties; and declared that he was authorized to

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<sup>89</sup> Zosimus (l. ii. [c. 18] p. 90, 91) gives a very particular account of this battle; but the descriptions of Zosimus are rhetorical rather than military.

<sup>90</sup> Zosimus, l. ii. [c. 19] p. 92, 93. Anonym. Valesian. p. 713. The *Epitomes* furnish some circumstances; but they frequently confound the two wars between Licinius and Constantine.

propose a lasting and honorable peace in the name of the *two* emperors his masters. Constantine received the mention of Valens with indignation and contempt. "It was not for such a purpose," he sternly replied, "that we have advanced from the shores of the western ocean in an uninterrupted course of combats and victories, that, after rejecting an ungrateful kinsman, we should accept for our colleague a contemptible slave. The abdication of Valens is the first article of the treaty."<sup>1</sup> It was necessary to accept this humiliating condition; and the unhappy Valens, after a reign of a few days, was deprived of the purple and of his life. As soon as this obstacle was removed, the tranquillity of the Roman world was easily restored. The successive defeats of Licinius had ruined his forces, but they had displayed his courage and abilities. His situation was almost desperate, but the efforts of despair are sometimes formidable, and the good sense of Constantine preferred a great and certain advantage to a third trial of the chance of arms. He consented to leave his rival, or, as he again styled

Licinius, his friend and brother, in the possession of Thrace, Asia Minor, Syria, and Egypt; but the provinces of Pannonia, Dalmatia, Dacia, Macedonia, and Greece were yielded to the Western empire, and the dominions of Constantine now extended from the confines of Caledonia to the extremity of Peloponnesus. It was stipulated by the same treaty that three royal youths, the sons of the emperors, should be called to the hopes of the succession. Crispus and the young Constantine were soon afterwards declared Cæsars in the West, while the younger Licinius was invested with the same dignity in the East. In this double proportion of honors, the conqueror asserted the superiority of his arms and power.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Petrus Patricius in Excerpt. Legat. p. 27 [ed. Paris; p. 19, ed. Ven.; p. 129, ed. Bonn]. If it should be thought that γάμβρος signifies more properly a son-in-law, we might conjecture that Constantine, assuming the name as well as the duties of a father, had adopted his younger brothers and sisters, the children of Theodora. But in the best authors γάμβρος sometimes signifies a husband, sometimes a father-in-law, and sometimes a kinsman in general. See Spanheim, Observat. ad Julian. Orat. i. p. 72.

<sup>2</sup> Zosimus, l. ii. [c. 20] p. 93. Anonym. Valesian. p. 713. Eutropius, x. 4.

The reconciliation of Constantine and Licinius, though it was embittered by resentment and jealousy, by the remembrance of recent injuries, and by the apprehension of future dangers, maintained, however, above eight years, the tranquillity of the Roman world. As a very regular series of the imperial laws commences about this period, it would not be difficult to transcribe the civil regulations which employed the leisure of Constantine. But the most important of his institutions are intimately connected with the new system of policy and religion, which was not perfectly established till the last and peaceful years of his reign. There are many of his laws which, as far as they concern the rights and property of individuals and the practice of the bar, are more properly referred to the private than to the public jurisprudence of the empire; and he published many edicts of so local and temporary a nature that they would ill deserve the notice of a general history. Two laws, however, may be selected from the crowd; the one for its importance, the other for its singularity; the former for its remarkable benevolence, the latter for its excessive severity. 1. The horrid practice, so familiar to the ancients, of exposing or murdering their new-born infants, was become every day more frequent in the provinces, and especially in Italy. It was the effect of distress; and the distress was principally occasioned by the intolerable burden of taxes, and by the vexatious as well as cruel prosecutions of the officers of the revenue against their insolvent debtors. The less opulent or less industrious part of mankind, instead of rejoicing in an increase of family, deemed it an act of paternal tenderness to release their children from the impending miseries of a life which they themselves were unable to support. The humanity of

General  
peace, and  
laws of Con-  
stantine.  
A.D. 315-323.

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Aurelius Victor Euseb. in Chron. [An. CCCXVIII.]. Sozomen, l. i. c. 2. Four of these writers affirm that the promotion of the Cæsars was an article of the treaty. It is, however, certain that the younger Constantine and Licinius were not yet born; and it is highly probable that the promotion was made the 1st of March, A.D. 317. The treaty had probably stipulated that the two Cæsars might be created by the Western and one only by the Eastern emperor; but each of them reserved to himself the choice of the persons.



Constantine, moved, perhaps, by some recent and extraordinary instances of despair, engaged him to address an edict to all the cities of Italy, and afterwards of Africa, directing immediate and sufficient relief to be given to those parents who should produce before the magistrates the children whom their own poverty would not allow them to educate. But the promise was too liberal, and the provision too vague, to effect any general or permanent benefit.<sup>93</sup> The law, though it may merit some praise, served rather to display than to alleviate the public distress. It still remains an authentic monument to contradict and confound those venal orators who were too well satisfied with their own situation to discover either vice or misery under the government of a generous sovereign.<sup>94</sup> 2. The laws of Constantine against rapes were dictated with very little indulgence for the most amiable weaknesses of human nature; since the description of that crime was applied not only to the brutal violence which compelled, but even to the gentle seduction which might persuade, an unmarried woman under the age of twenty-five to leave the house of her parents. "The successful ravisher was punished with death; and as if simple death was inadequate to the enormity of his guilt, he was either burned alive, or torn in pieces by wild beasts in the amphitheatre. The virgin's declaration that she had been carried away with her own consent, instead of saving her lover, exposed her to share his fate. The duty of a public prosecution was intrusted to the parents of the guilty or unfortunate maid; and if the sentiments of nature prevailed on them to dissemble the injury, and to repair by a subsequent marriage the honor of their family, they were themselves punished by exile and confiscation. The slaves, whether male or female, who were convicted of having been accessory to the rape or seduction were burned alive, or put to death by the ingenious torture of pouring down their throats a quantity of melted

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<sup>93</sup> Codex Theodosian. l. xi. tit. 27, tom. iv. p. 188, with Godefroy's observations. See likewise l. v. tit. 7, 8.

<sup>94</sup> *Omnia foris placida, domi prospera, annonæ ubertate, fructuum copiâ, etc.*—Panegy. Vet. x. 38. This oration of Nazarius was pronounced on the day of the Quinquennialia of the Cæsars, the 1st of March, A.D. 321.

lead. As the crime was of a public kind, the accusation was permitted even to strangers. The commencement of the action was not limited to any term of years, and the consequences of the sentence were extended to the innocent offspring of such an irregular union."<sup>95</sup> But whenever the offence inspires less horror than the punishment, the rigor of penal law is obliged to give way to the common feelings of mankind. The most odious parts of this edict were softened or repealed in the subsequent reigns;<sup>96</sup> and even Constantine himself very frequently alleviated, by partial acts of mercy, the stern temper of his general institutions. Such, indeed, was the singular humor of that emperor, who showed himself as indulgent, and even remiss, in the execution of his laws as he was severe, and even cruel, in the enacting of them. It is scarcely possible to observe a more decisive symptom of weakness either in the character of the prince or in the constitution of the government.<sup>97</sup>

The civil administration was sometimes interrupted by the military defence of the empire. Crispus, a youth of the most amiable character, who had received with the title of Cæsar the command of the Rhine, distinguished his conduct as well as valor in several victories over the Franks and Alemanni, and taught the barbarians of that frontier to dread the eldest son of Constantine and the grandson of Constantius.<sup>98</sup> The emperor himself had assumed the

The Gothic  
war.  
A.D. 322.

<sup>95</sup> See the edict of Constantine, addressed to the Roman people, in the Theodosian Code, l. ix. tit. 24, tom. iii. p. 189.

<sup>96</sup> His son very fairly assigns the true reason of the repeal: "Ne sub specie atrocioris judicii aliqua in ulciscendo crimine dilatio nasceretur."—Cod. Theod. tom. iii. p. 193.

<sup>97</sup> Eusebius (in *Vitâ Constant.* l. iii. c. 1) chooses to affirm that in the reign of this hero the sword of justice hung idle in the hands of the magistrates. Eusebius himself (l. iv. c. 29, 54) and the Theodosian Code will inform us that this excessive lenity was not owing to the want either of atrocious criminals or of penal laws.

<sup>98</sup> Nazarius in Panegyry. Vet. x. [36]. The victory of Crispus over the Alemanni is expressed on some medals.<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Other medals are extant the legends of which commemorate the success of Constantine over the Sarmatians and other barbarous nations. SARMATIA DEVICTA. VICTORIA GOTHICA. DEBELLATORI GENTIUM BARBARORUM. EXUPRATOR OMNIUM GENTIUM. St. Martin, note on Le Beau, i. 188.—M.

more difficult and important province of the Danube. The Goths, who in the time of Claudius and Aurelian had felt the weight of the Roman arms, respected the power of the empire, even in the midst of its intestine divisions. But the strength of that warlike nation was now restored by a peace of near fifty years. A new generation had arisen, who no longer remembered the misfortunes of ancient days: the Sarmatians of the lake Mæotis followed the Gothic standard either as subjects or as allies, and their united force was poured upon the countries of Illyricum. Campona, Margus, and Bononia appear to have been the scenes of several memorable sieges and battles;<sup>99</sup> and though Constantine encountered a very obstinate resistance, he prevailed at length in the contest, and the Goths were compelled to purchase an ignominious retreat by restoring the booty and prisoners which they had taken. Nor was this advantage sufficient to satisfy the indignation of the emperor. He resolved to chastise as well as to repulse the insolent barbarians who had dared to invade the territories of Rome. At the head of his legions he passed the Danube, after repairing the bridge which had been constructed by Trajan, penetrated into the strongest recesses of Dacia,<sup>100</sup> and, when he had inflicted a severe revenge, condescended to give peace to the suppliant Goths, on condition that, as often as they were required, they should supply his armies with a body of forty thousand soldiers.<sup>101</sup> Exploits like these were no doubt hon-

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<sup>99</sup> See Zosimus, l. ii. [c. 21] p. 93, 94; though the narrative of that historian is neither clear nor consistent. The Panegyric of Optatianus (c. 23) mentions the alliance of the Sarmatians with the Carpi and Getæ, and points out the several fields of battle. It is supposed that the Sarmatian games, celebrated in the month of November, derived their origin from the success of this war.

<sup>100</sup> In the *Cæsars* of Julian (p. 329; *Commentaire* de Spanheim, p. 252). Constantine boasts that he had recovered the province (Dacia) which Trajan had subdued. But it is insinuated by Silenus that the conquests of Constantine were like the gardens of Adonis, which fade and wither almost the moment they appear.

<sup>101</sup> Jornandes de Rebus Geticis, c. 21. I know not whether we may entirely depend on his authority. Such an alliance has a very recent air, and scarcely is suited to the maxims of the beginning of the fourth century.<sup>a</sup>

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<sup>a</sup> The statement is rejected by Aschbach, *Geschichte der Westgothen*, p. 27.—S. II.—5

orable to Constantine and beneficial to the State ; but it may surely be questioned whether they can justify the exaggerated assertion of Eusebius that ALL SCYTHIA, as far as the extremity of the North, divided as it was into so many names and nations of the most various and savage manners, had been added by his victorious arms to the Roman empire.<sup>102</sup>

In this exalted state of glory it was impossible that Constantine should any longer endure a partner in the empire.

Confiding in the superiority of his genius and military power, he determined, without any previous injury, to exert them for the destruction of Licinius, whose advanced age and unpopular vices seemed to offer a very easy conquest.<sup>103</sup> But the old emperor, awakened by the approaching danger, deceived the expectations of his friends as well as of his enemies. Calling forth that spirit and those abilities by which he had deserved the friendship of Galerius and the imperial purple, he prepared himself for the contest, collected the forces of the East, and soon filled the plains of Hadrianople with his troops, and the straits of the Hellespont with his fleet. The army consisted of one hundred and fifty thousand foot and fifteen thousand horse ; and as the cavalry was drawn, for the most part, from Phrygia and Cappadocia, we may conceive a more favorable opinion of the beauty of the horses than of the courage and dexterity of their riders. The fleet was composed of three hundred and fifty galleys of three ranks of oars. A hundred and thirty of these were furnished by Egypt and the adjacent coast of Africa. A hundred and ten sailed from the ports of Phœnicia and the isle of Cyprus ; and the maritime countries of Bithynia, Ionia, and Caria were likewise obliged to provide a hundred and ten galleys. The troops of Constantine were ordered

Second civil  
war between  
Constantine  
and Licinius.  
A.D. 323.

<sup>102</sup> Eusebius in *Vita Constantin.* l. i. c. 8. This passage, however, is taken from a general declamation on the greatness of Constantine, and not from any particular account of the Gothic war.

<sup>103</sup> *Constantinus tamen, vir ingens, et omnia efficere nitens quæ animo præparasset, simul principatum totius orbis affectans, Licinio bellum intulit.*—*Entropius*, x. 5 [4]. *Zosimus*, l. ii. [c. 18] p. 89. The reasons which they have assigned for the first civil war may, with more propriety, be applied to the second.



to rendezvous at Thessalonica; they amounted to above a hundred and twenty thousand horse and foot.<sup>104</sup> Their emperor was satisfied with their martial appearance, and his army contained more soldiers, though fewer men, than that of his Eastern competitor. The legions of Constantine were levied in the warlike provinces of Europe; action had confirmed their discipline, victory had elevated their hopes, and there were among them a great number of veterans, who, after seventeen glorious campaigns under the same leader, prepared themselves to deserve an honorable dismissal by a last effort of their valor.<sup>105</sup> But the naval preparations of Constantine were in every respect much inferior to those of Licinius. The maritime cities of Greece sent their respective quotas of men and ships to the celebrated harbor of Piræus, and their united forces consisted of no more than two hundred small vessels: a very feeble armament if it is compared with those formidable fleets which were equipped and maintained by the republic of Athens during the Peloponnesian war.<sup>106</sup> Since Italy was no longer the seat of government, the naval establishments of Misenum and Ravenna had been gradually neglected; and as the shipping and mariners of the empire were supported by commerce rather than by war, it was natural that they should the most abound in the industrious provinces of Egypt and Asia. It is only surprising that the Eastern emperor, who possessed so great a superiority at sea, should have neglected the opportunity of carrying an offensive war into the centre of his rival's dominions.

Instead of embracing such an active resolution, which might have changed the whole face of the war, the prudent Licinius

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<sup>104</sup> Zosimus, l. ii. [c. 22] p. 94, 95.

<sup>105</sup> Constantine was very attentive to the privileges and comforts of his fellow-veterans (*conveterani*), as he now began to style them. See the Theodosian Code, l. vii. tit. 10, tom. ii. p. 419, 429.

<sup>106</sup> Whilst the Athenians maintained the empire of the sea, their fleet consisted of three, and afterwards of four, hundred galleys of three ranks of oars, all completely equipped and ready for immediate service. The arsenal in the port of Piræus had cost the republic a thousand talents (about two hundred and sixteen thousand pounds). See Thucydides de Bel. Pelopon. l. ii. c. 13; and Meursius de Fortuna Attica, c. 19.

expected the approach of his rival in a camp near Hadrianople, which he had fortified with an anxious care that betrayed his apprehension of the event. Constantine directed his march from Thessalonica towards that part of Thrace, till he found himself stopped by the broad and rapid stream of the Hebrus, and discovered the numerous army of Licinius, which filled the steep ascent of the hill, from the river to the city of Hadrianople. Many days were spent in doubtful and distant skirmishes; but at length the obstacles of the passage and of the attack were removed by the intrepid conduct of Constantine. In this place we might relate a wonderful exploit of Constantine, which, though it can scarcely be paralleled either in poetry or romance, is celebrated, not by a venal orator devoted to his fortune, but by an historian the partial enemy of his fame. ¶ We are assured that the valiant emperor threw himself into the river Hebrus accompanied only by *twelve* horsemen, and that, by the effort or terror of his invincible arm, he broke, slaughtered, and put to flight a host of a hundred and fifty thousand men. The credulity of Zosimus prevailed so strongly over his passion that, among the events of the memorable battle of Hadrianople, he seems to have selected and embellished, not the most important, but the most marvellous. The valor and danger of Constantine are attested by a slight wound which he received in the thigh; but it may be discovered, even from an imperfect narration, and perhaps a corrupted text, that the victory was obtained no less by the conduct of the general than by the courage of the hero; that a body of five thousand archers marched round to occupy a thick wood in the rear of the enemy, whose attention was diverted by the construction of a bridge; and that Licinius, perplexed by so many artful evolutions, was reluctantly drawn from his advantageous post to combat on equal ground in the plain. The contest was no longer equal. His confused multitude of new levies was easily vanquished by the experienced veterans of the West. Thirty-four thousand men are reported to have been slain. The fortified camp of Licinius was taken by assault the evening of the battle; the greater part of the fugitives, who had retired to the mountains,

Battle of  
Hadrianople.  
A.D. 323.  
July 3.

surrendered themselves the next day to the discretion of the conqueror; and his rival, who could no longer keep the field, confined himself within the walls of Byzantium.<sup>107</sup>

The siege of Byzantium, which was immediately undertaken by Constantine, was attended with great labor and uncertainty.

Siege of  
Byzantium,  
and naval  
victory of  
Crispus.

In the late civil wars, the fortifications of that place, so justly considered as the key of Europe and Asia, had been repaired and strengthened; and as long as Licinius remained master of the sea, the garrison was much less exposed to the danger of famine than the army of the besiegers. The naval commanders of Constantine were summoned to his camp, and received his positive orders to force the passage of the Hellespont, as the fleet of Licinius, instead of seeking and destroying their feeble enemy, continued inactive in those narrow straits, where its superiority of numbers was of little use or advantage. Crispus, the emperor's eldest son, was intrusted with the execution of this daring enterprise, which he performed with so much courage and success that he deserved the esteem, and most probably excited the jealousy, of his father. The engagement lasted two days; and in the evening of the first, the contending fleets, after a considerable and mutual loss, retired into their respective harbors of Europe and Asia. The second day, about noon, a strong south wind<sup>108</sup> sprang up, which carried the vessels of Crispus against the enemy; and as the casual advantage was improved by his skilful intrepidity, he soon obtained a complete victory. A hundred and thirty vessels were destroyed, five thousand men were slain, and Amandus, the ad-

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<sup>107</sup> Zosimus, l. ii. [c. 22] p. 95, 96. This great battle is described in the *Valesian* fragment (p. 714) [ad fin. *Amm. Marcell.* vol. ii. p. 300, ed. Bip.] in a clear though concise manner: "Licinius vero circum Hadrianopolin maximo exercitu latera ardui montis impleverat; illuc toto agmine Constantinus inflexit. Cum bellum terrâ marique traheretur, quamvis per arduum suis nitentibus, attamen disciplinâ militari et felicitate, Constantinus Licinii confusum et sine ordine agentem vicit exercitum; leviter femore sauciatus."

<sup>108</sup> Zosimus, l. ii. [c. 24] p. 97, 98. The current always sets out of the Hellespont; and when it is assisted by a north wind, no vessel can attempt the passage. A south wind renders the force of the current almost imperceptible. See *Tournefort's Voyage au Levant, Let. xi.*

miral of the Asiatic fleet, escaped with the utmost difficulty to the shores of Chalcedon. As soon as the Hellespont was open, a plentiful convoy of provisions flowed into the camp of Constantine, who had already advanced the operations of the siege. He constructed artificial mounds of earth of an equal height with the ramparts of Byzantium. The lofty towers which were erected on that foundation galled the besieged with large stones and darts from the military engines, and the battering-rams had shaken the walls in several places. If Licinius persisted much longer in the defence, he exposed himself to be involved in the ruin of the place. Before he was surrounded, he prudently removed his person and treasures to Chalcedon, in Asia; and as he was always desirous of associating companions to the hopes and dangers of his fortune, he now bestowed the title of Cæsar on Martinianus, who exercised one of the most important offices of the empire.<sup>109</sup>

Such were still the resources and such the abilities of Licinius that, after so many successive defeats, he collected in Bithynia a new army of fifty or sixty thousand men while the activity of Constantine was employed in the siege of Byzantium. The vigilant emperor did not, however, neglect the last struggles of his antagonist. A considerable part of his victorious army was transported over the Bosphorus in small vessels, and the decisive engagement was fought soon after their landing on the heights of Chrysopolis, or, as it is now called, of Scutari. The troops of Licinius, though they were lately raised, ill armed, and worse disciplined, made head against their conquerors with fruitless but desperate valor, till a total defeat and the slaughter of five-and-twenty thousand men irretrievably determined the fate of their leader.<sup>110</sup> He retired to Nicomedia, rather with

<sup>109</sup> Aurelius Victor [de Cæsar. c. 41]. Zosimus, l. ii. [c. 25] p. 93. According to the latter, Martinianus was Magister Officiorum (he uses the Latin appellation in Greek). Some medals seem to intimate that during his short reign he received the title of Augustus.

<sup>110</sup> Eusebius (in Vita Constantini. l. ii. c. 16, 17) ascribes this decisive victory to the pious prayers of the emperor. The Valesian fragment (p. 714) [Amm. Marcell. vol. ii. p. 301, ed. Bip.] mentions a body of Gothic auxiliaries, under their chief Aliquaca, who adhered to the party of Licinius.



the view of gaining some time for negotiation than with the hope of any effectual defence. Constantia, his wife, and the sister of Constantine, interceded with her brother in favor of her husband, and obtained from his policy, rather than from his compassion, a solemn promise, confirmed by an oath, that after the sacrifice of Martinianus and the resignation of the purple, Licinius himself should be permitted to pass the remainder of his life in peace and affluence. The behavior of Constantia, and her relation to the contending parties, naturally recall the remembrance of that virtuous matron who was the sister of Augustus and the wife of Antony. But the temper of mankind was altered, and it was no longer esteemed infamous for a Roman to survive his honor and independence. Licinius solicited and accepted the pardon of his offences, laid himself and his purple at the feet of his *lord* and *master*, was raised from the ground with insulting pity, was admitted the same day to the imperial banquet, and soon afterwards was sent away to Thessalonica, which had been chosen for the place of his confinement.<sup>111</sup> His confinement was soon terminated by death, and it is doubtful whether a tumult of the soldiers or a decree of the senate was suggested as the motive for his execution. According to the rules of tyranny, he was accused of forming a conspiracy, and of holding a treasonable correspondence with the barbarians; but as he was never convicted, either by his own conduct or by any legal evidence, we may perhaps be allowed, from his weakness, to presume his innocence.<sup>112</sup> The memory of Licinius was branded with infamy, his statues were thrown down, and by a hasty edict of such mischievous tendency that it was almost immediately corrected, all his laws and all the

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<sup>111</sup> Zosimus, l. ii. [c. 28] p. 102. Victor Junior in Epitome [c. 41]. Anonym. Valesian. p. 714.

<sup>112</sup> Contra religionem sacramenti Thessaloniciæ privatus occisus est.—Eutropius, x. 6 [4]. And his evidence is confirmed by Jerome (in Chronic.), as well as by Zosimus, l. ii. [c. 28] p. 102. The Valesian writer is the only one who mentions the soldiers, and it is Zonaras alone who calls in the assistance of the senate. Eusebius prudently slides over this delicate transaction. But Sozomen, a century afterwards, ventures to assert the treasonable practices of Licinius.

judicial proceedings of his reign were at once abolished.<sup>113</sup> By this victory of Constantine the Roman world was again united under the authority of one emperor, thirty-seven years after Diocletian had divided his power and provinces with his associate Maximian.

Reunion of  
the empire.  
A.D. 324.

The successive steps of the elevation of Constantine, from his first assuming the purple at York to the resignation of Licinius at Nicomedia, have been related with some minuteness and precision, not only as the events are in themselves both interesting and important, but still more as they contributed to the decline of the empire by the expense of blood and treasure, and by the perpetual increase, as well of the taxes as of the military establishment. The foundation of Constantinople and the establishment of the Christian religion were the immediate and memorable consequences of this revolution.

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<sup>113</sup> See the Theodosian Code, l. xv. tit. 15, tom. v. p. 404, 405. These edicts of Constantine betray a degree of passion and precipitancy very unbecoming the character of a lawgiver.

## CHAPTER XV.

**The Progress of the Christian Religion, and the Sentiments, Manners, Numbers, and Condition of the Primitive Christians.<sup>a</sup>**

A CANDID but rational inquiry into the progress and establishment of Christianity may be considered as a very essential part of the history of the Roman empire. While that great body was invaded by open violence, or undermined by slow decay, a pure and humble religion gently insinuated itself into the minds of men, grew up in silence and obscurity, derived new vigor from opposition, and finally erected the triumphant banner of the Cross on the ruins of the Capitol. Nor was the influence of Christianity confined to the period or to the limits of the Roman empire. After a revolution of thirteen or fourteen centuries, that religion is still professed by the nations of Europe, the most distinguished portion of human kind in arts and learning as well as in arms. By the industry and zeal of the Europeans it has been widely diffused to the most distant shores of Asia and Africa; and by the means of their colonies has been firmly established from Canada to Chili, in a world unknown to the ancients.

But this inquiry, however useful or entertaining, is attended with two peculiar difficulties. The scanty and suspicious materials of ecclesiastical history seldom enable us to dispel the dark cloud that hangs over the first age of the Church. The great law of impartiality too often obliges us to reveal the imperfections of the uninspired teachers and

Its difficulties.

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<sup>a</sup> In spite of my resolution, Lardner led me to look through the famous fifteenth and sixteenth chapters of Gibbon. I could not lay them down without finishing them. The causes assigned, in the fifteenth chapter, for the diffusion of Christianity must, no doubt, have contributed to it materially; but I doubt whether he saw them all. Perhaps those which he enumerates are among the most obvious. They might all be safely adopted by a Christian writer, with some change in the language and manner.—Mackintosh (see *Life*, i. p. 244).—M.

believers of the Gospel; and, to a careless observer, *their* faults may seem to cast a shade on the faith which they professed. But the scandal of the pious Christian and the fallacious triumph of the Infidel should cease as soon as they recollect not only *by whom*, but likewise *to whom*, the Divine Revelation was given. The theologian may indulge the pleasing task of describing Religion as she descended from heaven arrayed in her native purity. A more melancholy duty is imposed on the historian. He must discover the inevitable mixture of error and corruption which she contracted in a long residence upon earth, among a weak and degenerate race of beings.<sup>a</sup>

Our curiosity is naturally prompted to inquire by what means the Christian faith obtained so remarkable a victory

Five causes of  
the growth of  
Christianity.

over the established religions of the earth. To this inquiry an obvious but satisfactory answer may be returned—that it was owing to the convincing evidence of the doctrine itself and to the ruling providence of its great Author. But as truth and reason seldom find so favorable a reception in the world, and as the wisdom of Providence frequently condescends to use the passions of the human heart and the general circumstances of mankind as instruments to execute its purpose, we may still be permitted, though with becoming submission, to ask, not indeed what were the first, but what were the secondary causes of the rapid growth of the Christian Church. It will perhaps appear that it was most effectually favored and assisted by the five following causes: I. The inflexible (and, if we may use the expression, the intolerant) zeal of the Christians, derived, it is true, from the Jewish religion, but purified from the narrow and unsocial spirit which, instead of inviting, had deterred the Gentiles from em-

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<sup>a</sup> The art of Gibbon, or at least the unfair impression produced by these two memorable chapters, consists in confounding together, in one undistinguishable mass, the *origin* and *apostolic* propagation of the Christian religion with its later progress. The main question—the divine origin of the religion—is dexterously eluded or speciously conceded. His plan enables him to commence his account, in most parts, *below the apostolic times*; and it is only by the strength of the dark coloring with which he has brought out the failings and the follies of succeeding ages that a shadow of doubt and suspicion is thrown back on the primitive period of Christianity. Divest this whole passage of the latent sarcasm betrayed by the subsequent tone of the whole disquisition, and it might commence a Christian history written in the most Christian spirit of candor.—M.



bracing the law of Moses.<sup>a</sup> II. The doctrine of a future life, improved by every additional circumstance which could give weight and efficacy to that important truth. III. The miraculous powers ascribed to the primitive Church. IV. The pure and austere morals of the Christians. V. The union and discipline of the Christian republic, which gradually formed an independent and increasing state in the heart of the Roman empire.

I. We have already described the religious harmony of the ancient world, and the facility with which the most different and even hostile nations embraced, or at least respected, each other's superstitions. A single people refused to join in the common intercourse of mankind. The Jews, who, under the Assyrian and Persian monarchies, had languished for many ages the most despised portion of their slaves,<sup>1</sup> emerged from obscurity under the successors of Alexander; and as they multiplied to a surprising degree in the East, and afterwards in the West, they soon excited the curiosity and wonder of other nations.<sup>2</sup> The sullen obstinacy with which they maintained their peculiar rites and unsocial manners seemed to mark them out a distinct species of men, who boldly professed, or who faintly disguised, their implacable hatred to the rest of humankind.<sup>3</sup> Neither the vio-

THE FIRST  
CAUSE.  
Zeal of the  
Jews.

<sup>1</sup> Dum Assyrios penes, Medosque, et Persas Oriens fuit, despectissima pars servientium.—Tacit. Hist. v. 8. Herodotus, who visited Asia whilst it obeyed the last of those empires, slightly mentions the Syrians of Palestine, who, according to their own confession, had received from Egypt the rite of circumcision. See l. ii. c. 104.

<sup>2</sup> Diodorus Siculus, l. xl. [Eclog. 1, vol. ii. p. 542, ed. Wesseling]. Dion Cassius, l. xxxvii. [c. 16] p. 121. Tacit. Hist. v. 1–9. Justin, xxxvi. 2, 3.

<sup>3</sup> Tradidit arcano quæcunque volumine Moses:

Non monstrare vias eadem nisi sacra colenti.

Quæsitum ad fontem solos deducere verpos.—[Juvenal, Sat. xiv. 102.]

The letter of this law is not to be found in the present volume of Moses. But the wise, the humane Maimonides openly teaches that if an idolater fall into the water, a Jew ought not to save him from instant death. See Basnage, Hist. des Juifs, l. vi. ch. 28 [l. v. ch. 24].<sup>b</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Though we are thus far agreed with respect to the inflexibility and intolerance of Christian zeal, yet as to the principle from which it was derived, we are, *toto cælo*, divided in opinion. You deduce it from the Jewish religion; I would refer it to a more adequate and a more obvious source—a full persuasion of the truth of Christianity.—Watson (Letters to Gibbon, i. 9).—M.

<sup>b</sup> It is diametrically opposed to its spirit and to its letter; see, among other pas-

lence of Antiochus nor the arts of Herod nor the example of the circumjacent nations could ever persuade the Jews to associate with the institutions of Moses the elegant mythology of the Greeks.<sup>4</sup> According to the maxims of universal toleration, the Romans protected a superstition which they despised.<sup>5</sup> The polite Augustus condescended to give orders that sacrifices should be offered for his prosperity in the temple of Jerusalem,<sup>6</sup> while the meanest of the posterity of Abraham, who should have paid the same homage to the Jupiter of the Capitol would have been an object of abhorrence to himself and to his brethren. But the moderation of the conquerors was insufficient to appease the jealous prejudices of their subjects, who were alarmed and scandalized at the ensigns of paganism which necessarily introduced themselves into a Roman province.<sup>7</sup> The mad attempt of Caligula to place his own statue

<sup>4</sup> A Jewish sect which indulged themselves in a sort of occasional conformity, derived from Herod, by whose example and authority they had been seduced, the name of Herodians. But their numbers were so inconsiderable and their duration so short that Josephus has not thought them worthy of his notice. See Prieux's Connection, vol. ii. p. 285.<sup>a</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Cicero pro Flacco, c. 28.<sup>b</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Philo de Legatione. Augustus left a foundation for a perpetual sacrifice. Yet he approved of the neglect which his grandson Caius expressed towards the temple of Jerusalem. See Sueton. in August. c. 93, and Casaubon's notes on that passage.

<sup>7</sup> See in particular, Joseph. Antiquitat. xvii. 6, xviii. 3; and De Bell. Judaic. i. 33, and ii. 9, edit. Havercamp.<sup>c</sup>

sages, Deut. x. 18, 19: (God) "loveth the stranger, in giving him food and raiment. Love ye, therefore, the stranger; for ye were strangers in the land of Egypt." Juvenal is a satirist whose strong expressions can hardly be received as historic evidence; and he wrote after the horrible cruelties of the Romans, which, during and after the war, might give some cause for the complete isolation of the Jew from the rest of the world. The Jew was a bigot, but his religion was not the only source of his bigotry. After how many centuries of mutual wrong and hatred, which had still further estranged the Jew from mankind, did Maimonides write?—M.

<sup>a</sup> The Herodians were probably more of a political party than a religious sect, though Gibbon is most likely right as to their occasional conformity. See Hist. of the Jews, ii. 108.—M.

<sup>b</sup> The edicts of Julius Cæsar and of some of the cities in Asia Minor (Krebs. Decret. pro Judæis) in favor of the nation in general, or of the Asiatic Jews, speak a different language.—M.

<sup>c</sup> This was during the government of Pontius Pilate (Hist. of Jews, ii. 156). Probably, in part to avoid this collision, the Roman governor, in general, resided at Cæsarea.—M.

in the temple of Jerusalem was defeated by the unanimous resolution of a people who dreaded death much less than such an idolatrous profanation.\* Their attachment to the law of Moses was equal to their detestation of foreign religions. The current of zeal and devotion, as it was contracted into a narrow channel, ran with the strength, and sometimes with the fury, of a torrent.

This inflexible perseverance, which appeared so odious or so ridiculous to the ancient world, assumes a more awful character, since Providence has deigned to reveal to us the mysterious history of the chosen people. But the devout and even scrupulous attachment to the Mosaic religion, so conspicuous among the Jews who lived under the second temple, becomes still more surprising if it is compared with the stubborn incredulity of their forefathers. When the law was given in thunder from Mount Sinai; when the tides of the ocean and the course of the planets were suspended for the convenience of the Israelites; and when temporal rewards and punishments were the immediate consequences of their piety or disobedience, they perpetually relapsed into rebellion against the visible majesty of their Divine King, placed the idols of the nations in the sanctuary of Jehovah, and imitated every fantastic ceremony that was practised in the tents of the Arabs or in the cities of Phœnicia.<sup>9</sup> As the protection of Heaven was deservedly withdrawn from the ungrateful race, their faith acquired a proportionable degree of vigor and purity. The contemporaries of Moses and Joshua had beheld with careless indifference the most amazing miracles. Under the pressure of every calamity, the belief of those miracles has preserved the Jews of a later period from the universal contagion

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<sup>8</sup> *Jussi a Caio Cesare, effigiem ejus in templo locare, arma potius sumpsere.*—Tacit. Hist. v. 9. Philo and Josephus give a very circumstantial, but a very rhetorical, account of this transaction, which exceedingly perplexed the Governor of Syria. At the first mention of this idolatrous proposal, King Agrippa fainted away, and did not recover his senses until the third day.

<sup>9</sup> For the enumeration of the Syrian and Arabian deities, it may be observed that Milton has comprised in one hundred and thirty very beautiful lines the two large and learned syntagmas which Selden had composed on that abstruse subject.

of idolatry; and, in contradiction to every known principle of the human mind, that singular people seems to have yielded a stronger and more ready assent to the traditions of their remote ancestors than to the evidence of their own senses.<sup>10</sup>

The Jewish religion was admirably fitted for defence, but it was never designed for conquest; and it seems probable that the number of proselytes was never much superior to that of apostates. The divine promises were originally made, and the distinguishing rite of circumcision was enjoined, to a single family. When the posterity of Abraham had multiplied like the sands of the sea, the Deity, from whose mouth they received a system of laws and ceremonies, declared himself the proper, and, as it were, the national, God of Israel, and with the most jealous care separated his favorite people from the rest of mankind. The conquest of the land of Canaan was accompanied with so many wonderful and with so many bloody circumstances that the victorious Jews were left in a state of irreconcilable hostility with all their neighbors. They had been commanded to extirpate some of the most idolatrous tribes, and the execution of the divine will had seldom been retarded by the weakness of humanity. With the other nations they were forbidden to contract any marriages or alliances; and the prohibition of receiving them into the congregation, which in some cases was

The Jewish religion better suited to defence than to conquest.

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<sup>10</sup> How long will this people provoke me? and how long will it be ere they *be-leave* me, for all the *signs* which I have shown among them?—Numbers xiv. 11. It would be easy, but it would be unbecoming, to justify the complaint of the Deity from the whole tenor of the Mosaic history.<sup>a</sup>

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<sup>a</sup> Among a rude and barbarous people religious impressions are easily made, and are as soon effaced. The ignorance which multiplies imaginary wonders would weaken or destroy the effect of real miracle. At the period of the Jewish history referred to in the passage from Numbers, their fears predominated over their faith—the fears of an unwarlike people just rescued from debasing slavery, and commanded to attack a fierce, a well-armed, a gigantic, and a far more numerous race—the inhabitants of Canaan. As to the frequent apostasy of the Jews, their religion was beyond their state of civilization. Nor is it uncommon for a people to cling with passionate attachment to that of which, at first, they could not appreciate the value. Patriotism and national pride will contend, even to death, for political rights which have been forced upon a reluctant people. The Christian may at least retort, with justice, that the great sign of his religion—the resurrection of Jesus—was most ardently believed and most resolutely asserted by the eye-witnesses of the fact.—M.



perpetual, almost always extended to the third, to the seventh, or even to the tenth generation. The obligation of preaching to the Gentiles the faith of Moses had never been inculcated as a precept of the law, nor were the Jews inclined to impose it on themselves as a voluntary duty.

In the admission of new citizens, that unsocial people was actuated by the selfish vanity of the Greeks rather than by the generous policy of Rome. The descendants of Abraham were flattered by the opinion that they alone were the heirs of the covenant, and they were apprehensive of diminishing the value of their inheritance by sharing it too easily with the strangers of the earth. A larger acquaintance with mankind extended their knowledge without correcting their prejudices; and whenever the God of Israel acquired any new votaries, he was much more indebted to the inconstant humor of polytheism than to the active zeal of his own missionaries.<sup>11</sup> The religion of Moses seems to be instituted for a particular country as well as for a single nation; and if a strict obedience had been paid to the order that every male, three times in the year, should present himself before the Lord Jehovah, it would have been impossible that the Jews could ever have spread themselves beyond the narrow limits of the promised land.<sup>12</sup> That obstacle was indeed removed by the destruction of the temple of Jerusalem; but the most considerable part of the Jewish religion was involved in its destruction, and the pagans, who had long wondered at the strange report of an empty sanctuary,<sup>13</sup> were at a loss to discover what could be the object, or what could be the instruments, of a worship which was destitute of temples and of altars, of priests and of sacrifices. Yet, even in their fallen state, the Jews, still asserting their lofty

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<sup>11</sup> All that relates to the Jewish proselytes has been very ably treated by Bagnage, *Hist. des Juifs*, l. v. ch. 6, 7.

<sup>12</sup> See Exod. xxxiv. 23, Deut. xvi. 16, the commentators, and a very sensible note in the *Universal History*, vol. i. p. 603, edit. fol.

<sup>13</sup> When Pompey, using or abusing the right of conquest, entered into the Holy of Holies, it was observed with amazement, "*Nullâ intus Deûm effigie, vacuum sedem et inania arcana*" (*Tacit. Hist. v. 9*). It was a popular saying with regard to the Jews,

"*Nil præter nubes et cœli numen adorant.*"

and exclusive privileges, shunned, instead of courting, the society of strangers. They still insisted with inflexible rigor on those parts of the law which it was in their power to practise. Their peculiar distinctions of days, of meats, and a variety of trivial though burdensome observances, were so many objects of disgust and aversion for the other nations to whose habits and prejudices they were diametrically opposite. The painful, and even dangerous, rite of circumcision was alone capable of repelling a willing proselyte from the door of the synagogue.<sup>14</sup>

Under these circumstances Christianity offered itself to the world, armed with the strength of the Mosaic law, and delivered from the weight of its fetters. An exclusive  
More liberal  
zeal of Chris-  
tianity. zeal for the truth of religion and the unity of God was as carefully inculcated in the new as in the ancient system; and whatever was now revealed to mankind concerning the nature and designs of the Supreme Being was fitted to increase their reverence for that mysterious doctrine. The divine authority of Moses and the prophets was admitted and even established as the firmest basis of Christianity. From the beginning of the world an uninterrupted series of predictions had announced and prepared the long-expected coming of the Messiah, who, in compliance with the gross apprehensions of the Jews, had been more frequently represented under the character of a king and conqueror than under that of a prophet, a martyr, and the Son of God. By his expiatory sacrifice the imperfect sacrifices of the temple were at once consummated and abolished. The ceremonial law, which consisted only of types and figures, was succeeded by a pure and spiritual worship, equally adapted to all climates as well as to every condition of mankind; and to the initiation of blood was substituted a more harmless initiation of water. The promise of divine favor, instead of being partially confined to the posterity of Abraham, was universally proposed to the freeman

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<sup>14</sup> A second kind of circumcision was inflicted on a Samaritan or Egyptian proselyte. The sullen indifference of the Talmudists with respect to the conversion of strangers may be seen in Basnage. Hist. des Juifs, l. v. ch. 6.

and the slave, to the Greek and to the barbarian, to the Jew and to the Gentile. Every privilege that could raise the proselyte from earth to heaven—that could exalt his devotion, secure his happiness, or even gratify that secret pride which, under the semblance of devotion, insinuates itself into the human heart—was still reserved for the members of the Christian Church; but, at the same time, all mankind was permitted, and even solicited, to accept the glorious distinction, which was not only proffered as a favor, but imposed as an obligation. It became the most sacred duty of a new convert to diffuse among his friends and relations the inestimable blessing which he had received, and to warn them against a refusal that would be severely punished as a criminal disobedience to the will of a benevolent but all-powerful Deity.

The enfranchisement of the Church from the bonds of the Synagogue was a work, however, of some time and of some difficulty. The Jewish converts, who acknowledged Jesus in the character of the Messiah foretold by their ancient oracles, respected him as a prophetic teacher of virtue and religion; but they obstinately adhered to the ceremonies of their ancestors, and were desirous of imposing them on the Gentiles, who continually augmented the number of believers. These Judaizing Christians seem to have argued with some degree of plausibility from the divine origin of the Mosaic law, and from the immutable perfections of its great Author. They affirmed *that*, if the Being who is the same through all eternity had designed to abolish those sacred rites which had served to distinguish his chosen people, the repeal of them would have been no less clear and solemn than their first promulgation: *that*, instead of those frequent declarations which either suppose or assert the perpetuity of the Mosaic religion, it would have been represented as a provisional scheme intended to last only till the coming of the Messiah, who should instruct mankind in a more perfect mode of faith and of worship:<sup>15</sup> *that* the Messiah himself, and his

<sup>15</sup> These arguments were urged with great ingenuity by the Jew Orobio, and refuted with equal ingenuity and candor by the Christian Limborch. See the *Amica Collatio* (it well deserves that name), or account of the dispute between them.

disciples who conversed with him on earth, instead of authorizing by their example the most minute observances of the Mosaic law,<sup>16</sup> would have published to the world the abolition of those useless and obsolete ceremonies, without suffering Christianity to remain during so many years obscurely confounded among the sects of the Jewish Church. Arguments like these appear to have been used in the defence of the expiring cause of the Mosaic law; but the industry of our learned divines has abundantly explained the ambiguous language of the Old Testament, and the ambiguous conduct of the apostolic teachers. It was proper gradually to unfold the system of the Gospel, and to pronounce with the utmost caution and tenderness a sentence of condemnation so repugnant to the inclination and prejudices of the believing Jews.

The history of the Church of Jerusalem affords a lively proof of the necessity of those precautions, and of the deep impression which the Jewish religion had made on the minds of its sectaries. The first fifteen bishops of Jerusalem were all circumcised Jews, and the congregation over which they presided united the law of Moses with the doctrine of Christ.<sup>17</sup> It was natural that the primitive tradition of a Church which was founded only forty days after the death of Christ, and was governed almost as many years under the immediate inspection of his apostle, should be received as the standard of orthodoxy.<sup>18</sup> The distant churches very frequently appealed to the authority of their venerable Parent, and relieved her distresses by a liberal

The Nazarene Church of Jerusalem.

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<sup>16</sup> Jesus . . . circumciscus erat; cibus utebatur Judaicis; vestitū simili; purgatus scabie mittebat ad sacerdotes; Paschata et alios dies festos religiosè observabat: si quos sanavit sabbatho, ostendit non tantum ex lege, sed et ex receptis sententiis, talia opera sabbatho non interdicta.—Grotius de Veritate Religionis Christianæ, l. v. c. 7. A little afterwards (c. 12) he expatiates on the condescension of the apostles.

<sup>17</sup> Pæne omnes Christum Deum sub legis observatione credebant.—Sulpicius Severus, ii. 31. See Eusebius, Hist. Eccles. l. iv. c. 5.

<sup>18</sup> Mosheim de Rebus Christianis ante Constantinum Magnum, p. 153. In this masterly performance, which I shall often have occasion to quote, he enters much more fully into the state of the primitive Church than he has an opportunity of doing in his General History.



contribution of alms. But when numerous and opulent societies were established in the great cities of the empire—in Antioch, Alexandria, Ephesus, Corinth, and Rome—the reverence which Jerusalem had inspired to all the Christian colonies insensibly diminished. The Jewish converts, or, as they were afterwards called, the Nazarenes, who had laid the foundations of the Church, soon found themselves overwhelmed by the increasing multitudes that from all the various religions of polytheism enlisted under the banner of Christ; and the Gentiles, who, with the approbation of their peculiar apostle, had rejected the intolerable weight of Mosaic ceremonies, at length refused to their more scrupulous brethren the same toleration which at first they had humbly solicited for their own practice. The ruin of the temple, of the city, and of the public religion of the Jews was severely felt by the Nazarenes; as in their manners, though not in their faith, they maintained so intimate a connection with their impious countrymen, whose misfortunes were attributed by the pagans to the contempt, and more justly ascribed by the Christians to the wrath, of the Supreme Deity. The Nazarenes retired from the ruins of Jerusalem\* to the little town of Pella beyond the Jordan, where that ancient Church languished above sixty years in solitude and obscurity.<sup>19</sup> They still enjoyed the comfort of making frequent and devout visits to the *Holy City*, and the hope of being one day restored to those seats which both nature and religion taught them to love as well as to revere. But at length, under the reign of Hadrian, the desperate fanaticism of the Jews filled up the measure of their calamities; and the Romans, exasperated by their repeated rebellions, exercised the rights of victory with unusual rigor. The emper-

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<sup>19</sup> Eusebius, l. iii. c. 5. Le Clerc, Hist. Eccles. p. 605. During this occasional absence, the Bishop and Church of Pella still retained the title of Jerusalem. In the same manner, the Roman pontiffs resided seventy years at Avignon; and the patriarchs of Alexandria have long since transferred their episcopal seat to Cairo.

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\* This is incorrect: all the traditions concur in placing the abandonment of the city by the Christians not only before it was in ruins, but before the siege had commenced. Euseb. loc. cit., and Le Clerc.—M.

or founded, under the name of Ælia Capitolina, a new city on Mount Sion,<sup>20</sup> to which he gave the privileges of a colony; and, denouncing the severest penalties against any of the Jewish people who should dare to approach its precincts, he fixed a vigilant garrison of a Roman cohort to enforce the execution of his orders. The Nazarenes had only one way left to escape the common proscription, and the force of truth was on this occasion assisted by the influence of temporal advantages. They elected Marcus for their bishop, a prelate of the race of the Gentiles, and most probably a native either of Italy or of some of the Latin provinces. At his persuasion the most considerable part of the congregation renounced the Mosaic law, in the practice of which they had persevered above a century. By this sacrifice of their habits and prejudices they purchased a free admission into the colony of Hadrian, and more firmly cemented their union with the Catholic Church.<sup>21</sup>

When the name and honors of the Church of Jerusalem had been restored to Mount Sion, the crimes of heresy and schism were imputed to the obscure remnant of the Nazarenes which refused to accompany their Latin bishop. They still preserved their former habitation of Pella, spread themselves into the villages adjacent to Damascus, and formed an inconsiderable Church in the city of Beroëa, or, as it is now called, of Aleppo, in Syria.<sup>22</sup> The name of Nazarenes was deemed too honorable for those Christian Jews, and they soon received, from the supposed poverty of their understand-

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<sup>20</sup> Dion Cassius, l. lxxix. [c. 12]. The exile of the Jewish nation from Jerusalem is attested by Aristo of Pella (apud Euseb. l. iv. c. 6), and is mentioned by several ecclesiastical writers; though some of them too hastily extend this interdiction to the whole country of Palestine.

<sup>21</sup> Eusebius, l. iv. c. 6. Sulpicius Severus, ii. 31. By comparing their unsatisfactory accounts, Mosheim (p. 327, etc.) has drawn out a very distinct representation of the circumstances and motives of this revolution.

<sup>22</sup> Le Clerc (Hist. Eccles. p. 477, 535) seems to have collected from Eusebius, Jerome, Epiphanius, and other writers all the principal circumstances that relate to the Nazarenes or Ebionites. The nature of their opinions soon divided them into a stricter and a milder sect; and there is some reason to conjecture that the family of Jesus Christ remained members, at least, of the latter and more moderate party.

ing, as well as of their condition, the contemptuous epithet of Ebionites.<sup>23</sup> In a few years after the return of the Church of Jerusalem, it became a matter of doubt and controversy whether a man who sincerely acknowledged Jesus as the Messiah, but who still continued to observe the law of Moses, could possibly hope for salvation. The humane temper of Justin Martyr inclined him to answer this question in the affirmative; and though he expressed himself with the most guarded diffidence, he ventured to determine in favor of such an imperfect Christian if he were content to practise the Mosaic ceremonies without pretending to assert their general use or necessity. But when Justin was pressed to declare the sentiment of the Church, he confessed that there were very many among the orthodox Christians who not only excluded their Judaizing brethren from the hope of salvation, but who declined any intercourse with them in the common offices of friendship, hospitality, and social life.<sup>24</sup> The more rigorous opinion prevailed, as it was natural to expect, over the milder; and an eternal bar of separation was fixed between the disciples of Moses and those of Christ. The unfortunate Ebionites,

<sup>23</sup> Some writers have been pleased to create an Ebion, the imaginary author of their sect and name. But we can more safely rely on the learned Eusebius than on the vehement Tertullian or the credulous Epiphanius. According to Le Clerc, the Hebrew word *Ebjonim* may be translated into Latin by that of *Pauperes*. See Hist. Eccles. p. 477.<sup>a</sup>

<sup>24</sup> See the very curious Dialogue of Justin Martyr with the Jew Tryphon.<sup>b</sup> The conference between them was held at Ephesus, in the reign of Antoninus Pius, and about twenty years after the return of the Church of Pella to Jerusalem. For this date consult the accurate note of Tillemont, Mémoires Ecclésiastiques, tom. ii. p. 511.

<sup>a</sup> The opinion of Le Clerc is generally admitted, but Neander has suggested some good reasons for supposing that this term only applied to poverty of condition. The obscure history of their tenets and divisions is clearly and rationally traced in his History of the Church, vol. i. part ii. p. 612, etc., Germ. edit.—M.

<sup>b</sup> Justin Martyr makes an important distinction which Gibbon has neglected to notice. . . . There were some who were not content with observing the Mosaic law themselves, but enforced the same observance, as necessary to salvation, upon the heathen converts, and refused all social intercourse with them if they did not conform to the law. Justin Martyr himself freely admits those who kept the law themselves to Christian communion, though he acknowledges that *some*, not the Church, thought otherwise; of the other party he himself thought less favorably—*ομοίως καὶ τοὺς οὐκ ἀποδέχονται*. The former by some are considered the Nazarenes, the latter the Ebionites.—G. and M.

rejected from one religion as apostates and from the other as heretics, found themselves compelled to assume a more decided character; and although some traces of that obsolete sect may be discovered as late as the fourth century, they insensibly melted away either into the Church or the Synagogue.<sup>25</sup>

While the orthodox Church preserved a just medium between excessive veneration and improper contempt for the law of Moses, the various heretics deviated into equal but opposite extremes of error and extravagance. From the acknowledged truth of the Jewish religion, the Ebionites had concluded that it could never be abolished. From its supposed imperfections, the Gnostics as hastily inferred that it never was instituted by the wisdom of the Deity. There are some objections against the authority of Moses and the prophets which too readily present themselves to the sceptical mind, though they can only be derived from our ignorance of remote antiquity, and from our incapacity to form an adequate judgment of the divine economy. These objections were eagerly embraced and as petulantly urged by the vain science of the Gnostics.<sup>26</sup> As those heretics were, for the most part, averse to the pleasures of sense, they morosely arraigned the polygamy of the patriarchs, the gallantries of David, and the seraglio of Solomon. The conquest of the land of Canaan, and the extirpation of the unsuspecting natives, they were at a loss how to reconcile with the common

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<sup>25</sup> Of all the systems of Christianity, that of Abyssinia is the only one which still adheres to the Mosaic rites (Geddes's *Church History of Æthiopia*, and *Dissertations de La Grand sur la Relation du P. Lobo*). The eunuch of the queen Candace might suggest some suspicions; but as we are assured (Socrates, i. 19; Sozomen, ii. 24; Ludolphus, p. 281) that the Æthiopians were not converted till the fourth century, it is more reasonable to believe that they respected the Sabbath, and distinguished the forbidden meats, in imitation of the Jews, who, in a very early period, were seated on both sides of the Red Sea. Circumcision had been practised by the most ancient Æthiopians, from motives of health and cleanliness, which seem to be explained in the *Recherches Philosophiques sur les Américains*, tom. ii. p. 117.

<sup>26</sup> Beausobre, *Histoire du Manichéisme*, l. i. c. 3, has stated their objections, particularly those of Faustus, the adversary of Augustine, with the most learned impartiality.



notions of humanity and justice. But when they recollected the sanguinary list of murders, of executions, and of massacres which stain almost every page of the Jewish annals, they acknowledged that the barbarians of Palestine had exercised as much compassion towards their idolatrous enemies as they had ever shown to their friends or countrymen.<sup>27</sup> Passing from the sectaries of the law to the law itself, they asserted that it was impossible that a religion which consisted only of bloody sacrifices and trifling ceremonies, and whose rewards as well as punishments were all of a carnal and temporal nature, could inspire the love of virtue or restrain the impetuosity of passion. The Mosaic account of the creation and fall of man was treated with profane derision by the Gnostics, who would not listen with patience to the repose of the Deity after six days' labor, to the rib of Adam, the garden of Eden, the tree of life and of knowledge, the speaking serpent, the forbidden fruit, and the condemnation pronounced against humankind for the venial offence of their first progenitors.<sup>28</sup> The God of Israel was impiously represented by the Gnostics as a being liable to passion and to error, capricious in his favor, implacable in his resentment, meanly jealous of his superstitious worship, and confining his partial providence to a single people and to this transitory life. In such a character they could discover none of the features of the wise and omnipotent Father of the universe.<sup>29</sup> They allowed that the

<sup>27</sup> *Apud ipsos fides obstinata, misericordia in promptu: adversus omnes alios hostile odium.*—Tacit. Hist. v. 5. Surely Tacitus had seen the Jews with too favorable an eye.<sup>b</sup> The perusal of Josephus must have destroyed the antithesis.

<sup>28</sup> Dr. Burnet (*Archæologia*, l. ii. c. 7) has discussed the first chapters of Genesis with too much wit and freedom.

<sup>29</sup> The milder Gnostics considered Jehovah, the Creator, as a Being of a mixed nature between God and the Demon. Others confounded him with the evil principle. Consult the second century of the general history of Mosheim, which gives a very distinct, though concise, account of their strange opinions on this subject.

<sup>a</sup> On the "war law" of the Jews, see Hist. of Jews, i. 137.—M.

<sup>b</sup> Few writers have suspected Tacitus of partiality towards the Jews. The whole later history of the Jews illustrates as well their strong feelings of humanity to their brethren as their hostility to the rest of mankind. The character and the position of Josephus with the Roman authorities must be kept in mind during the

religion of the Jews was somewhat less criminal than the idolatry of the Gentiles; but it was their fundamental doctrine that the Christ whom they adored as the first and brightest emanation of the Deity appeared upon earth to rescue mankind from their various errors, and to reveal a *new* system of truth and perfection. The most learned of the fathers, by a very singular condescension, have imprudently admitted the sophistry of the Gnostics.<sup>a</sup> Acknowledging that the literal sense is repugnant to every principle of faith as well as reason, they deem themselves secure and invulnerable behind the ample veil of allegory, which they carefully spread over every tender part of the Mosaic dispensation.<sup>30</sup>

It has been remarked with more ingenuity than truth that the virgin purity of the Church was never violated by schism or heresy before the reign of Trajan or Hadrian, about one hundred years after the death of Christ.<sup>31</sup>

Their sects,  
progress, and  
influence.

We may observe with much more propriety that during that period the disciples of the Messiah were indulged in a freer latitude both of faith and practice than has ever been allowed in succeeding ages. As the terms of communion were insensibly narrowed, and the spiritual authority of the prevailing party was exercised with increasing severity, many of its most respectable adherents who were called upon to renounce

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<sup>30</sup> See Beausobre, *Hist. du Manichéisme*, l. i. c. 4. Origen and St. Augustine were among the allegorists.

<sup>31</sup> Hegesippus, apud Euseb. l. iii. 32; iv. 22. Clemens Alexandrin. *Stromat.* vii. 17.<sup>b</sup>

perusal of his History. Perhaps he has not exaggerated the ferocity and fanaticism of the Jews *at that time*; but insurrectionary warfare is not the best school for the humaner virtues, and much must be allowed for the grinding tyranny of the later Roman governors. See *Hist. of Jews*, ii. 254.—M.

<sup>a</sup> The Gnostics, and the historian who has stated these plausible objections with so much force as almost to make them his own, would have shown a more considerate and not less reasonable philosophy if they had considered the religion of Moses with reference to the age in which it was promulgated; if they had done justice to its sublime as well as its more imperfect views of the divine nature; the humane and civilizing provisions of the Hebrew law, as well as those adapted for an infant and barbarous people. See *Hist. of Jews*, i. 36, 37, etc.—M.

<sup>b</sup> The assertion of Hegesippus is not so positive: it is sufficient to read the whole passage in Eusebius to see that the former part is modified by the latter. Hegesippus adds that up to this period the Church had remained pure and immaculate as a virgin. Those who labored to corrupt the doctrines of the Gospel worked *as yet* in obscurity.—G.

were provoked to assert their private opinions, to pursue the consequences of their mistaken principles, and openly to erect the standard of rebellion against the unity of the Church. The Gnostics were distinguished as the most polite, the most learned, and the most wealthy of the Christian name; and that general appellation which expressed a superiority of knowledge was either assumed by their own pride or ironically bestowed by the envy of their adversaries. They were almost without exception of the race of the Gentiles, and their principal founders seem to have been natives of Syria or Egypt, where the warmth of the climate disposes both the mind and the body to indolent and contemplative devotion. The Gnostics blended with the faith of Christ many sublime but obscure tenets, which they derived from Oriental philosophy, and even from the religion of Zoroaster, concerning the eternity of matter, the existence of two principles, and the mysterious hierarchy of the invisible world.<sup>32</sup> As soon as they launched out into that vast abyss, they delivered themselves to the guidance of a disordered imagination; and as the paths of error are various and infinite, the Gnostics were imperceptibly divided into more than fifty particular sects,<sup>33</sup> of whom the most celebrated appear to have been the Basilidians, the Valentinians, the Marcionites, and, in a still later period, the Manichæans. Each of these sects could boast of its bishops and congregations, of its doctors and martyrs;<sup>34</sup> and, instead of the Four Gospels adopted by the Church,<sup>a</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> In the account of the Gnostics of the second and third centuries, Mosheim is ingenious and candid, Le Clerc dull but exact, Beausobre almost always an apologist, and it is much to be feared that the primitive fathers are very frequently calumniators.<sup>b</sup>

<sup>33</sup> See the catalogues of Irenæus and Epiphanius. It must indeed be allowed that those writers were inclined to multiply the number of sects which opposed the unity of the Church.

<sup>34</sup> Eusebius, l. iv. c. 15. Sozomen, l. ii. c. 32. See in Bayle, in the article of *Marcion*, a curious detail of a dispute on that subject. It should seem that some of the Gnostics (the Basilidians) declined, and even refused, the honor of martyrdom. Their reasons were singular and abstruse. See Mosheim, p. 539.

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<sup>a</sup> M. Hahn has restored the Marcionite Gospel with great ingenuity. His work is reprinted in Thilo, *Codex Apoc. Nov. Test.* vol. i.—M.

<sup>b</sup> The *Histoire du Gnosticisme* of M. Matter is at once the fairest and most complete account of these sects.—M.

the heretics produced a multitude of histories in which the actions and discourses of Christ and of his apostles were adapted to their respective tenets.<sup>35</sup> The success of the Gnostics was rapid and extensive.<sup>36</sup> They covered Asia and Egypt, established themselves in Rome, and sometimes penetrated into the provinces of the West. For the most part, they arose in the second century, flourished during the third, and were suppressed in the fourth or fifth by the prevalence of more fashionable controversies, and by the superior ascendant of the reigning power. Though they constantly disturbed the peace and frequently disgraced the name of religion, they contributed to assist rather than to retard the progress of Christianity. The Gentile converts, whose strongest objections and prejudices were directed against the law of Moses, could find admission into many Christian societies which required not from their untutored mind any belief of an antecedent revelation. Their faith was insensibly fortified and enlarged, and the Church was ultimately benefited by the conquests of its most inveterate enemies.<sup>37</sup>

But whatever difference of opinion might subsist between

<sup>35</sup> See a very remarkable passage of Origen (*Proœm. ad Lucam*). That indefatigable writer, who had consumed his life in the study of the Scriptures, relies for their authenticity on the inspired authority of the Church. It was impossible that the Gnostics could receive our present Gospels, many parts of which (particularly in the resurrection of Christ) are directly, and, as it might seem, designedly, pointed against their favorite tenets. It is therefore somewhat singular that Ignatius (*Epist. ad Smyrn. Patr. Apostol. tom. ii. p. 34*) should choose to employ a vague and doubtful tradition instead of quoting the certain testimony of the evangelists.<sup>a</sup>

<sup>36</sup> "*Faciunt favos et vespæ; faciunt ecclesias et Marcionitæ*," is the strong expression of Tertullian, which I am obliged to quote from memory [*Adv. Marcion. iv. 5*]. In the time of Epiphanius (*Advers. Hæreses, p. 302* [ed. Paris, 1622]) the Marcionites were very numerous in Italy, Syria, Egypt, Arabia, and Persia.

<sup>37</sup> Augustine is a memorable instance of this gradual progress from reason to faith. He was, during several years, engaged in the Manichæan sect.

<sup>a</sup> Bishop Pearson has attempted very happily to explain this "singularity." The first Christians were acquainted with a number of sayings of Jesus Christ which are not related in our Gospels, and indeed have never been written. Why might not St. Ignatius, who had lived with the apostles or their disciples, repeat in other words that which St. Luke has related, particularly at a time when, being in prison, he could not have had the Gospels at hand? Pearson, *Vind. Ign. p. 2, 9; p. 396*, in *tom. ii. Patres Apost. ed. Coteler.*—G.



the Orthodox, the Ebionites, and the Gnostics concerning the divinity or the obligation of the Mosaic law, they were all equally animated by the same exclusive zeal, and by the same abhorrence for idolatry which had distinguished the Jews from the other nations of the ancient world. The philosopher, who considered the system of polytheism as a composition of human fraud and error, could disguise a smile of contempt under the mask of devotion without apprehending that either the mockery or the compliance would expose him to the resentment of any invisible, or, as he conceived them, imaginary, powers. But the established religions of paganism were seen by the primitive Christians in a much more odious and formidable light. It was the universal sentiment both of the Church and of heretics that the demons were the authors, the patrons, and the objects of idolatry.<sup>38</sup> Those rebellious spirits who had been degraded from the rank of angels and cast down into the infernal pit were still permitted to roam upon earth to torment the bodies and to seduce the minds of sinful men. The demons soon discovered and abused the natural propensity of the human heart towards devotion, and, artfully withdrawing the adoration of mankind from their Creator, they usurped the place and honors of the Supreme Deity. By the success of their malicious contrivances they at once gratified their own vanity and revenge, and obtained the only comfort of which they were yet susceptible—the hope of involving the human species in the participation of their guilt and misery. It was confessed, or at least it was imagined, that they had distributed among themselves the most important characters of polytheism—one demon assuming the name and attributes of Jupiter, another of Æsculapius; a third, of Venus; and a fourth, perhaps, of Apollo<sup>39</sup>—and that, by the advantage of their long experience and ærial nature, they were enabled to execute with sufficient

<sup>38</sup> The unanimous sentiment of the primitive Church is very clearly explained by Justin Martyr, *Apolog. Major* [c. 25, p. 59, ed. Bened.]; by Athenagoras, *Legat. c. 22*, etc.; and by Lactantius, *Institut. Divin. ii. 14–19*.

<sup>39</sup> Tertullian (*Apolog. c. 23*) alleges the confession of the demons themselves as often as they were tormented by the Christian exorcists.

skill and dignity the parts which they had undertaken. They lurked in the temples, instituted festivals and sacrifices, invented fables, pronounced oracles, and were frequently allowed to perform miracles. The Christians, who, by the interposition of evil spirits, could so readily explain every preternatural appearance, were disposed and even desirous to admit the most extravagant fictions of the pagan mythology. But the belief of the Christian was accompanied with horror. The most trifling mark of respect to the national worship he considered as a direct homage yielded to the demon, and as an act of rebellion against the majesty of God.

In consequence of this opinion, it was the first but arduous duty of a Christian to preserve himself pure and undefiled by the practice of idolatry. The religion of the nations was not merely a speculative doctrine professed in the schools or preached in the temples. The innumerable deities and rites of polytheism were closely interwoven with every circumstance of business or pleasure, of public or of private life; and it seemed impossible to escape the observance of them without at the same time renouncing the commerce of mankind and all the offices and amusements of society.<sup>40</sup> The important transactions of peace and war were prepared or concluded by solemn sacrifices in which the magistrate, the senator, and the soldier were obliged to preside or to participate.<sup>41</sup> The public spectacles were an essential part of the cheerful devotion of the pagans, and the gods were supposed to accept as the most grateful offering the games that the prince and people celebrated in honor of their peculiar festivals.<sup>42</sup> The Christian, who with pious horror avoid-

Abhorrence  
of the Chris-  
tians for  
idolatry.

Ceremonies.

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<sup>40</sup> Tertullian has written a most severe treatise against idolatry, to caution his brethren against the hourly danger of incurring that guilt. *Recogita silvam, et quantæ latitant spinæ.*—*De Coronâ Militis*, c. 10.

<sup>41</sup> The Roman senate was always held in a temple or consecrated place (*Aulus Gellius*, xiv. 7). Before they entered on business every senator dropped some wine and frankincense on the altar. *Sueton*, in *August*, c. 35.

<sup>42</sup> See Tertullian, *De Spectaculis*. This severe reformer shows no more indulgence to a tragedy of Euripides than to a combat of gladiators. The dress of the actors particularly offends him. By the use of the lofty buskin they impiously strive to add a cubit to their stature (c. 23).

ed the abomination of the circus or the theatre, found himself encompassed with infernal snares in every convivial entertainment as often as his friends, invoking the hospitable deities, poured out libations to each other's happiness.<sup>43</sup> When the bride, struggling with well-affected reluctance, was forced in hymeneal pomp over the threshold of her new habitation,<sup>44</sup> or when the sad procession of the dead slowly moved towards the funeral pile,<sup>45</sup> the Christian, on these interesting occasions, was compelled to desert the persons who were the dearest to him rather than contract the guilt inherent to those impious ceremonies. Every art and every trade that was in the

**Arts.**

least concerned in the framing or adorning of idols was polluted by the stain of idolatry<sup>46</sup>—a severe sentence, since it devoted to eternal misery the far greater part of the community which is employed in the exercise of liberal or mechanic professions. If we cast our eyes over the numerous remains of antiquity, we shall perceive that, besides the immediate representations of the gods and the holy instruments of their worship, the elegant forms and agreeable fictions consecrated by the imagination of the Greeks were introduced as the richest ornaments of the houses, the dress, and the furniture of the pagans.<sup>47</sup>

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<sup>43</sup> The ancient practice of concluding the entertainment with libations may be found in every classic. Socrates and Seneca in their last moments made a noble application of this custom. *Postremo stagnum calidæ aquæ introiit, resurgens proximis servorum, additâ voce, libare se liquorem illum Jovi Liberatori.*—*Tacit. Annal. xv. 64.*

<sup>44</sup> See the elegant but idolatrous hymn of Catullus on the nuptials of Manlius and Julia, "O Hymen, Hymenæe Iô!" *Quis huic Deo compararier ausit?*

<sup>45</sup> The ancient funerals (in those of Misenus and Pallas) are no less accurately described by Virgil than they are illustrated by his commentator Servius. The pile itself was an altar, the flames were fed with the blood of victims, and all the assistants were sprinkled with lustral water.

<sup>46</sup> *Tertullian de Idololatria, c. 11.*<sup>a</sup>

<sup>47</sup> See every part of Montfaucon's *Antiquities*. Even the reverses of the Greek and Roman coins were frequently of an idolatrous nature. Here, indeed, the scruples of the Christian were suspended by a stronger passion.<sup>b</sup>

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<sup>a</sup> The exaggerated and declamatory opinions of Tertullian ought not to be taken as the general sentiment of the early Christians. Gibbon has too often allowed himself to consider the peculiar notions of certain fathers of the Church as inherent in Christianity. This is not accurate.—G.

<sup>b</sup> All this scrupulous nicety is at variance with the decision of St. Paul about meat offered to idols, 1 Cor. x. 21 to 32.—M.

Even the arts of music and painting, of eloquence and poetry, flowed from the same impure origin. In the style of the fathers, Apollo and the Muses were the organs of the infernal spirit, Homer and Virgil were the most eminent of his servants; and the beautiful mythology which pervades and animates the compositions of their genius is destined to celebrate the glory of the demons. Even the common language of Greece and Rome abounded with familiar but impious expressions which the imprudent Christian might too carelessly utter or too patiently hear.<sup>48</sup>

The dangerous temptations which on every side lurked in ambush to surprise the unguarded believer assailed him with redoubled violence on the days of solemn festivals.

Festivals.

So artfully were they framed and disposed throughout the year that superstition always wore the appearance of pleasure and often of virtue.<sup>49</sup> Some of the most sacred festivals in the Roman ritual were destined to salute the new calends of January with vows of public and private felicity; to indulge the pious remembrance of the dead and living; to ascertain the inviolable bounds of property; to hail, on the return of spring, the genial powers of fecundity; to perpetuate the two memorable eras of Rome, the foundation of the city and that of the republic; and to restore during the humane license of the Saturnalia the primitive equality of mankind. Some idea may be conceived of the abhorrence of the Christians for such impious ceremonies by the scrupulous delicacy which they displayed on a much less alarming occasion. On days of general festivity it was the custom of the ancients to adorn their doors with lamps and with branches of laurel, and to crown their heads with a garland of flowers. This innocent and elegant practice might perhaps have been tolerated as a

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<sup>48</sup> Tertullian de Idololatria, c. 20, 21, 22. If a pagan friend (on the occasion, perhaps, of sneezing) used the familiar expression of "Jupiter bless you," the Christian was obliged to protest against the divinity of Jupiter.

<sup>49</sup> Consult the most labored work of Ovid, his imperfect *Fasti*. He finished no more than the first six months of the year. The compilation of Macrobius is called the *Saturnalia*, but it is only a small part of the first book that bears any relation to the title.





PRIMITIVE CHRISTIANS ON THE ROAD TO THE CATACOMBS, ENCOUNTER A BACCHANALIAN  
CROWD

"The dangerous temptations which on every side lurked in ambush to surprise the unguarded believer, assailed him with redoubled violence on the days of solemn festivals,"

Gibbon's Rome, Vol. II.

Painting by Jan Styka



mere civil institution. But it most unluckily happened that the doors were under the protection of the household gods, that the laurel was sacred to the lover of Daphne, and that garlands of flowers, though frequently worn as a symbol either of joy or mourning, had been dedicated in their first origin to the service of superstition. The trembling Christians, who were persuaded in this instance to comply with the fashion of their country and the commands of the magistrate, labored under the most gloomy apprehensions, from the reproaches of their own conscience, the censures of the Church, and the denunciations of divine vengeance.<sup>50</sup>

Such was the anxious diligence which was required to guard the chastity of the Gospel from the infectious breath of idolatry. The superstitious observances of public or private rites were carelessly practised, from education and habit, by the followers of the established religion. But as often as they occurred, they afforded the Christians an opportunity of declaring and confirming their zealous opposition. By these frequent protestations their attachment to the faith was continually fortified; and in proportion to the increase of zeal, they combated with the more ardor and success in the holy war which they had undertaken against the empire of the demons.

II. The writings of Cicero<sup>51</sup> represent in the most lively colors the ignorance, the errors, and the uncertainty of the ancient philosophers with regard to the immortality of the soul. When they are desirous of arming their disciples against the fear of death, they inculcate, as an obvious though melancholy

<sup>50</sup> Tertullian has composed a defence, or rather panegyric, of the rash action of a Christian soldier who, by throwing away his crown of laurel, had exposed himself and his brethren to the most imminent danger. By the mention of the *emperors* (Severus and Caracalla) it is evident, notwithstanding the wishes of M. de Tillemont, that Tertullian composed his treatise *De Coronâ* long before he was engaged in the errors of the Montanists. See *Mémoires Ecclésiastiques*, tom. iii. p. 384.

<sup>51</sup> In particular, the first book of the *Tusculan Questions*, and the treatise *De Senectute*, and the *Somnium Scipionis*, contain, in the most beautiful language, everything that Grecian philosophy or Roman good sense could possibly suggest on this dark but important object.

position, that the fatal stroke of our dissolution releases us from the calamities of life, and that those can no longer suffer who no longer exist. Yet there were a few sages of Greece and Rome who had conceived a more exalted, and in some respects a juster, idea of human nature, though it must be confessed that in the sublime inquiry their reason had been often guided by their imagination, and that their imagination had been prompted by their vanity. When they viewed with complacency the extent of their own mental powers, when they exercised the various faculties of memory, of fancy, and of judgment in the most profound speculations or the most important labors, and when they reflected on the desire of fame, which transported them into future ages, far beyond the bounds of death and of the grave, they were unwilling to confound themselves with the beasts of the field, or to suppose that a being for whose dignity they entertained the most sincere admiration could be limited to a spot of earth and to a few years of duration. With this favorable prepossession, they summoned to their aid the science, or rather the language, of Metaphysics. They soon discovered that, as none of the properties of matter will apply to the operations of the mind, the human soul must consequently be a substance distinct from the body—pure, simple, and spiritual, incapable of dissolution, and susceptible of a much higher degree of virtue and happiness after the release from its corporeal prison. From these specious and noble principles the philosophers who trod in the footsteps of Plato deduced a very unjustifiable conclusion, since they asserted not only the future immortality, but the past eternity of the human soul, which they were too apt to consider as a portion of the infinite and self-existing spirit which pervades and sustains the universe.<sup>62</sup> A doctrine thus removed beyond the senses and the experience of mankind might serve to amuse the leisure of a philosophic mind, or, in the silence of solitude, it might

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<sup>62</sup> The pre-existence of human souls, so far, at least, as that doctrine is compatible with religion, was adopted by many of the Greek and Latin fathers. See Beausobre, *Hist. du Manichéisme*, l. vi. ch. 4.



sometimes impart a ray of comfort to desponding virtue; but the faint impression which had been received in the schools was soon obliterated by the commerce and business of active life. We are sufficiently acquainted with the eminent persons who flourished in the age of Cicero and of the first Cæsars—with their actions, their characters, and their motives—to be assured that their conduct in this life was never regulated by any serious conviction of the rewards or punishments of a future state. At the bar and in the senate of Rome the ablest orators were not apprehensive of giving offence to their hearers by exposing that doctrine as an idle and extravagant opinion, which was rejected with contempt by every man of a liberal education and understanding.<sup>53</sup>

Since, therefore, the most sublime efforts of philosophy can extend no further than feebly to point out the desire, the hope, or, at most, the probability of a future state, there is nothing, except a divine revelation, that can ascertain the existence and describe the condition of the invisible country which is destined to receive the souls of men after their separation from the body. But we may perceive several defects inherent to the popular religions of Greece and Rome, which rendered them very unequal to so arduous a task. 1. The general system of their mythology was unsupported by any solid proofs; and the wisest amongst the pagans had already disclaimed its usurped authority. 2. The description of the infernal regions had been abandoned to the fancy of painters and of poets, who peopled them with so many phantoms and monsters, who dispensed their rewards and punishments with so little equity, that a solemn truth, the most congenial to the human heart, was oppressed and disgraced by the absurd mixture of the wildest fictions.<sup>54</sup> 3. The doc-

among the  
pagans of  
Greece and  
Rome;

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<sup>53</sup> See Cicero pro Cluent. c. 61. Cæsar ap. Sallust. de Bell. Catilin. c. 51. Juvenal. Satir. ii. 149 :

Esse aliquid manes, et subterranea regna,

Nec pueri credunt, nisi qui nondum ære lavantur.

<sup>54</sup> The eleventh book of the Odyssey gives a very dreary and incoherent account of the infernal shades. Pindar and Virgil have embellished the picture; but even  
II.—7

trine of a future state was scarcely considered amongst the devout polytheists of Greece and Rome as a fundamental article of faith. The providence of the gods, as it related to public communities rather than to private individuals, was principally displayed on the visible theatre of the present world. The petitions which were offered on the altars of Jupiter or Apollo expressed the anxiety of their worshippers for temporal happiness, and their ignorance or indifference concerning a future life.<sup>56</sup> The important truth of the immortality of the soul was inculcated with more diligence as well as success in India, in Assyria, in Egypt, and in Gaul; and since we cannot attribute such a difference to the superior knowledge of the barbarians, we must ascribe it to the influence of an established priesthood, which employed the motives of virtue as the instrument of ambition.<sup>56</sup>

We might naturally expect that a principle so essential to religion would have been revealed in the clearest terms to the chosen people of Palestine, and that it might safely have been intrusted to the hereditary priesthood of Aaron. It is incumbent on us to adore the mysterious dispensations of Providence,<sup>57</sup> when we discover that the doctrine

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those poets, though more correct than their great model, are guilty of very strange inconsistencies. See Bayle, *Réponses aux Questions d'un Provincial*, part iii. ch. 22.

<sup>56</sup> See the sixteenth epistle of the first book of Horace, the thirteenth satire of Juvenal, and the second satire of Persius: these popular discourses express the sentiment and language of the multitude.

<sup>56</sup> If we confine ourselves to the Gauls, we may observe that they intrusted, not only their lives, but even their money, to the security of another world. *Vetus ille mos Gallorum occurrit* (says Valerius Maximus, l. ii. c. 6, § 10) *quos, memoria proditum est, pecunias mutuas, quæ his apud inferos redderentur, dare solitos.* The same custom is more darkly insinuated by Mela, l. iii. c. 2. It is almost needless to add that the profits of trade hold a just proportion to the credit of the merchant, and that the Druids derived from their holy profession a character of responsibility which could scarcely be claimed by any other order of men.

<sup>57</sup> The right reverend author of the *Divine Legation of Moses* assigns a very curious reason for the omission, and most ingeniously retorts it on the unbelievers.<sup>a</sup>

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<sup>a</sup> The hypothesis of Warburton concerning this remarkable fact, which, as far as the *law of Moses*, is unquestionable, made few disciples; and it is difficult to suppose that it could be intended by the author himself for more than a display of

of the immortality of the soul is omitted in the law of Moses; it is darkly insinuated by the prophets; and during the long period which elapsed between the Egyptian and the Babylonian servitudes, the hopes as well as fears of the Jews appear to have been confined within the narrow compass of the present life.<sup>58</sup> After Cyrus had permitted the exiled nation

<sup>58</sup> See Le Clerc (*Prolegomena ad Hist. Eccles.* § 1, c. 8). His authority seems to carry the greater weight, as he has written a learned and judicious commentary on the books of the Old Testament.

intellectual strength. Modern writers have accounted in various ways for the silence of the Hebrew legislator on the immortality of the soul. According to Michaelis, "Moses wrote as an historian and as a lawgiver; he regulated the ecclesiastical discipline rather than the religious belief of his people; and the sanctions of the law being temporal, he had no occasion, and as a civil legislator could not with propriety, threaten punishments in another world." See Michaelis, *Laws of Moses*, art. 272, vol. iv. p. 209, Eng. trans.; and *Syntagma Commentationum*, p. 80, quoted by Guizot. M. Guizot adds the "ingenious conjecture of a philosophic theologian," which approximates to an opinion long entertained by the editor. That writer believes that, in the state of civilization at the time of the legislator, this doctrine, become popular among the Jews, would necessarily have given birth to a multitude of idolatrous superstitions which he wished to prevent. His primary object was to establish a firm theocracy, to make his people the conservators of the doctrine of the Divine Unity, the basis upon which Christianity was hereafter to rest. He carefully excluded everything which could obscure or weaken that doctrine. Other nations had strangely abused their notions on the immortality of the soul. Moses wished to prevent this abuse: hence he forbade the Jews from consulting necromancers (those who evoke the spirits of the dead). Deut. xviii. 11. Those who reflect on the state of the pagans and of the Jews, and on the facility with which idolatry crept in on every side, will not be astonished that Moses has not developed a doctrine of which the influence might be more pernicious than useful to his people. *Orat. Fest. de Vitæ Immort.* Spe etc. auct. Ph. Alb. Stapfer, p. 12, 13, 20, Berne, 1787.

Moses, as well from the intimations scattered in his writings, the passage relating to the translation of Enoch (Gen. v. 24), the prohibition of necromancy (Michaelis believes him to be the author of the Book of Job, though this opinion is in general rejected; other learned writers consider this book to be coeval with and known to Moses), as from his long residence in Egypt and his acquaintance with Egyptian wisdom, could not be ignorant of the doctrine of the immortality of the soul. But this doctrine, if popularly known among the Jews, must have been purely Egyptian, and, as so, intimately connected with the whole religious system of that country. It was, no doubt, moulded up with the tenet of the transmigration of the soul, perhaps with notions analogous to the emanation system of India, in which the human soul was an efflux from, or indeed a part of, the Deity. The Mosaic religion drew a wide and impassable interval between the Creator and created human beings; in this it differed from the Egyptian and all the Eastern religions. As, then, the immortality of the soul was thus inseparably blended with those foreign religions which were altogether to be effaced from the minds of the people, and by no means necessary for the establishment of the theocracy, Moses maintained silence on this point, and a purer notion of it was left to be developed at a more favorable period in the history of man.—M.

to return into the promised land, and after Ezra had restored the ancient records of their religion, two celebrated sects, the Sadducees and the Pharisees, insensibly arose at Jerusalem.<sup>59</sup> The former, selected from the more opulent and distinguished ranks of society, were strictly attached to the literal sense of the Mosaic law, and they piously rejected the immortality of the soul, as an opinion that received no countenance from the divine book, which they revered as the only rule of their faith. To the authority of Scripture the Pharisees added that of tradition, and they accepted, under the name of traditions, several speculative tenets from the philosophy or religion of the Eastern nations. The doctrines of fate or predestination, of angels and spirits, and of a future state of rewards and punishments, were in the number of these new articles of belief; and as the Pharisees, by the austerity of their manners, had drawn into their party the body of the Jewish people, the immortality of the soul became the prevailing sentiment of the synagogue under the reign of the Asmonæan princes and pontiffs. The temper of the Jews was incapable of contenting itself with such a cold and languid assent as might satisfy the mind of a polytheist; and as soon as they admitted the idea of a future state, they embraced it with the zeal which has always formed the characteristic of the nation. Their zeal, however, added nothing to its evidence, or even probability; and it was still necessary that the doctrine of life and immortality, which had been dictated by nature, approved by reason, and received by superstition, should obtain the sanction of divine truth from the authority and example of Christ.

When the promise of eternal happiness was proposed to mankind on condition of adopting the faith and of observing the precepts of the Gospel, it is no wonder that so  
 among the Christians. advantageous an offer should have been accepted

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<sup>59</sup> Joseph. *Antiquitat.* l. xiii. c. 10 [§ 5 seq.]; *De Bell. Jud.* ii. 8 [§ 2]. According to the most natural interpretation of his words, the Sadducees admitted only the Pentateuch; but it has pleased some modern critics to add the prophets to their creed, and to suppose that they contented themselves with rejecting the traditions of the Pharisees. Dr. Jortin has argued that point in his *Remarks on Ecclesiastical History*, vol. ii. p. 103.



by great numbers of every religion, of every rank, and of every province in the Roman empire. The ancient Christians were animated by a contempt for their present existence, and by a just confidence of immortality, of which the doubtful and imperfect faith of modern ages cannot give us any adequate notion. In the primitive Church the influence of truth was very powerfully strengthened by an opinion which, however it may deserve respect for its usefulness and antiquity, has not been found agreeable to experience. It was universally believed that the end of the world, and the kingdom of heaven, were at hand.<sup>a</sup> The near approach of this wonderful event had been predicted by the apostles; the tradition of it was preserved by their earliest disciples; and those who understood in their literal sense the discourses of Christ himself were obliged to expect the second and glorious coming of the Son of Man in the clouds, before that generation was totally extinguished which had beheld his humble condition upon earth, and which might still be witness of the calamities of the Jews under Vespasian or Hadrian. The revolution of seventeen centuries has instructed us not to press too closely the mysterious language of prophecy and revelation; but as long as, for wise purposes, this error was permitted to subsist in the Church, it was productive of the most salutary effects on the faith and practice of Christians, who lived in the awful expectation of that moment when the globe itself, and all the various race of mankind, should tremble at the appearance of their divine Judge.<sup>60</sup>

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<sup>60</sup> This expectation was countenanced by the twenty-fourth chapter of St. Matthew and by the first epistle of St. Paul to the Thessalonians. Erasmus removes the difficulty by the help of allegory and metaphor; and the learned Grotius ventures to insinuate that, for wise purposes, the pious deception was permitted to take place.<sup>b</sup>

<sup>a</sup> This was, in fact, an integral part of the Jewish notion of the Messiah, from which the minds of the apostles themselves were but gradually detached. See Bertholdt, *Christologia Judæorum*, concluding chapters.—M.

<sup>b</sup> Some modern theologians explain it without discovering either allegory or deception. They say that Jesus Christ, after having proclaimed the ruin of Jerusalem and of the temple, speaks of his second coming, and the signs which were to precede it; but those who believed that the moment was near deceived themselves as to the sense of two words—an error which still subsists in our versions

The ancient and popular doctrine of the millennium was intimately connected with the second coming of Christ. As the works of the creation had been finished in six days, their duration, in their present state, according to a tradition which was attributed to the prophet Elijah, was fixed to six thousand years.<sup>61</sup> By the same analogy it was inferred that this long period of labor and contention, which was now almost elapsed,<sup>62</sup> would be succeeded by a joyful Sabbath of a thousand years; and that Christ, with the triumphant band of the saints, and the elect who had escaped death, or who had been miraculously revived, would

Doctrine of  
the millen-  
nium.

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<sup>61</sup> See Burnet's Sacred Theory, part iii. c. 5. This tradition may be traced as high as the author of the Epistle of Barnabas, who wrote in the first century, and who seems to have been half a Jew.<sup>a</sup>

<sup>62</sup> The primitive Church of Antioch computed almost 6000 years from the creation of the world to the birth of Christ. Africanus, Lactantius, and the Greek Church have reduced that number to 5500; and Eusebius has contented himself with 5200 years. These calculations were formed on the Septuagint, which was universally received during the six first centuries. The authority of the Vulgate and of the Hebrew text has determined the moderns, Protestants as well as Catholics, to prefer a period of about 4000 years; though in the study of profane antiquity they often find themselves straitened by those narrow limits.<sup>b</sup>

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of the Gospel according to St. Matthew, xxiv. 29, 34. In verse 29 we read, "Immediately after the tribulation of those days shall the sun be darkened," etc. The Greek word *εὐθὺς* signifies *all at once, suddenly, not immediately*; so that it signifies only the sudden appearance of the signs which Jesus Christ announces, not the shortness of the interval which was to separate them from the "days of tribulation," of which he was speaking. The verse 34 is this: "Verily I say unto you, this generation shall not pass till all these things shall be fulfilled." Jesus, speaking to his disciples, uses these words, *ἡ γενεὰ αὐτῆς*, which the translators have rendered by "this generation," but which means the race, the filiation of my disciples; that is, he speaks of a class of men, not of a generation. The true sense, then, according to these learned men, is, "In truth I tell you that this race of men, of which you are the commencement, shall not pass away till this shall take place;" that is to say, the succession of Christians shall not cease till his coming. See Commentary of M. Paulus on the New Test., edit. 1802, tom. iii. p. 445, 446.—G.

Others, as Rosenmüller and Kuinoel, in loc., confine this passage to a highly figurative description of the ruins of the Jewish city and polity.—M.

<sup>a</sup> In fact, it is purely Jewish. See Mosheim, de Reb. Christ. ii. 8; Lightfoot's Works, 8vo edit. vol. iii. p. 37; Bertholdt, Christologia Judæorum, c. 38.—M.

<sup>b</sup> Most of the more learned modern English Protestants, Dr. Hales, Mr. Faber, Dr. Russel, as well as the Continental writers, adopt the larger chronology. There is little doubt that the narrower system was framed by the Jews of Tiberias; it was clearly neither that of St. Paul, nor of Josephus, nor of the Samaritan text. It is greatly to be regretted that the chronology of the earlier Scriptures should ever have been made a religious question.—M.

reign upon earth till the time appointed for the last and general resurrection. So pleasing was this hope to the mind of believers that the *New Jerusalem*, the seat of this blissful kingdom, was quickly adorned with all the gayest colors of the imagination. A felicity consisting only of pure and spiritual pleasure would have appeared too refined for its inhabitants, who were still supposed to possess their human nature and senses. A garden of Eden, with the amusements of the pastoral life, was no longer suited to the advanced state of society which prevailed under the Roman empire. A city was therefore erected of gold and precious stones, and a supernatural plenty of corn and wine was bestowed on the adjacent territory; in the free enjoyment of whose spontaneous productions the happy and benevolent people was never to be restrained by any jealous laws of exclusive property.<sup>63</sup> The assurance of such a millennium was carefully inculcated by a succession of fathers from Justin Martyr<sup>64</sup> and Irenæus, who conversed with the immediate disciples of the apostles, down to Lactantius, who was preceptor to the son of Constantine.<sup>65</sup> Though it might not be universally received, it appears to have been the reigning sentiment of the orthodox believers; and it seems so well adapted to the desires and apprehensions

<sup>63</sup> Most of these pictures were borrowed from a misrepresentation of Isaiah, Daniel, and the Apocalypse. One of the grossest images may be found in Irenæus (l. v. [c. 23] p. 455 [edit. Oxon. 1702]), the disciple of Papias who had seen the apostle St. John.

<sup>64</sup> See the second dialogue of Justin with Tryphon, and the seventh book of Lactantius. It is unnecessary to allege all the intermediate fathers, as the fact is not disputed. Yet the curious reader may consult Daillé de Usu Patrum, l. ii. c. 4.

<sup>65</sup> The testimony of Justin of his own faith, and that of his orthodox brethren, in the doctrine of a millennium is delivered in the clearest and most solemn manner (Dialog. cum Tryphonte Jud. p. 177, 178, edit. Benedictin.). If in the beginning of this important passage there is anything like an inconsistency, we may impute it, as we think proper, either to the author or to his transcribers.<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup> The millennium is described, in what once stood as the 41st Article of the English Church (see Collier, Eccles. Hist., for Articles of Edw. VI.), as “a fable of Jewish dotage.” The whole of these gross and earthly images may be traced in the works which treat on the Jewish traditions, in Lightfoot, Schoetgen, and Eisenmenger; Das entdeckte Judenthum, vol. ii. p. 809; and briefly in Bertholdt, i. c. 38, 39.—M.

of mankind that it must have contributed in a very considerable degree to the progress of the Christian faith. But when the edifice of the Church was almost completed, the temporary support was laid aside. The doctrine of Christ's reign upon earth was at first treated as a profound allegory ; was considered by degrees as a doubtful and useless opinion ; and was at length rejected as the absurd invention of heresy and fanaticism.<sup>66</sup> A mysterious prophecy, which still forms a part of the sacred canon, but which was thought to favor the exploded sentiment, has very narrowly escaped the proscription of the Church.<sup>67</sup>

Whilst the happiness and glory of a temporal reign were promised to the disciples of Christ, the most dreadful calamities were denounced against an unbelieving world. The edification of the New Jerusalem was to advance by equal steps with the destruction of the mystic Babylon ; and as long as the emperors who reigned before Constantine persisted in the profession of idolatry, the

Conflagration  
of Rome and  
of the world.

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<sup>66</sup> Dupin, *Bibliothèque Ecclésiastique*, tom. i. p. 223, tom. ii. p. 366, and Mosheim, p. 720 ; though the latter of these learned divines is not altogether candid on this occasion.

<sup>67</sup> In the Council of Laodicea (about the year 360), the Apocalypse was tacitly excluded from the sacred canon by the same churches of Asia to which it is addressed ; and we may learn from the complaint of Sulpicius Severus that their sentence had been ratified by the greater number of Christians of his time. From what causes, then, is the Apocalypse at present so generally received by the Greek, the Roman, and the Protestant churches ? The following ones may be assigned : 1. The Greeks were subdued by the authority of an impostor who, in the sixth century, assumed the character of Dionysius the Areopagite. 2. A just apprehension that the grammarians might become more important than the theologians engaged the Council of Trent to fix the seal of their infallibility on all the books of Scripture contained in the Latin Vulgate, in the number of which the Apocalypse was fortunately included (Fr. Paolo, *Istoria del Concilio Tridentino*, l. ii.). 3. The advantage of turning those mysterious prophecies against the See of Rome inspired the Protestants with uncommon veneration for so useful an ally. See the ingenious and elegant discourses of the present Bishop of Lichfield on that unpromising subject.<sup>a</sup>

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<sup>a</sup> The exclusion of the Apocalypse is not improbably assigned to its obvious unfitness to be read in churches. It is to be feared that a history of the interpretation of the Apocalypse would not give a very favorable view either of the wisdom or the charity of the successive ages of Christianity. Wetstein's interpretation, differently modified, is adopted by most Continental scholars.—M.



epithet of Babylon was applied to the city and to the empire of Rome. A regular series was prepared of all the moral and physical evils which can afflict a flourishing nation: intestine discord, and the invasion of the fiercest barbarians from the unknown regions of the North; pestilence and famine, comets and eclipses, earthquakes and inundations.<sup>66</sup> All these were only so many preparatory and alarming signs of the great catastrophe of Rome, when the country of the Scipios and Cæsars should be consumed by a flame from heaven, and the City of the Seven Hills, with her palaces, her temples, and her triumphal arches, should be buried in a vast lake of fire and brimstone. It might, however, afford some consolation to Roman vanity that the period of their empire would be that of the world itself; which, as it had once perished by the element of water, was destined to experience a second and a speedy destruction from the element of fire. In the opinion of a general conflagration, the faith of the Christian very happily coincided with the tradition of the East, the philosophy of the Stoics, and the analogy of nature; and even the country which, from religious motives, had been chosen for the origin and principal scene of the conflagration was the best adapted for that purpose by natural and physical causes—by its deep caverns, beds of sulphur, and numerous volcanoes, of which those of *Ætna*, of *Vesuvius*, and of *Lipari* exhibit a very imperfect representation. The calmest and most intrepid sceptic could not refuse to acknowledge that the destruction of the present system of the world by fire was in itself extremely probable. The Christian, who founded his belief much less on the fallacious arguments of reason than on the authority of tradition and the interpretation of Scripture, expected it with terror and confidence as a certain and approaching event; and, as his mind was perpetually filled with the

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<sup>66</sup> Lactantius (*Institut. Divin.* vii. 15, etc.) relates the dismal tale of futurity with great spirit and eloquence.<sup>a</sup>

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<sup>a</sup> Lactantius had a notion of a great Asiatic empire, which was previously to rise on the ruins of the Roman: “quod Romanum nomen (horret animus dicere, sed dicam, quia futurum est) tolletur de terrâ, et imperium in Asiam revertetur.”—M.

solemn idea, he considered every disaster that happened to the empire as an infallible symptom of an expiring world.<sup>69</sup>

The condemnation of the wisest and most virtuous of the pagans on account of their ignorance or disbelief of the divine truth seems to offend the reason and the humanity of the present age.<sup>70</sup> But the primitive

The pagans devoted to eternal punishment.

Church, whose faith was of a much firmer consistence, delivered over, without hesitation, to eternal torture the far greater part of the human species. A charitable hope might perhaps be indulged in favor of Socrates, or some other sages of antiquity who had consulted the light of reason before that of the Gospel had arisen.<sup>71</sup> But it was unanimously affirmed that those who, since the birth or the death of Christ, had obstinately persisted in the worship of the demons, neither deserved nor could expect a pardon from the irritated justice of the Deity. These rigid sentiments, which had been unknown to the ancient world, appear to have infused a spirit of bitterness into a system of love and harmony. The ties of blood and friendship were frequently torn asunder by the difference of religious faith; and the Christians who, in this world, found themselves oppressed by the power of the pagans, were sometimes seduced by resentment and spiritual pride to delight in the prospect of their future triumph. "You are fond of spectacles," exclaims the stern Tertullian;

<sup>69</sup> On this subject every reader of taste will be entertained with the third part of Burnet's Sacred Theory. He blends philosophy, Scripture, and tradition into one magnificent system, in the description of which he displays a strength of fancy not inferior to that of Milton himself.

<sup>70</sup> And yet, whatever may be the language of individuals, it is still the public doctrine of all the Christian churches; nor can even our own refuse to admit the conclusions which must be drawn from the eighth and the eighteenth of her Articles. The Jansenists, who have so diligently studied the works of the fathers, maintain this sentiment with distinguished zeal; and the learned M. de Tillemont never dismisses a virtuous emperor without pronouncing his damnation. Zuinglius is perhaps the only leader of a party who has ever adopted the milder sentiment, and he gave no less offence to the Lutherans than to the Catholics. See Bossuet, *Histoire des Variations des Églises Protestantes*, l. ii. ch. 19-22.

<sup>71</sup> Justin and Clemens of Alexandria allow that some of the philosophers were instructed by the Logos, confounding its double signification of the human reason and of the Divine Word.

“expect the greatest of all spectacles—the last and eternal judgment of the universe. How shall I admire, how laugh, how rejoice, how exalt, when I behold so many proud monarchs and fancied gods groaning in the lowest abyss of darkness; so many magistrates, who persecuted the name of the Lord, liquefying in fiercer fires than they ever kindled against the Christians; so many sage philosophers blushing in red-hot flames with their deluded scholars; so many celebrated poets trembling before the tribunal, not of Minos, but of Christ; so many tragedians, more tuneful in the expression of their own sufferings; so many dancers—” But the humanity of the reader will permit me to draw a veil over the rest of this infernal description which the zealous African pursues in a long variety of affected and unfeeling witticisms.<sup>72</sup>

Doubtless there were many among the primitive Christians of a temper more suitable to the meekness and charity of their profession. There were many who felt a sincere compassion for the danger of their friends and countrymen, and who exerted the most benevolent zeal to save them from the impending destruction. The careless polytheist, assailed by new and unexpected terrors, against which neither his priests nor his philosophers could afford him any certain protection, was very frequently terrified and subdued by the menace of eternal tortures. His fears might assist the progress of his faith and reason; and, if he could once persuade himself to suspect that the Christian religion might possibly be true, it became an easy task to convince him that it was the safest and most prudent party that he could possibly embrace.

III. The supernatural gifts which even in this life were ascribed to the Christians above the rest of mankind must

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<sup>72</sup> Tertullian. de Spectaculis, c. 30. In order to ascertain the degree of authority which the zealous African had acquired, it may be sufficient to allege the testimony of Cyprian, the doctor and guide of all the Western churches (see Prudent. Hym. xiii. 100). As often as he applied himself to his daily study of the writings of Tertullian, he was accustomed to say, “Da mihi magistrum”—Give me my master (Hieronym. de Viris Illustribus, tom. i. p. 284 [c. 53, tom. ii. p. 878, edit. Vallars.]).

have conduced to their own comfort, and very frequently to the conviction of infidels. Besides the occasional prodigies which might sometimes be effected by the immediate interposition of the Deity when he suspended the laws of nature for the service of religion, the Christian Church, from the time of the apostles and their first disciples,<sup>73</sup> has claimed an uninterrupted succession of miraculous powers; the gift of tongues, of vision, and of prophecy; the power of expelling demons, of healing the sick, and of raising the dead. The knowledge of foreign languages was frequently communicated to the contemporaries of Irenæus, though Irenæus himself was left to struggle with the difficulties of a barbarous dialect whilst he preached the Gospel to the natives of Gaul.<sup>74</sup> The divine inspiration, whether it was conveyed in the form of a waking or of a sleeping vision, is described as a favor very liberally bestowed on all ranks of the faithful, on women as on elders, on boys as well as upon bishops. When their devout minds were sufficiently prepared by a course of prayer, of fasting, and of vigils, to receive the extraordinary impulse, they were transported out of their senses, and delivered in ecstasy what was inspired, being mere organs of the Holy Spirit, just as a pipe or flute is of him who blows into it.<sup>75</sup> We may add that the design of these visions

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<sup>73</sup> Notwithstanding the evasions of Dr. Middleton, it is impossible to overlook the clear traces of visions and inspiration which may be found in the apostolic fathers.<sup>a</sup>

<sup>74</sup> Irenæus adv. Hæres. Proëm. p. 3. Dr. Middleton (Free Inquiry, p. 96, etc.) observes that as this pretension, of all others, was the most difficult to support by art, it was the soonest given up. The observation suits his hypothesis.<sup>b</sup>

<sup>75</sup> Athenagoras in Legatione. Justin Martyr, Cohort. ad Gentes. Tertullian. advers. Marcionem, l. iv. These descriptions are not very unlike the prophetic fury for which Cicero (de Divinat. ii. 54) expresses so little reverence.

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<sup>a</sup> Gibbon should have noticed the distinct and remarkable passage from Chrysostom, quoted by Middleton (Works, vol. i. p. 105), in which he affirms the long discontinuance of miracles as a notorious fact.—M.

<sup>b</sup> Except in the Life of Pachomius, an Egyptian monk of the fourth century (see Jortin, Eccles. Hist. i. p. 368, edit. 1805), and the later (not earlier) Lives of Xavier, there is no claim laid to the gift of tongues since the time of Irenæus; and of this claim Xavier's own letters are profoundly silent. See Douglas's Criterion, p. 76, edit. 1807.—M.



was, for the most part, either to disclose the future history or to guide the present administration of the Church. The expulsion of the demons from the bodies of those unhappy persons whom they had been permitted to torment was considered as a signal though ordinary triumph of religion, and is repeatedly alleged by the ancient apologists as the most convincing evidence of the truth of Christianity. The awful ceremony was usually performed in a public manner, and in the presence of a great number of spectators; the patient was relieved by the power or skill of the exorcist, and the vanquished demon was heard to confess that he was one of the fabled gods of antiquity who had impiously usurped the adoration of mankind.<sup>76</sup> But the miraculous cure of diseases of the most inveterate or even preternatural kind can no longer occasion any surprise when we recollect that in the days of Irenæus, about the end of the second century, the resurrection of the dead was very far from being esteemed an uncommon event; that the miracle was frequently performed on necessary occasions by great fasting and the joint supplication of the Church of the place; and that the persons thus restored to their prayers had lived afterwards among them many years.<sup>77</sup> At such a period, when faith could boast of so many wonderful victories over death, it seems difficult to account for the scepticism of those philosophers who still rejected and derided the doctrine of the resurrection. A noble Grecian had

<sup>76</sup> Tertullian (*Apolog.* c. 23) throws out a bold defiance to the pagan magistrates. Of the primitive miracles, the power of exorcising is the only one which has been assumed by Protestants.<sup>a</sup>

<sup>77</sup> Irenæus *adv. Hæreses*, l. ii. c. 56, 57, l. v. c. 6. Mr. Dodwell (*Dissertat. ad Irenæum*, ii. 42) concludes that the second century was still more fertile in miracles than the first.<sup>b</sup>

<sup>a</sup> But by Protestants neither of the most enlightened ages nor most reasoning minds.—M.

<sup>b</sup> It is difficult to answer Middleton's objection to this statement of Irenæus: "It is very strange that from the time of the apostles there is not a single instance of this miracle to be found in the three first centuries; except a single case slightly intimated in Eusebius from the works of Papias, which he seems to rank among the other fabulous stories delivered by that weak man" (*Middleton, Works*, vol. i. p. 59). Bishop Douglas (*Criterion*, p. 389) would consider Irenæus to speak of what had "been performed formerly," not in his own time.—M.

rested on this important ground the whole controversy, and promised Theophilus, Bishop of Antioch, that if he could be gratified with the sight of a single person who had been actually raised from the dead, he would immediately embrace the Christian religion. It is somewhat remarkable that the prelate of the first Eastern Church, however anxious for the conversion of his friend, thought proper to decline this fair and reasonable challenge.<sup>78</sup>

The miracles of the primitive Church, after obtaining the sanction of ages, have been lately attacked in a very free and ingenious inquiry,<sup>79</sup> which, though it has met with the most favorable reception from the public, appears to have excited a general scandal among the divines of our own as well as of the other Protestant churches of Europe.<sup>80</sup>

Our different sentiments on this subject will be much less influenced by any particular arguments than by our habits of study and reflection, and, above all, by the degree of the evidence which we have accustomed ourselves to require for the proof of a miraculous event. The duty of an historian does not call upon him to interpose

Our perplexity in defining the miraculous period. This private judgment in this nice and important controversy ; but he ought not to dissemble the difficulty of adopting such a theory as may reconcile the interest of religion with that of reason, of making a proper application of that theory, and of defining with precision the limits of that happy period, exempt from error and from deceit, to which we might be disposed to extend the gift of supernatural powers. From the

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<sup>78</sup> Theophilus ad Autolyicum, l. i. p. 345, edit. Benedictin. Paris, 1742 [p. 35, edit. Oxon. 1684].<sup>a</sup>

<sup>79</sup> Dr. Middleton sent out his Introduction in the year 1747, published his Free Inquiry in 1749, and before his death, which happened in 1750, he had prepared a vindication of it against his numerous adversaries.

<sup>80</sup> The University of Oxford conferred degrees on his opponents. From the indignation of Mosheim (p. 221) we may discover the sentiments of the Lutheran divines.<sup>b</sup>

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<sup>a</sup> A candid sceptic might discern some impropriety in the bishop being called upon to perform a miracle on demand.—M.

<sup>b</sup> Yet many Protestant divines will now without reluctance confine miracles to the time of the apostles, or at least to the first century.—M.

first of the fathers to the last of the popes, a succession of bishops, of saints, of martyrs, and of miracles is continued without interruption; and the progress of superstition was so gradual, and almost imperceptible, that we know not in what particular link we should break the chain of tradition. Every age bears testimony to the wonderful events by which it was distinguished, and its testimony appears no less weighty and respectable than that of the preceding generation, till we are insensibly led on to accuse our own inconsistency if, in the eighth or in the twelfth century, we deny to the venerable Bede or to the holy Bernard the same degree of confidence which, in the second century, we had so liberally granted to Justin or to Irenæus.<sup>81</sup> If the truth of any of those miracles is appreciated by their apparent use and propriety, every age had unbelievers to convince, heretics to confute, and idolatrous nations to convert; and sufficient motives might always be produced to justify the interposition of Heaven. And yet, since every friend to revelation is persuaded of the reality, and every reasonable man is convinced of the cessation, of miraculous powers, it is evident that there must have been *some period* in which they were either suddenly or gradually withdrawn from the Christian Church. Whatever era is chosen for that purpose, the death of the apostles, the conversion of the Roman empire, or the extinction of the Arian heresy,<sup>82</sup>

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<sup>81</sup> It may seem somewhat remarkable that Bernard of Clairvaux, who records so many miracles of his friend St. Malachi, never takes any notice of his own, which, in their turn, however, are carefully related by his companions and disciples. In the long series of ecclesiastical history, does there exist a single instance of a saint asserting that he himself possessed the gift of miracles?

<sup>82</sup> The conversion of Constantine is the era which is most usually fixed by Protestants. The more rational divines are unwilling to admit the miracles of the fourth, whilst the more credulous are unwilling to reject those of the fifth century.\*

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\* All this appears to proceed on the principle that any distinct line can be drawn in an unphilosophic age between wonders and miracles, or between what piety, from their unexpected and extraordinary nature, the marvellous concurrence of secondary causes to some remarkable end, may consider *providential interpositions*, and *miracles* strictly so called, in which the laws of nature are suspended or violated. It is impossible to assign, on one side, limits to human credulity, on the other, to the influence of the imagination on the bodily frame; but some of the miracles recorded in the Gospels are such palpable *impossibilities*, according to the

the insensibility of the Christians who lived at that time will equally afford a just matter of surprise. They still supported their pretensions after they had lost their power. Credulity performed the office of faith; fanaticism was permitted to assume the language of inspiration, and the effects of accident or contrivance were ascribed to supernatural causes. The recent experience of genuine miracles should have instructed the Christian world in the ways of providence, and habituated their eye (if we may use a very inadequate expression) to the style of the Divine Artist. Should the most skilful painter of modern Italy presume to decorate his feeble imitations with the name of Raphael or of Correggio, the insolent fraud would be soon discovered and indignantly rejected.

Whatever opinion may be entertained of the miracles of the primitive Church since the time of the apostles, this unresisting softness of temper, so conspicuous among the believers of the second and third centuries, proved of some accidental benefit to the cause of truth and religion. In modern times, a latent and even involuntary scepticism adheres to the most pious dispositions. Their admission of supernatural truths is much less an active consent than a cold and passive acquiescence. Accustomed long since to observe and to respect the invariable order of nature, our reason, or at least our imagination, is not sufficiently prepared to sustain the visible action of the Deity. But in the first ages of Christianity the situation of mankind was extremely different. The most curious, or the most credulous, among the pagans were often persuaded to enter into a society which asserted an actual claim of miraculous powers. The primitive Christians perpetually trod on mystic ground, and their minds were exercised by the habits of believing the most extraordinary events. They felt, or they fancied, that on every side they were incessantly assaulted by demons, comforted by visions,

Use of the  
primitive mir-  
acles.

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known laws and operations of nature, that, if recorded on sufficient evidence, and the evidence we believe to be that of eye-witnesses, we cannot reject them, without either asserting, with Hume, that no evidence can prove a miracle, or that the Author of nature has no power of suspending its ordinary laws. But which of the *post-apostolic* miracles will bear this test?—M.



instructed by prophecy, and surprisingly delivered from danger, sickness, and from death itself; by the supplications of the Church. The real or imaginary prodigies of which they so frequently conceived themselves to be the objects, the instruments, or the spectators, very happily disposed them to adopt with the same ease, but with far greater justice, the authentic wonders of the evangelic history; and thus miracles that exceeded not the measure of their own experience inspired them with the most lively assurance of mysteries which were acknowledged to surpass the limits of their understanding. It is this deep impression of supernatural truths which has been so much celebrated under the name of faith—a state of mind described as the surest pledge of the divine favor and of future felicity, and recommended as the first or perhaps the only merit of a Christian. According to the more rigid doctors, the moral virtues, which may be equally practised by infidels, are destitute of any value or efficacy in the work of our justification.

IV. But the primitive Christian demonstrated his faith by his virtues; and it was very justly supposed that the divine persuasion which enlightened or subdued the understanding must at the same time purify the heart and direct the actions of the believer. The first apologists of Christianity who justify the innocence of their brethren, and the writers of a later period who celebrate the sanctity of their ancestors, display, in the most lively colors, the reformation of manners which was introduced into the world by the preaching of the Gospel. As it is my intention to remark only such human causes as were permitted to second the influence of revelation, I shall slightly mention two motives which might naturally render the lives of the primitive Christians much purer and more austere than those of their pagan contemporaries or their degenerate successors—repentance for their past sins, and the laudable desire of supporting the reputation of the society in which they were engaged.<sup>a</sup>

THE FOURTH  
CAUSE.  
Virtues of the  
first Christians.

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<sup>a</sup> These, in the opinion of the editor, are the most uncandid paragraphs in Gibbon's History. He ought either, with manly courage, to have denied the moral

It is a very ancient reproach, suggested by the ignorance or the malice of infidelity, that the Christians allured into their party the most atrocious criminals, who, as soon as they were touched by a sense of remorse, were easily persuaded to wash away, in the water of baptism, the guilt of their past conduct, for which the temples of the gods refused to grant them any expiation. But this reproach, when it is cleared from misrepresentation, contributes as much to the honor as it did to the increase of the Church.<sup>63</sup> The friends of Christianity may acknowledge without a blush that many of the most eminent saints had been before their baptism the most abandoned sinners. Those persons who in the world had followed, though in an imperfect manner, the dictates of benevolence and propriety, derived such a calm satisfaction from the opinion of their own rectitude as rendered them much less susceptible of the sudden emotions of shame, of grief, and of terror, which have given birth to so many wonderful conversions. After the example of their Divine Master, the missionaries of the Gospel disdained not the society of men, and especially of women, oppressed by the consciousness, and very often by the effects, of their vices. As they emerged from sin and superstition to the glorious hope of immortality, they resolved to devote themselves to a life, not only of virtue, but of penitence. The desire of perfection became the ruling passion of their soul; and it is well known that, while reason embraces a cold mediocrity, our passions hurry us with rapid violence over the space which lies between the most opposite extremes.

When the new converts had been enrolled in the number of the faithful, and were admitted to the sacraments of the Church, they found themselves restrained from relapsing into their past disorders by another consideration of a less spiritual but of a very innocent and respectable

Care of their  
reputation.

<sup>63</sup> The imputations of Celsus and Julian, with the defence of the fathers, are very fairly stated by Spanheim, *Commentaire sur les Césars de Julian*, p. 468.

reformation introduced by Christianity, or fairly to have investigated all its motives: not to have confined himself to an insidious and sarcastic description of the less pure and generous elements of the Christian character as it appeared even at that early time.—M.

ble nature. Any particular society that has departed from the great body of the nation, or the religion to which it belonged, immediately becomes the object of universal as well as invidious observation. In proportion to the smallness of its numbers, the character of the society may be affected by the virtue and vices of the persons who compose it; and every member is engaged to watch with the most vigilant attention over his own behavior, and over that of his brethren, since, as he must expect to incur a part of the common disgrace, he may hope to enjoy a share of the common reputation. When the Christians of Bithynia were brought before the tribunal of the younger Pliny, they assured the proconsul that, far from being engaged in any unlawful conspiracy, they were bound by a solemn obligation to abstain from the commission of those crimes which disturb the private or public peace of society, from theft, robbery, adultery, perjury, and fraud.<sup>84</sup> Near a century afterwards, Tertullian with an honest pride could boast that very few Christians had suffered by the hand of the executioner, except on account of their religion.<sup>85</sup> Their serious and sequestered life, averse to the gay luxury of the age, inured them to chastity, temperance, economy, and all the sober and domestic virtues. As the greater number were of some trade or profession, it was incumbent on them, by the strictest integrity and the fairest dealing, to remove the suspicions which the profane are too apt to conceive against the appearances of sanctity. The contempt of the world exercised them in the habits of humility, meekness, and patience. The more they were persecuted, the more closely they adhered to each other. Their mutual charity and unsuspecting confidence have been remarked by infidels, and were too often abused by perfidious friends.<sup>86</sup>

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<sup>84</sup> Plin. Epist. x. 97.

<sup>85</sup> Tertullian, Apolog. c. 44. He adds, however, with some degree of hesitation, "Aut si [et] aliud, jam non Christianus."

<sup>86</sup> The philosopher Peregrinus (of whose life and death Lucian has left us so entertaining an account) imposed for a long time on the credulous simplicity of the Christians of Asia.

\* And this blamelessness was fully admitted by the candid and enlightened Roman.—M.

It is a very honorable circumstance for the morals of the primitive Christians that even their faults, or rather errors, were derived from an excess of virtue. The bishops and doctors of the Church, whose evidence attests, and whose authority might influence, the professions, the principles, and even the practice of their contemporaries, had studied the Scriptures with less skill than devotion ; and they often received in the most literal sense those rigid precepts of Christ and the apostles to which the prudence of succeeding commentators has applied a looser and more figurative mode of interpretation. Ambitious to exalt the perfection of the Gospel above the wisdom of philosophy, the zealous fathers have carried the duties of self-mortification, of purity, and of patience to a height which it is scarcely possible to attain, and much less to preserve, in our present state of weakness and corruption. A doctrine so extraordinary and so sublime must inevitably command the veneration of the people ; but it was ill calculated to obtain the suffrage of those worldly philosophers who, in the conduct of this transitory life, consult only the feelings of nature and the interest of society.<sup>87</sup>

There are two very natural propensities which we may distinguish in the most virtuous and liberal dispositions, the love of pleasure and the love of action. If the former is refined by art and learning, improved by the charms of social intercourse, and corrected by a just regard to economy, to health, and to reputation, it is productive of the greatest part of the happiness of private life. The love of action is a principle of a much stronger and more doubtful nature. It often leads to anger, to ambition, and to revenge ; but when it is guided by the sense of propriety and benevolence, it becomes the parent of every virtue ; and if those virtues are accompanied with equal abilities, a family, a state, or an empire may be indebted for its safety and prosperity to the undaunted courage of a single man. To the love of pleasure we may therefore ascribe most of the agreeable, to the love of action we may attribute most of the useful and re-

Morality of  
the fathers.

Principles of  
human  
nature.

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<sup>87</sup> See a very judicious treatise of Barbeyrac sur la Morale des Pères.



spectable, qualifications. The character in which both the one and the other should be united and harmonized would seem to constitute the most perfect idea of human nature. The insensible and inactive disposition, which should be supposed alike destitute of both, would be rejected, by the common consent of mankind, as utterly incapable of procuring any happiness to the individual or any public benefit to the world. But it was not in *this* world that the primitive Christians were desirous of making themselves either agreeable or useful.\*

The acquisition of knowledge, the exercise of our reason or fancy, and the cheerful flow of unguarded conversation may employ the leisure of a liberal mind. Such amusements, however, were rejected with abhorrence, or admitted with the utmost caution by the severity of the fathers, who despised all knowledge that was not useful to salvation, and who considered all levity of discourse as a criminal abuse of the gift of speech. In our present state of existence the body is so inseparably connected with the soul that it seems to be our interest to taste, with innocence and moderation, the enjoyments of which that faithful companion is susceptible. Very different was the reasoning of our devout predecessors: vainly aspiring to imitate the perfection of angels, they disdained, or they affected to disdain, every earthly and corporeal delight.<sup>88</sup> Some of our senses, indeed, are necessary for our preservation, others for our subsistence, and others again for our information; and thus far it was impossible to reject the use of them. The first sensation of pleasure was marked as the first moment of their

The primitive Christians condemn pleasure and luxury.

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<sup>88</sup> Lactantius, Institut. Divin. l. vi. c. 20, 21, 22.

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\* Et que me fait cette homélie semi-stoïcienne, semi-épicurienne? A-t-on jamais regardé l'amour du plaisir comme l'un des principes de la perfection morale? Et de quel droit faites vous de l'amour de l'action, et de l'amour du plaisir, les seuls élémens de l'être humain? Est-ce que vous faites abstraction de la vérité en elle même, de la conscience et du sentiment du devoir? Est-ce que vous ne sentez point, par exemple, que le sacrifice du *moi* à la justice et à la vérité est aussi dans le cœur de l'homme; que tout n'est pas pour lui action ou plaisir; et que dans le bien ce n'est pas le mouvement, mais la vérité, qu'il cherche? Et puis... Thucydide et Tacite, ces maîtres de l'histoire, ont-ils jamais introduits dans leurs récits un fragment de dissertation sur le *plaisir* et sur l'action?—Villemain, Cours de Lit. Franç. part ii. leçon v.—M.

abuse. The unfeeling candidate for heaven was instructed, not only to resist the grosser allurements of the taste or smell, but even to shut his ears against the profane harmony of sounds, and to view with indifference the most finished productions of human art. Gay apparel, magnificent houses, and elegant furniture were supposed to unite the double guilt of pride and of sensuality. A simple and mortified appearance was more suitable to the Christian, who was certain of his sins and doubtful of his salvation. In their censures of luxury the fathers are extremely minute and circumstantial;<sup>89</sup> and among the various articles which excite their pious indignation we may enumerate false hair, garments of any color except white, instruments of music, vases of gold or silver, downy pillows (as Jacob reposed his head on a stone), white bread, foreign wines, public salutations, the use of warm baths, and the practice of shaving the beard, which, according to the expression of Tertullian, is a lie against our own faces and an impious attempt to improve the works of the Creator.<sup>90</sup> When Christianity was introduced among the rich and the polite, the observation of these singular laws was left, as it would be at present, to the few who were ambitious of superior sanctity. But it is always easy as well as agreeable for the inferior ranks of mankind to claim a merit from the contempt of that pomp and pleasure which fortune has placed beyond their reach. The virtue of the primitive Christians, like that of the first Romans, was very frequently guarded by poverty and ignorance.

The chaste severity of the fathers in whatever related to the commerce of the two sexes flowed from the same principle —their abhorrence of every enjoyment which might gratify the sensual and degrade the spiritual nature of man. It was their favorite opinion that if Adam had preserved his obedience to the Creator, he would have lived forever in a state of virgin purity, and that some

Their sentiments concerning marriage and chastity.

<sup>89</sup> Consult a work of Clemens of Alexandria, entitled *The Pædagogue*, which contains the rudiments of ethics as they were taught in the most celebrated of the Christian schools.

<sup>90</sup> Tertullian, *de Spectaculis*, c. 23. Clemens Alexandrin. *Pædagog.* l. iii. c. 8.

harmless mode of vegetation might have peopled paradise with a race of innocent and immortal beings.<sup>91</sup> The use of marriage was permitted only to his fallen posterity, as a necessary expedient to continue the human species, and as a restraint, however imperfect, on the natural licentiousness of desire. The hesitation of the orthodox casuists on this interesting subject betrays the perplexity of men unwilling to approve an institution which they were compelled to tolerate.<sup>92</sup> The enumeration of the very whimsical laws which they most circumstantially imposed on the marriage-bed would force a smile from the young and a blush from the fair. It was their unanimous sentiment that a first marriage was adequate to all the purposes of nature and of society. The sensual connection was refined into a resemblance of the mystic union of Christ with his Church, and was pronounced to be indissoluble either by divorce or by death. The practice of second nuptials was branded with the name of a legal adultery; and the persons who were guilty of so scandalous an offence against Christian purity were soon excluded from the honors, and even from the arms, of the Church.<sup>93</sup> Since desire was imputed as a crime, and marriage was tolerated as a defect, it was consistent with the same principles to consider a state of celibacy as the nearest approach to the divine perfection. It was with the utmost difficulty that ancient Rome could support the institution of six vestals;<sup>94</sup> but the primitive Church was filled

<sup>91</sup> Beausobre, *Hist. Critique du Manichéisme*, l. vii. c. 3. Justin, Gregory of Nyssa, Augustine, etc., strongly inclined to this opinion.<sup>a</sup>

<sup>92</sup> Some of the Gnostic heretics were more consistent; they rejected the use of marriage.

<sup>93</sup> See a chain of tradition, from Justin Martyr to Jerome, in the *Morale des Pères*, ch. iv. 6-26.

<sup>94</sup> See a very curious Dissertation on the Vestals in the *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, tom. iv. p. 161-227. Notwithstanding the honors and rewards which were bestowed on those virgins, it was difficult to procure a sufficient number; nor could the dread of the most horrible death always restrain their incontinence.

<sup>a</sup> But these were Gnostic or Manichæan opinions. Beausobre distinctly ascribes Augustine's bias to his recent escape from Manichæism, and adds that he afterwards changed his views.—M.

with a great number of persons of either sex who had devoted themselves to the profession of perpetual chastity.<sup>95</sup> A few of these, among whom we may reckon the learned Origen, judged it the most prudent to disarm the tempter.<sup>96</sup> Some were insensible and some were invincible against the assaults of the flesh. Disdaining an ignominious flight, the virgins of the warm climate of Africa encountered the enemy in the closest engagement; they permitted priests and deacons to share their bed, and gloried amidst the flames in their unsullied purity. But insulted nature sometimes vindicated her rights, and this new species of martyrdom served only to introduce a new scandal into the Church.<sup>97</sup> Among the Christian ascetics, however (a name which they soon acquired from their painful exercise), many, as they were less presumptuous, were probably more successful. The loss of sensual pleasure was supplied and compensated by spiritual pride. Even the multitude of pagans were inclined to estimate the merit of the sacrifice by its apparent difficulty, and it was in the praise of these chaste spouses of Christ that the fathers have poured forth the troubled stream of their eloquence.<sup>98</sup> Such are the early traces of monastic principles and institutions, which, in a subsequent age, have counterbalanced all the temporal advantages of Christianity.<sup>99</sup>

The Christians were not less averse to the business than to the pleasures of this world. The defence of our persons and

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<sup>95</sup> Cupiditatem procreandi aut unam scimus aut nullam. Minucius Felix, c. 31. Justin. Apol. Major. Athanag. in Legat. c. 28. Tertul. de Cultu Femin. l. ii.

<sup>96</sup> Eusebius, l. vi. 8. Before the fame of Origen had excited envy and persecution, this extraordinary action was rather admired than censured. As it was his general practice to allegorize Scripture, it seems unfortunate that, in this instance only, he should have adopted the literal sense.

<sup>97</sup> Cyprian. Epist. 4, and Dodwell, Dissertat. Cyprianic. iii. Something like this rash attempt was long afterwards imputed to the founder of the Order of Fontevault. Bayle has amused himself and his readers on that very delicate subject.

<sup>98</sup> Dupin (Bibliothèque Ecclésiastique, tom. i. p. 195) gives a particular account of the dialogue of the ten virgins as it was composed by Methodius, Bishop of Tyre. The praises of virginity are excessive.

<sup>99</sup> The ascetics (as early as the second century) made a public profession of mortifying their bodies and of abstaining from the use of flesh and wine. Mosheim, p. 310.



property they knew not how to reconcile with the patient doctrine which enjoined an unlimited forgiveness of past injuries, and commanded them to invite the repetition of fresh insults. Their simplicity was offended by the use of oaths, by the pomp of magistracy, and by the active contention of public life; nor could their humane ignorance be convinced that it was lawful on any occasion to shed the blood of our fellow-creatures, either by the sword of justice or by that of war, even though their criminal or hostile attempts should threaten the peace and safety of the whole community.<sup>100</sup> It was acknowledged that, under a less perfect law, the powers of the Jewish constitution had been exercised, with the approbation of Heaven, by inspired prophets and by anointed kings. The Christians felt and confessed that such institutions might be necessary for the present system of the world, and they cheerfully submitted to the authority of their pagan governors. But while they inculcated the maxims of passive obedience, they refused to take any active part in the civil administration or the military defence of the empire. Some indulgence might perhaps be allowed to those persons who, before their conversion, were already engaged in such violent and sanguinary occupations;<sup>101</sup> but it was impossible that the Christians, without renouncing a more sacred duty, could assume the character of soldiers, of magistrates, or of princes.<sup>102</sup> This indolent, or even criminal, dis-

Their aversion to the business of war and government.

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<sup>100</sup> See the *Morale des Pères*. The same patient principles have been revived since the Reformation by the Socinians, the modern Anabaptists, and the Quakers. Barclay, the Apologist of the Quakers, has protected his brethren by the authority of the primitive Christians (p. 542-549).

<sup>101</sup> Tertullian, *Apolog.* c. 21; *De Idololatriâ*, c. 17, 18. Origen *contra Celsum*, l. v. p. 253 [c. 33, tom. i. p. 602, ed. Bened.], l. vii. p. 349 [c. 26, p. 712], l. viii. p. 423-428 [c. 68 seq. p. 793 seq.].

<sup>102</sup> Tertullian (*de Coronâ Militis*, c. 11) suggested to them the expedient of deserting—a counsel which, if it had been generally known, was not very proper to conciliate the favor of the emperors towards the Christian sect.<sup>a</sup>

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<sup>a</sup> There is nothing which ought to astonish us in the refusal of the primitive Christians to take part in public affairs; it was the natural consequence of the contrariety of their principles to the customs, laws, and active life of the pagan world. As Christians they could not enter into the senate, which, according to Gibbon

regard to the public welfare exposed them to the contempt and reproaches of the pagans, who very frequently asked, What must be the fate of the empire, attacked on every side by the barbarians, if all mankind should adopt the pusillanimous sentiments of the new sect?<sup>103</sup> To this insulting question the Christian apologists returned obscure and ambiguous answers, as they were unwilling to reveal the secret cause of their security; the expectation that, before the conversion of mankind was accomplished, war, government, the Roman empire, and the world itself would be no more. It may be observed that, in this instance likewise, the situation of the first Christians coincided very happily with their religious scruples, and that their aversion to an active life contributed rather to excuse them from the service than to exclude them from the honors of the State and army.

V. But the human character, however it may be exalted or depressed by a temporary enthusiasm, will return by degrees to its proper and natural level, and will resume those passions that seem the most adapted to its present condition. The primitive Christians were dead to the business and pleasures of the world; but their love of action, which could never be en-

THE FIFTH  
CAUSE.  
The Chris-  
tians active  
in the gov-  
ernment of  
the Church.

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<sup>103</sup> As well as we can judge from the mutilated representation of Origen (l. viii. p. 423 [c. 73, tom. i. p. 796, ed. Bened.]), his adversary, Celsus, had urged his objection with great force and candor.

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himself, always assembled in a temple or consecrated place, and where each senator, before he took his seat, made a libation of a few drops of wine, and burned incense on the altar; as Christians they could not assist at festivals and banquets, which always terminated with libations, etc.; finally, as "the innumerable deities and rites of polytheism were closely interwoven with every circumstance of public and private life," the Christians could not participate in them without incurring, according to their principles, the guilt of impiety. It was then much less by an effect of their doctrine than by the consequence of their situation that they stood aloof from public business. Whenever this situation offered no impediment, they showed as much activity as the pagans.

Many passages of Tertullian prove that the army was full of Christians: "Hesterni sumus et vestra omnia implevimus, urbes, insulas, castella, municipia, conciliabula, castra ipsa" (Apol. c. 37). "Navigamus et nos vobiscum et *militamus*" (c. 42). Origen, in truth, appears to have maintained a more rigid opinion (Cont. Cels. l. viii.); but he has often renounced this exaggerated severity, perhaps necessary to produce great results, and he speaks of the profession of arms as an honorable one (l. iv. c. [83] 218 [tom. i. p. 564, ed. Bened.]).—G.

On these points Christian opinion, it should seem, was much divided. **Tertul-**

tirely extinguished, soon revived, and found a new occupation in the government of the Church. A separate society, which attacked the established religion of the empire, was obliged to adopt some form of internal policy, and to appoint a sufficient number of ministers, intrusted not only with the spiritual functions, but even with the temporal direction of the Christian commonwealth. The safety of that society, its honor, its aggrandizement, were productive, even in the most pious minds, of a spirit of patriotism such as the first of the Romans had felt for the republic, and sometimes of a similar indifference in the use of whatever means might probably conduce to so desirable an end. The ambition of raising themselves or their friends to the honors and offices of the Church was disguised by the laudable intention of devoting to the public benefit the power and consideration which, for that purpose only, it became their duty to solicit. In the exercise of their functions they were frequently called upon to detect the errors of heresy or the arts of faction, to oppose the designs of perfidious brethren, to stigmatize their characters with deserved infamy, and to expel them from the bosom of a society whose peace and happiness they had attempted to disturb. The ecclesiastical governors of the Christians were taught to unite the wisdom of the serpent with the innocence of the dove; but as the former was refined, so the latter was insensibly corrupted, by the habits of government. In the Church as well as in the world, the persons who were placed in any public station rendered themselves considerable by their eloquence and firmness, by their knowledge of mankind, and by their dexterity in business; and while they concealed from others, and perhaps from themselves, the secret motives of their conduct, they too frequently relapsed into all the turbulent passions of active life, which were tinctured with an additional degree of bitterness and obstinacy from the infusion of spiritual zeal.

The government of the Church has often been the subject

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lian, when he wrote the *De Cor. Mil.*, was evidently inclining to more ascetic opinions, and Origen was of the same class. See Neander, vol. i. part ii. p. 305, edit. 1828.—M.

as well as the prize of religious contention. The hostile disputants of Rome, of Paris, of Oxford, and of Geneva have alike struggled to reduce the primitive and apostolic model<sup>104</sup> to the respective standards of their own policy. The few who have pursued this inquiry with more candor and impartiality are of opinion<sup>105</sup> that the apostles declined the office of legislation, and rather chose to endure some partial scandals and divisions than to exclude the Christians of a future age from the liberty of varying their forms of ecclesiastical government according to the changes of times and circumstances. The scheme of policy which, under their approbation, was adopted for the use of the first century may be discovered from the practice of Jerusalem, of Ephesus, or of Corinth. The societies which were instituted in the cities of the Roman empire were united only by the ties of faith and charity. Independence and equality formed the basis of their internal constitution. The want of discipline and human learning was supplied by the occasional assistance of the *prophets*,<sup>106</sup> who were called to that function without distinction of age, of sex,<sup>a</sup> or of natural abilities, and who, as often as they felt the divine impulse, poured forth the effusions of the Spirit in the assembly of the faithful. But these extraordinary gifts were frequently abused or misapplied by the prophetic teachers. They displayed them at an improper season, presumptuously disturbed the service of the assembly, and by their pride or mistaken zeal they introduced, particularly into the Apostolic Church of Corinth, a long and melancholy train of disorders.<sup>107</sup> As the institution of

<sup>104</sup> The aristocratical party in France, as well as in England, has strenuously maintained the divine origin of bishops. But the Calvinistical presbyters were impatient of a superior, and the Roman pontiff refused to acknowledge an equal. See Fra Paolo.

<sup>105</sup> In the history of the Christian hierarchy I have, for the most part, followed the learned and candid Mosheim.

<sup>106</sup> For the prophets of the primitive Church, see Mosheim, *Dissertationes ad Hist. Eccles. pertinentes*, tom. ii. p. 132–208.

<sup>107</sup> See the epistles of St. Paul, and of Clemens, to the Corinthians.

<sup>a</sup> St. Paul distinctly reprobates the intrusion of females into the prophetic office (1 Cor. xiv. 34, 35; 1 Tim. ii. 11).—M.



prophets became useless, and even pernicious, their powers were withdrawn and their office abolished. The public functions of religion were solely intrusted to the established ministers of the Church, the *bishops* and the *presbyters*—two appellations which, in their first origin, appear to have distinguished the same office and the same order of persons. The name of *Presbyter* was expressive of their age, or rather of their gravity and wisdom. The title of bishop denoted their inspection over the faith and manners of the Christians who were committed to their pastoral care. In proportion to the respective numbers of the faithful, a larger or smaller number of these *episcopal presbyters* guided each infant congregation with equal authority and with united counsels.<sup>108</sup>

But the most perfect equality of freedom requires the directing hand of a superior magistrate; and the order of public deliberations soon introduces the office of a president, invested at least with the authority of collecting the sentiments and of executing the resolutions of the assembly. A regard for the public tranquillity, which would so frequently have been interrupted by annual or by occasional elections, induced the primitive Christians to constitute an honorable and perpetual magistracy, and to choose one of the wisest and most holy among their presbyters to execute, during his life, the duties of their ecclesiastical governor. It was under these circumstances that the lofty title of bishop began to raise itself above the humble appellation of presbyter; and while the latter remained the most natural distinction for the members of every Christian senate, the former was appropriated to the dignity of its new president.<sup>109</sup> The advantages of the episcopal form of government, which appears to have been introduced before the end of the

Institution of  
bishops as  
presidents of  
the college of  
presbyters.

<sup>108</sup> Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity, l. vii.

<sup>109</sup> See Jerome ad Titum, c. i. and Epistol. 85 (in the Benedictine edition, 101 [Ep. 146, ed. Vallars. tom. i. p. 1074]), and the elaborate apology of Blondel, pro Sententiâ Hieronymi. The ancient state, as it is described by Jerome, of the bishop and presbyters of Alexandria receives a remarkable confirmation from the patriarch Eutychius (Annal. tom. i. p. 330, vers. Pocock), whose testimony I know not how to reject, in spite of all the objections of the learned Pearson in his *Vindiciæ Ignatianæ*, part i. c. 11.

first century,<sup>110</sup> were so obvious, and so important for the future greatness as well as the present peace of Christianity, that it was adopted without delay by all the societies which were already scattered over the empire, had acquired in a very early period the sanction of antiquity,<sup>111</sup> and is still revered by the most powerful churches both of the East and of the West as a primitive and even as a divine establishment.<sup>112</sup> It is needless to observe that the pious and humble presbyters who were first dignified with the episcopal title could not possess, and would probably have rejected, the power and pomp which now encircles the tiara of the Roman pontiff or the mitre of a German prelate. But we may define in a few words the narrow limits of their original jurisdiction, which was chiefly of a spiritual, though in some instances of a temporal nature.<sup>113</sup> It consisted in the administration of the sacraments and discipline of the Church; the superintendency of religious ceremonies, which imperceptibly increased in number and variety; the consecration of ecclesiastical ministers, to whom the bishop assigned their respective functions; the management of the public fund; and the determination of all such differences as the faithful were unwilling to expose before the tribunal of an idolatrous judge. These powers, during a short period, were exercised according to the advice of the presbyteral college, and with the consent and approbation of the assembly of Christians. The primitive bishops were considered only as the first of their equals, and the honorable servants of a free people. Whenever the episcopal chair became vacant by

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<sup>110</sup> See the introduction to the Apocalypse. Bishops, under the name of angels, were already instituted in the seven cities of Asia. And yet the epistle of Clements (which is probably of as ancient a date) does not lead us to discover any traces of episcopacy either at Corinth or Rome.

<sup>111</sup> "Nulla Ecclesia sine Episcopo" has been a fact as well as a maxim since the time of Tertullian and Irenæus.

<sup>112</sup> After we have passed the difficulties of the first century, we find the episcopal government universally established, till it was interrupted by the republican genius of the Swiss and German reformers.

<sup>113</sup> See Mosheim in the first and second centuries. Ignatius (ad Smyrnæos, c. 8, etc.) is fond of exalting the episcopal dignity. Le Clerc (Hist. Eccles. p. 569) very bluntly censures his conduct. Mosheim, with a more critical judgment (p. 161), suspects the purity even of the smaller epistles.

death, a new president was chosen among the presbyters by the suffrage of the whole congregation, every member of which supposed himself invested with a sacred and sacerdotal character.<sup>114</sup>

Such was the mild and equal constitution by which the Christians were governed more than a hundred years after the death of the apostles. Every society formed within itself a separate and independent republic; and although the most distant of these little states maintained a mutual as well as friendly intercourse of letters and deputations, the Christian world was not yet connected by any supreme authority or legislative assembly. As the numbers of the faithful were gradually multiplied, they discovered the advantages that might result from a closer union of their interest and designs. Towards the end of the second century, the churches of Greece and Asia adopted the useful institutions of provincial synods,<sup>b</sup> and they may justly be supposed to have borrowed the model of a representative council from the celebrated

Provincial  
councils.

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<sup>114</sup> Nonne et laici sacerdotes sumus?<sup>2</sup>—Tertullian, Exhort. ad Castitat. c. 7. As the human heart is still the same, several of the observations which Mr. Hume has made on Enthusiasm (Essays, vol. i. p. 76, quarto edit.) may be applied even to real inspiration.

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<sup>a</sup> This expression was employed by the earlier Christian writers in the sense used by St. Peter, 1 Ep. ii. 9. It was the sanctity and virtue, not the power, of the priesthood in which all Christians were to be equally distinguished.—M.

<sup>b</sup> The synods were not the first means taken by the insulated churches to enter into communion and to assume a corporate character. The *dioceses* were first formed by the union of several country churches with a church in a city: many churches in one city uniting among themselves, or joining a more considerable church, became metropolitan. The dioceses were not formed before the beginning of the second century: before that time the Christians had not established sufficient churches in the country to stand in need of that union. It is towards the middle of the same century that we discover the first traces of the metropolitan constitution. (Probably the country churches were founded in general by missionaries from those in the city, and would preserve a natural connection with the parent church.)—M.

The provincial synods did not commence till towards the middle of the third century, and were not the first synods. History gives us distinct notions of the synods held towards the end of the second century at Ephesus, at Jerusalem, at Pontus, and at Rome, to put an end to the disputes which had arisen between the Latin and Asiatic churches about the celebration of Easter. But these synods were not subject to any regular form or periodical return; this regularity was first established with the provincial synods, which were formed by a union of the bishops of a district, subject to a metropolitan. Planck, Geschichte der christ.-kirch. Verfassung, p. 90.—G.

examples of their own country, the Amphictyons, the Achæan league, or the assemblies of the Ionian cities. It was soon established as a custom and as a law that the bishops of the independent churches should meet in the capital of the province at the stated periods of spring and autumn. Their deliberations were assisted by the advice of a few distinguished presbyters, and moderated by the presence of a listening multitude.<sup>115</sup> Their decrees, which were styled Canons, regulated every important controversy of faith and discipline; and it was natural to believe that a liberal effusion of the Holy Spirit would be poured on the united assembly of the delegates of the Christian people. The institution of synods was so well suited to private ambition and to public interest that in the space of a few years it was received throughout the whole empire. A regular correspondence was established between the provincial councils, which mutually communicated and approved their respective proceedings; and the Catholic Church soon assumed the form, and acquired the strength, of a great federative republic.<sup>116</sup>

Union of the  
Church.

Progress of  
episcopal  
authority.

As the legislative authority of the particular churches was insensibly superseded by the use of councils, the bishops obtained by their alliance a much larger share of executive and arbitrary power; and as soon as they were connected by a sense of their common interest, they were enabled to attack, with united vigor, the original rights of their clergy and people. The prelates of the third century imperceptibly changed the language of exhortation into that of command, scattered the seeds of future usurpations, and supplied, by Scripture allegories and declamatory rhetoric, their deficiency of force and of reason. They exalt-

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<sup>115</sup> Acta Concil. Carthag. apud Cyprian. edit. Fell, p. 158. This council was composed of eighty-seven bishops from the provinces of Mauritania, Numidia, and Africa; some presbyters and deacons assisted at the assembly, "præsente plebis maximâ parte."

<sup>116</sup> Aguntur præterea per Græcias illas, certis in locis concilia, etc.—Tertullian. de Jejuniiis, c. 13. The African mentions it as a recent and foreign institution. The coalition of the Christian churches is very ably explained by Mosheim, p. 164–170.



ed the unity and power of the Church, as it was represented in the EPISCOPAL OFFICE, of which every bishop enjoyed an equal and undivided portion.<sup>117</sup> Princes and magistrates, it was often repeated, might boast an earthly claim to a transitory dominion: it was the episcopal authority alone which was derived from the Deity, and extended itself over this and over another world. The bishops were the vicegerents of Christ, the successors of the apostles, and the mystic substitutes of the high-priest of the Mosaic law. Their exclusive privilege of conferring the sacerdotal character invaded the freedom both of clerical and of popular elections; and if, in the administration of the Church, they still consulted the judgment of the presbyters or the inclination of the people, they most carefully inculcated the merit of such a voluntary condescension. The bishops acknowledged the supreme authority which resided in the assembly of their brethren; but in the government of his peculiar diocese each of them exacted from his *flock* the same implicit obedience as if that favorite metaphor had been literally just, and as if the shepherd had been of a more exalted nature than that of his sheep.<sup>118</sup> This obedience, however, was not imposed without some efforts on one side and some resistance on the other. The democratical part of the constitution was in many places very warmly supported by the zealous or interested opposition of the inferior clergy. But their patriotism received the ignominious epithets of faction and schism; and the episcopal cause was indebted for its rapid progress to the labors of many active prelates, who, like Cyprian of Carthage, could reconcile the arts of the most ambitious statesman with the Christian virtues which seem adapted to the character of a saint and martyr.<sup>119</sup>

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<sup>117</sup> Cyprian, in his admired treatise *De Unitate Ecclesiæ*, p. 75-86 [p. 108, ed. Oxon.].

<sup>118</sup> We may appeal to the whole tenor of Cyprian's conduct, of his doctrine, and of his epistles. Le Clerc, in a short *Life of Cyprian* (*Bibliothèque Universelle*, tom. xii. p. 207-378), has laid him open with great freedom and accuracy.

<sup>119</sup> If Novatus, Felicissimus, etc., whom the Bishop of Carthage expelled from his Church, and from Africa, were not the most detestable monsters of wickedness, the zeal of Cyprian must occasionally have prevailed over his veracity. For a very just account of these obscure quarrels, see Mosheim, p. 497-512.

The same causes which at first had destroyed the equality of the presbyters introduced among the bishops a pre-eminence of rank, and from thence a superiority of jurisdiction. As often as in the spring and autumn they met in provincial synod, the difference of personal merit and reputation was very sensibly felt among the members of the assembly, and the multitude was governed by the wisdom and eloquence of the few. But the order of public proceedings required a more regular and less invidious distinction; the office of perpetual presidents in the councils of each province was conferred on the bishops of the principal city; and these aspiring prelates, who soon acquired the lofty titles of metropolitans and primates, secretly prepared themselves to usurp over their episcopal brethren the same authority which the bishops had so lately assumed above the college of presbyters.<sup>120</sup> Nor was it long before an emulation of pre-eminence and power prevailed among the metropolitans themselves, each of them affecting to display, in the most pompous terms, the temporal honors and advantages of the city over which he presided; the numbers and opulence of the Christians who were subject to their pastoral care; the saints and martyrs who had arisen among them; and the purity with which they preserved the tradition of the faith as it had been transmitted through a series of orthodox bishops from the apostle or the apostolic disciple to whom the foundation of their Church was ascribed.<sup>121</sup> From every cause, either of a civil or of an ecclesiastical nature, it was easy to foresee that Rome must enjoy the respect, and would soon claim the obedience, of the provinces. The society of the faithful bore a just proportion to the capital of the empire; and the Roman Church was the greatest, the most numerous, and, in regard to the West, the most ancient of all the Christian establishments, many of which had received their religion from the pious labors of her missionaries. Instead of

Pre-eminence  
of the met-  
ropolitan  
churches.

Ambition of  
the Roman  
pontiff.

<sup>120</sup> Mosheim, p. 269, 574. Dupin, *Antiquæ Eccles. Disciplin.* p. 19, 20.

<sup>121</sup> Tertullian, in a distinct treatise, has pleaded against the heretics the right of prescription, as it was held by the apostolic churches.

one apostolic founder, the utmost boast of Antioch, of Ephesus, or of Corinth, the banks of the Tiber were supposed to have been honored with the preaching and martyrdom of the *two* most eminent among the apostles;<sup>122</sup> and the Bishops of Rome very prudently claimed the inheritance of whatsoever prerogatives were attributed either to the person or to the office of St. Peter.<sup>123</sup> The bishops of Italy and of the provinces were disposed to allow them a primacy of order and association (such was their very accurate expression) in the Christian aristocracy.<sup>124</sup> But the power of a monarch was rejected with abhorrence, and the aspiring genius of Rome experienced from the nations of Asia and Africa a more vigorous resistance to her spiritual than she had formerly done to her temporal dominion. The patriotic Cyprian, who ruled with the most absolute sway the Church of Carthage and the provincial synods, opposed with resolution and success the ambition of the Roman pontiff, artfully connected his own cause with that of the Eastern bishops, and, like Hannibal, sought new allies in the heart of Asia.<sup>125</sup> If this Punic war was carried on without any effusion of blood, it was owing much less to the modera-

<sup>122</sup> The journey of St. Peter to Rome is mentioned by most of the ancients (see Eusebius, ii. 25), maintained by all the Catholics, allowed by some Protestants (see Pearson and Dodwell, *De Succes. Episcop. Roman.*), but has been vigorously attacked by Spanheim (*Miscellanea Sacra*, iii. 3). According to Father Hardouin, the monks of the thirteenth century, who composed the *Æneid*, represented St. Peter under the allegorical character of the Trojan hero.<sup>a</sup>

<sup>123</sup> It is in French only that the famous allusion to St. Peter's name is exact. "Tu es *Pierre*, et sur cette  *pierre* ." The same is imperfect in Greek, Latin, Italian, etc., and totally unintelligible in our Teutonic languages.

<sup>124</sup> Irenæus *adv. Hæreses*, iii. 3; Tertullian. *de Præscription*. c. 36; and Cyprian. *Epistol.* 27, 55, 71, 75. Le Clerc (*Hist. Eccles.* p. 764) and Mosheim (p. 258, 578) labor in the interpretation of these passages. But the loose and rhetorical style of the fathers often appears favorable to the pretensions of Rome.

<sup>125</sup> See the sharp epistle from Firmilianus, Bishop of Cæsarea, to Stephen, Bishop of Rome, *apud Cyprian. Epistol.* 75.

<sup>a</sup> It is quite clear that, strictly speaking, the Church of Rome was not *founded* by either of these apostles. St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans proves undeniably the flourishing state of the Church before his visit to the city; and many Roman Catholic writers have given up the impracticable task of reconciling with chronology any visit of St. Peter to Rome before the end of the reign of Claudius or the beginning of that of Nero.—M.

tion than to the weakness of the contending prelates. Invectives and excommunications were *their* only weapons; and these, during the progress of the whole controversy, they hurled against each other with equal fury and devotion. The hard necessity of censuring either a pope or a saint and martyr distresses the modern Catholics whenever they are obliged to relate the particulars of a dispute in which the champions of religion indulged such passions as seem much more adapted to the senate or to the camp.<sup>126</sup>

The progress of the ecclesiastical authority gave birth to the memorable distinction of the laity and of the clergy which had been unknown to the Greeks and Romans.<sup>127</sup> The former of these appellations comprehended the body of the Christian people. The latter, according to the signification of the word, was appropriated to the chosen portion that had been set apart for the service of religion—a celebrated order of men which has furnished the most important, though not always the most edifying, subjects for modern history. Their mutual hostilities sometimes disturbed the peace of the infant Church; but their zeal and activity were united in the common cause, and the love of power, which (under the most artful disguises) could insinuate itself into the breasts of bishops and martyrs, animated them to increase the number of their subjects and to enlarge the limits of the Christian empire. They were destitute of any temporal force, and they were for a long time discouraged and oppressed, rather than assisted, by the civil magistrate; but they had acquired, and they employed within their own society, the two most efficacious instruments of government—rewards and punishments; the former derived from the pious liberality, the latter from the devout apprehensions, of the faithful.

I. The community of goods which had so agreeably amused

<sup>126</sup> Concerning this dispute of the rebaptism of heretics, see the epistles of Cyprian and the seventh book of Eusebius.

<sup>127</sup> For the origin of these words see Mosheim, p. 141. Spanheim, Hist. Eccles. p. 633. The distinction of *Clerus* and *Laicus* was established before the time of Tertullian.



the imagination of Plato,<sup>128</sup> and which subsisted in some degree among the austere sect of the Essenians,<sup>129</sup> was adopted for a short time in the primitive Church.

Oblations and  
revenue of the  
Church.

The fervor of the first proselytes prompted them to sell those worldly possessions which they despised, to lay the price of them at the feet of the apostles, and to content themselves with receiving an equal share out of the general distribution.<sup>130</sup> The progress of the Christian religion relaxed and gradually abolished this generous institution, which, in hands less pure than those of the apostles, would too soon have been corrupted and abused by the returning selfishness of human nature; and the converts who embraced the new religion were permitted to retain the possession of their patrimony, to receive legacies and inheritances, and to increase their separate property by all the lawful means of trade and industry. Instead of an absolute sacrifice, a moderate proportion was accepted by the ministers of the Gospel; and in their weekly or monthly assemblies every believer, according to the exigency of the occasion and the measure of his wealth and piety, presented his voluntary offering for the use of the common fund.<sup>131</sup> Nothing, however inconsiderable, was refused; but it was diligently inculcated that in the article of tithes the Mosaic law was still of divine obligation; and that since the Jews, under a less perfect discipline, had been commanded to pay a tenth part of all that they possessed, it would become the disciples of Christ to distinguish themselves by a superior degree of

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<sup>128</sup> The community instituted by Plato is more perfect than that which Sir Thomas More had imagined for his Utopia. The community of women and that of temporal goods may be considered as inseparable parts of the same system.

<sup>129</sup> Joseph. *Antiquitat.* xviii. 2 [c. 1, § 5, ed. Oxon. 1720]. Philo de Vit. *Contemplativ.*

<sup>130</sup> See the Acts of the Apostles, ch. ii. iv. v., with Grotius's Commentary. Mosheim, in a particular dissertation, attacks the common opinion with very inconclusive arguments.<sup>a</sup>

<sup>131</sup> Justin Martyr, *Apolog. Major*, c. 89. Tertullian, *Apolog.* c. 39.

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<sup>a</sup> This is not the general judgment on Mosheim's learned dissertation. There is no trace in the latter part of the New Testament of this community of goods, and many distinct proofs of the contrary. All exhortations to almsgiving would have been unmeaning if property had been in common.—M.

liberality,<sup>132</sup> and to acquire some merit by resigning a superfluous treasure which must so soon be annihilated with the world itself.<sup>133</sup> It is almost unnecessary to observe that the revenue of each particular Church, which was of so uncertain and fluctuating a nature, must have varied with the poverty or the opulence of the faithful, as they were dispersed in obscure villages or collected in the great cities of the empire. In the time of the Emperor Decius it was the opinion of the magistrates that the Christians of Rome were possessed of very considerable wealth; that vessels of gold and silver were used in their religious worship; and that many among their proselytes had sold their lands and houses to increase the public riches of the sect at the expense, indeed, of their unfortunate children, who found themselves beggars because their parents had been saints.<sup>134</sup> We should listen with distrust to the suspicions of strangers and enemies. On this occasion, however,

<sup>132</sup> Irenæus ad Hæres. l. iv. c. 26, 34. Origen in Num. Hom. 11. Cyprian. de Unitat. Eccles. Constitut. Apostol. l. ii. c. 34, 35, with the notes of Cotelerius. The Constitutions introduce this divine precept by declaring that priests are as much above kings as the soul is above the body. Among the tithable articles, they enumerate corn, wine, oil, and wool. On this interesting subject, consult Prideaux's History of Tithes, and Fra Paolo delle Materie Beneficiarie—two writers of a very different character.

<sup>133</sup> The same opinion, which prevailed about the year 1000, was productive of the same effects. Most of the donations express their motive, "appropinquante mundi fine." See Mosheim's General History of the Church, vol. i. p. 457.

<sup>134</sup>

Tum summa cura est fratribus  
(Ut sermo testatur loquax)  
Offerre fundis venditis,  
Sestertiorum millia.  
Addicta avorum prædia  
Fœdis sub auctionibus,  
Successor exheres gemit,  
Sanctis egens parentibus.  
Hæc oculuntur abditis  
Ecclesiarum in angulis.  
Et summa pietas creditur  
Nudare dulces liberos.

Prudent. *περὶ στεφάνων*, Hymn 2 [v. 73 seq.].

The subsequent conduct of the deacon Laurence only proves how proper a use was made of the wealth of the Roman Church; it was undoubtedly very considerable. But Fra Paolo (c. 3) appears to exaggerate when he supposes that the successors of Commodus were urged to persecute the Christians by their own avarice or that of their Prætorian præfects.

they receive a very specious and probable color from the two following circumstances, the only ones that have reached our knowledge which define any precise sums or convey any distinct idea. Almost at the same period, the Bishop of Carthage, from a society less opulent than that of Rome, collected a hundred thousand sesterces (above eight hundred and fifty pounds sterling), on a sudden call of charity to redeem the brethren of Numidia who had been carried away captives by the barbarians of the desert.<sup>135</sup> About a hundred years before the reign of Decius, the Roman Church had received, in a single donation, the sum of two hundred thousand sesterces from a stranger of Pontus who proposed to fix his residence in the capital.<sup>136</sup> These oblations, for the most part, were made in money; nor was the society of Christians either desirous or capable of acquiring, to any considerable degree, the encumbrance of landed property. It had been provided by several laws, which were enacted with the same design as our statutes of mortmain, that no real estates should be given or bequeathed to any corporate body without either a special privilege or a particular dispensation from the emperor or from the senate,<sup>137</sup> who were seldom disposed to grant them in favor of a sect at first the object of their contempt and at last of their fears and jealousy. A transaction, however, is related under the reign of Alexander Severus which discovers that the restraint was sometimes eluded or suspended, and that the Christians were permitted to claim and to possess lands within the limits of Rome itself.<sup>138</sup> The progress of Christianity and the civil confusion of the empire contributed to relax the severity

<sup>135</sup> Cyprian, Epist. 62.

<sup>136</sup> Tertullian, de Præscriptione, c. 30.<sup>a</sup>

<sup>137</sup> Diocletian gave a rescript, which is only a declaration of the old law: "Collegium, si nullo speciali privilegio subnixum sit, hæreditatem capere non posse, dubium non est." Fra Paolo (c. 4) thinks that these regulations had been much neglected since the reign of Valerian.

<sup>138</sup> Hist. August. p. 131. [Lampr. Alex. Sever. c. 49.] The ground had been public, and was now disputed between the society of Christians and that of butchers.<sup>b</sup>

<sup>a</sup> This "stranger of Pontus" was no other than the heretic Marcion, who was afterwards expelled from the Church, and against whom Tertullian wrote his well-known tract.—S.

<sup>b</sup> Popinari, rather victuallers.—M.

of the laws; and before the close of the third century, many considerable estates were bestowed on the opulent churches of Rome, Milan, Carthage, Antioch, Alexandria, and the other great cities of Italy and the provinces.

The bishop was the natural steward of the Church. The public stock was intrusted to his care without account or control; the presbyters were confined to their spiritual functions; and the more dependent order of deacons was solely employed in the management and distribution of the ecclesiastical revenue.<sup>139</sup> If we may give credit to the vehement declamations of Cyprian, there were too many among his African brethren who, in the execution of their charge, violated every precept, not only of evangelic perfection, but even of moral virtue. By some of these unfaithful stewards the riches of the Church were lavished in sensual pleasures; by others they were perverted to the purposes of private gain, of fraudulent purchases, and of rapacious usury.<sup>140</sup> But as long as the contributions of the Christian people were free and unconstrained, the abuse of their confidence could not be very frequent, and the general uses to which their liberality was applied reflected honor on the religious society. A decent portion was reserved for the maintenance of the bishop and his clergy; a sufficient sum was allotted for the expenses of the public worship, of which the feasts of love—the *agapæ*, as they were called—constituted a very pleasing part. The whole remainder was the sacred patrimony of the poor. According to the discretion of the bishop, it was distributed to support widows and orphans, the lame, the sick, and the aged of the community; to comfort strangers and pilgrims, and to alleviate the misfortunes of prisoners and captives, more especially when their sufferings had been occasioned by their firm attachment to the cause of religion.<sup>141</sup> A generous intercourse of charity united the most distant provinces, and the smaller congregations were cheerfully assisted by the alms of their more

<sup>139</sup> Constitut. Apostol. ii. 35.

<sup>140</sup> Cyprian. de Lapsis, p. 89 [p. 126, ed. Oxon.]. Epist. 65. The charge is confirmed by the 19th and 20th canons of the Council of Illiberis

<sup>141</sup> See the apologies of Justin, Tertullian, etc.



opulent brethren.<sup>142</sup> Such an institution, which paid less regard to the merit than to the distress of the object, very materially conduced to the progress of Christianity. The pagans, who were actuated by a sense of humanity, while they derided the doctrines, acknowledged the benevolence of the new sect.<sup>143</sup> The prospect of immediate relief and of future protection allured into its hospitable bosom many of those unhappy persons whom the neglect of the world would have abandoned to the miseries of want, of sickness, and of old age. There is some reason, likewise, to believe that great numbers of infants who, according to the inhuman practice of the times, had been exposed by their parents, were frequently rescued from death, baptized, educated, and maintained by the piety of the Christians and at the expense of the public treasure.<sup>144</sup>

II. It is the undoubted right of every society to exclude from its communion and benefits such among its members as reject or violate those regulations which have been established by general consent. In the exercise of this power the censures of the Christian Church were chiefly directed against scandalous sinners, and particularly those who were guilty of murder, of fraud, or of incontinence; against the authors or the followers of any heretical opinions which had been condemned by the judgment of the episcopal order; and against those unhappy persons who, whether from choice or from compulsion, had polluted themselves after their baptism by any act of idolatrous worship. The consequences of excommunication were of a temporal as well as a spiritual nature. The Christian against whom it was pronounced was deprived of any part in the oblations of the faithful. The ties both of religious and of private friendship were dissolved; he

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<sup>142</sup> The wealth and liberality of the Romans to their most distant brethren is gratefully celebrated by Dionysius of Corinth, apud Euseb. l. iv. c. 23.

<sup>143</sup> See Lucian in Peregrin. [c. 13]. Julian (Epist. 49) seems mortified that the Christian charity maintains not only their own, but likewise the heathen poor.

<sup>144</sup> Such, at least, has been the laudable conduct of more modern missionaries, under the same circumstances. Above three thousand new-born infants are annually exposed in the streets of Pekin. See Le Comte, *Mémoires sur la Chine*, and the *Recherches sur les Chinois et les Égyptiens*, tom. i. p. 61.

found himself a profane object of abhorrence to the persons whom he the most esteemed or by whom he had been the most tenderly beloved; and as far as an expulsion from a respectable society could imprint on his character a mark of disgrace, he was shunned or suspected by the generality of mankind. The situation of these unfortunate exiles was, in itself, very painful and melancholy; but, as it usually happens, their apprehensions far exceeded their sufferings. The benefits of the Christian communion were those of eternal life; nor could they erase from their minds the awful opinion that to those ecclesiastical governors by whom they were condemned the Deity had committed the keys of hell and of paradise. The heretics, indeed, who might be supported by the consciousness of their intentions and by the flattering hope that they alone had discovered the true path of salvation, endeavored to regain, in their separate assemblies, those comforts, temporal as well as spiritual, which they no longer derived from the great society of Christians. But almost all those who had reluctantly yielded to the power of vice or idolatry were sensible of their fallen condition, and anxiously desirous of being restored to the benefits of the Christian communion.

With regard to the treatment of these penitents, two opposite opinions—the one of justice, the other of mercy—divided the primitive Church. The more rigid and inflexible casuists refused them forever and without exception the meanest place in the holy community which they had disgraced or deserted; and, leaving them to the remorse of a guilty conscience, indulged them only with a faint ray of hope that the contrition of their life and death might possibly be accepted by the Supreme Being.<sup>145</sup> A milder sentiment was embraced, in practice as well as in theory, by the purest and most respectable of the Christian churches.<sup>146</sup> The gates of reconciliation and of heaven were seldom shut against the returning penitent; but a severe and solemn form of discipline was instituted, which, while it

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<sup>145</sup> The Montanists and the Novatians, who adhered to this opinion with the greatest rigor and obstinacy, found *themselves* at last in the number of excommunicated heretics. See the learned and copious Mosheim, *Secul. ii. and iii.*

<sup>146</sup> Dionysius apud Euseb. iv. 23. Cyprian. de Lapsis.

served to expiate his crime, might powerfully deter the spectators from the imitation of his example. Humbled by a public confession, emaciated by fasting, and clothed in sackcloth, the penitent lay prostrate at the door of the assembly, imploring with tears the pardon of his offences and soliciting the prayers of the faithful.<sup>147</sup> If the fault was of a very heinous nature, whole years of penance were esteemed an inadequate satisfaction to the divine justice; and it was always by slow and painful gradations that the sinner, the heretic, or the apostate was readmitted into the bosom of the Church. A sentence of perpetual excommunication was, however, reserved for some crimes of an extraordinary magnitude, and particularly for the inexcusable relapses of those penitents who had already experienced and abused the clemency of their ecclesiastical superiors. According to the circumstances or the number of the guilty, the exercise of the Christian discipline was varied by the discretion of the bishops. The councils of Ancyra and Illiberis were held about the same time—the one in Galatia, the other in Spain; but their respective canons, which are still extant, seem to breathe a very different spirit. The Galatian who, after his baptism, had repeatedly sacrificed to idols might obtain his pardon by a penance of seven years; and if he had seduced others to imitate his example, only three years more were added to the term of his exile. But the unhappy Spaniard who had committed the same offence was deprived of the hope of reconciliation even in the article of death, and his idolatry was placed at the head of a list of seventeen other crimes, against which a sentence no less terrible was pronounced. Among these we may distinguish the inextinguishable guilt of calumniating a bishop, a presbyter, or even a deacon.<sup>148</sup>

The well-tempered mixture of liberality and rigor, the judi-

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<sup>147</sup> Cave's *Primitive Christianity*, part iii. ch. 5. The admirers of antiquity regret the loss of this public penance.

<sup>148</sup> See in Dupin, *Bibliothèque Ecclésiastique*, tom. ii. p. 304–313, a short but rational exposition of the canons of those councils which were assembled in the first moments of tranquillity after the persecution of Diocletian. This persecution had been much less severely felt in Spain than in Galatia, a difference which may, in some measure, account for the contrast of their regulations.

cious dispensation of rewards and punishments, according to the maxims of policy as well as justice, constituted the *human* strength of the Church. The bishops, whose paternal care extended itself to the government of both worlds, were sensible of the importance of these prerogatives; and, covering their ambition with the fair pretence of the love of order, they were jealous of any rival in the exercise of a discipline so necessary to prevent the desertion of those troops which had enlisted themselves under the banner of the Cross, and whose numbers every day became more considerable. From the imperious declamations of Cyprian, we should naturally conclude that the doctrines of excommunication and penance formed the most essential part of religion; and that it was much less dangerous for the disciples of Christ to neglect the observance of the moral duties than to despise the censures and authority of their bishops. Sometimes we might imagine that we were listening to the voice of Moses when he commanded the earth to open and to swallow up, in consuming flames, the rebellious race which refused obedience to the priesthood of Aaron; and we should sometimes suppose that we heard a Roman consul asserting the majesty of the republic, and declaring his inflexible resolution to enforce the rigor of the laws.<sup>a</sup> “If such irregulari-

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<sup>a</sup> Gibbon has been accused of injustice to the character of Cyprian, as exalting the “censures and authority of the Church above the observance of the moral duties.” Felicissimus had been condemned by a synod of bishops (“non tantum meâ, sed plurimorum coepiscoporum, sententia condemnatum”) on the charge not only of schism, but of embezzlement of public money, the debauching of virgins, and frequent acts of adultery. His violent menaces had extorted his readmission into the Church, against which Cyprian protests with much vehemence: “Ne pecuniæ commissæ sibi fraudator, ne stuprator virginum. ne matrimoniorum multorum depopulator et corruptor, ultra adhuc sponsum Christi in corruptam præsentia suâ dedecore, et impudicâ atque incestâ contagione violaret.” See Chelsum’s Remarks, p. 134. If these charges against Felicissimus were true, they were something more than “irregularities.” A Roman censor would have been a fairer subject of comparison than a consul. On the other hand, it must be admitted that the charge of adultery deepens very rapidly as the controversy becomes more violent. It is first represented as a single act, recently detected, and which men of character were prepared to substantiate: Adulterii etiam crimen accedit, quod patres nostri graves viri *deprehendisse* se nuntiaverunt, et probaturos se asseverarunt.—Epist. xxxviii. [Ep. xli. ed. Oxf.]. The heretic has now darkened into a man of notorious and general profligacy. Nor can it be denied that, of the whole long epistle, very far the larger and the more passionate part dwells on the breach of ecclesiastical unity rather than on the violation of Christian holiness.—M.



ties are suffered with impunity" (it is thus that the Bishop of Carthage chides the lenity of his colleague)—"if such irregularities are suffered, there is an end of EPISCOPAL VIGOR;<sup>149</sup> an end of the sublime and divine power of governing the Church; an end of Christianity itself." Cyprian had renounced those temporal honors which it is probable he would never have obtained; but the acquisition of such absolute command over the consciences and understanding of a congregation, however obscure or despised by the world, is more truly grateful to the pride of the human heart than the possession of the most despotic power imposed by arms and conquest on a reluctant people.

In the course of this important, though perhaps tedious inquiry, I have attempted to display the secondary causes which so efficaciously assisted the truth of the Christian religion. If among these causes we have discovered any artificial ornaments, any accidental circumstances, or any mixture of error and passion, it cannot appear surprising that mankind should be the most sensibly affected by such motives as were suited to their imperfect nature. It was by the aid of these causes—exclusive zeal, the immediate expectation of another world, the claim of miracles, the practice of rigid virtue, and the constitution of the primitive Church—that Christianity spread itself with so much success in the Roman empire. To the first of these the Christians were indebted for their invincible valor, which disdained to capitulate with the enemy whom they were resolved to vanquish. The three succeeding causes supplied their valor with the most formidable arms. The last of these causes united their courage, directed their arms, and gave their efforts that irresistible weight which even a small band of well-trained and intrepid volunteers has so often possessed over an undisciplined multitude ignorant of the subject and careless of the event of the war. In the various religions of polytheism, some wandering fanatics of Egypt and Syria, who addressed themselves to the credulous superstition

Recapitulation of the five causes.

Weakness of polytheism.

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<sup>149</sup> Cyprian, Epist. 69 [59].

of the populace, were perhaps the only order of priests<sup>150</sup> that derived their whole support and credit from their sacerdotal profession, and were very deeply affected by a personal concern for the safety or prosperity of their tutelar deities. The ministers of polytheism, both in Rome and in the provinces, were, for the most part, men of a noble birth and of an affluent fortune, who received, as an honorable distinction, the care of a celebrated temple or of a public sacrifice, exhibited (very frequently at their own expense) the sacred games,<sup>151</sup> and with cold indifference performed the ancient rites according to the laws and fashion of their country. As they were engaged in the ordinary occupations of life, their zeal and devotion were seldom animated by a sense of interest, or by the habits of an ecclesiastical character. Confined to their respective temples and cities, they remained without any connection of discipline or government; and whilst they acknowledged the supreme jurisdiction of the senate, of the college of pontiffs, and of the emperor, those civil magistrates contented themselves with the easy task of maintaining in peace and dignity the general worship of mankind. We have already seen how various, how loose, and how uncertain were the religious sentiments of polytheists. They were abandoned, almost without control, to the natural workings of a superstitious fancy. The accidental circumstances of their life and situation determined the object, as well as the degree, of their devotion; and as long as their adoration was successively prostituted to a thousand deities, it was scarcely possible that their hearts could be susceptible of a very sincere or lively passion for any of them.

When Christianity appeared in the world, even these faint and imperfect impressions had lost much of their original

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<sup>150</sup> The arts, the manners, and the vices of the priests of the Syrian goddess are very humorously described by Apuleius, in the eighth book of his *Metamorphoses*.

<sup>151</sup> The office of Asiarch was of this nature, and it is frequently mentioned in *Aristides*, the *Inscriptions*, etc. It was annual and elective. None but the vainest citizens could desire the honor; none but the most wealthy could support the expense. See in the *Patres Apostol.* tom. ii. p. 200 [Epist. Eccl. Smyrn. de Martyrio Polycarpi, c. 12], with how much indifference Philip the Asiarch conducted himself in the martyrdom of Polycarp. There were likewise Bithyniarchs, Lyciarchs, etc.

power. Human reason, which by its unassisted strength is incapable of perceiving the mysteries of faith, had already obtained an easy triumph over the folly of paganism; and when Tertullian and Lactantius employ their labors in exposing its falsehood and extravagance, they are obliged to transcribe the eloquence of Cicero or the wit of Lucian. The contagion of these sceptical writings had been diffused far beyond the number of their readers. The fashion of incredulity was communicated from the philosopher to the man of pleasure or business, from the noble to the plebeian, and from the master to the menial slave who waited at his table, and who eagerly listened to the freedom of his conversation. On public occasions the philosophic part of mankind affected to treat with respect and decency the religious institutions of their country, but their secret contempt penetrated through the thin and awkward disguise; and even the people, when they discovered that their deities were rejected and derided by those whose rank or understanding they were accustomed to reverence, were filled with doubts and apprehensions concerning the truth of those doctrines to which they had yielded the most implicit belief. The decline of ancient prejudice exposed a very numerous portion of humankind to the danger of a painful and comfortless situation. A state of scepticism and suspense may amuse a few inquisitive minds. But the practice of superstition is so congenial to the multitude that, if they are forcibly awakened, they still regret the loss of their pleasing vision. Their love of the marvellous and supernatural, their curiosity with regard to future events, and their strong propensity to extend their hopes and fears beyond the limits of the visible world, were the principal causes which favored the establishment of polytheism. So urgent on the vulgar is the necessity of believing, that the fall of any system of mythology will most probably be succeeded by the introduction of some other mode of superstition. Some deities of a more recent and fashionable cast might soon have occupied the deserted temples of Jupiter and Apollo, if, in the decisive moment, the wisdom of Providence had not interposed a genuine revelation fitted to

The scepticism of the pagan world proved favorable to the new religion,

inspire the most rational esteem and conviction, whilst, at the same time, it was adorned with all that could attract the curiosity, the wonder, and the veneration of the people. In their actual disposition, as many were almost disengaged from their artificial prejudices, but equally susceptible and desirous of a devout attachment, an object much less deserving would have been sufficient to fill the vacant place in their hearts and to gratify the uncertain eagerness of their passions. Those who are inclined to pursue this reflection, instead of viewing with astonishment the rapid progress of Christianity, will perhaps be surprised that its success was not still more rapid and still more universal.

It has been observed with truth as well as propriety that the conquests of Rome prepared and facilitated those of Christianity. In the second chapter of this work we have attempted to explain in what manner the most civilized provinces of Europe, Asia, and Africa were united under the dominion of one sovereign, and gradually connected by the most intimate ties of laws, of manners, and of language. The Jews of Palestine, who had fondly expected a temporal deliverer, gave so cold a reception to the miracles of the Divine Prophet that it was found unnecessary to publish, or at least to preserve, any Hebrew gospel.<sup>152</sup> The authentic histories of the actions of Christ were composed in the Greek language, at a considerable distance from Jerusalem, and after the Gentile converts were grown extremely numerous.<sup>153</sup> As soon as those histories were translated into the Latin tongue they were perfectly intelligible to all the

<sup>152</sup> The modern critics are not disposed to believe what the fathers almost unanimously assert, that St. Matthew composed a Hebrew gospel, of which only the Greek translation is extant. It seems, however, dangerous to reject their testimony.<sup>a</sup>

<sup>153</sup> Under the reigns of Nero and Domitian, and in the cities of Alexandria, Antioch, Rome, and Ephesus. See Mill, *Prolegomena ad Nov. Testament.*, and Dr. Lardner's fair and extensive collection, vol. xv.<sup>b</sup>

<sup>a</sup> The best Biblical scholars since Gibbon's time have maintained that the Gospel of St. Matthew was originally written in Hebrew.—S.

<sup>b</sup> This question has, it is well known, been most elaborately discussed since the time of Gibbon. The preface to the translation of Schleiermacher's version of St. Luke contains a very able summary of the various theories.—M.



subjects of Rome, excepting only to the peasants of Syria and Egypt, for whose benefit particular versions were afterwards made. The public highways which had been constructed for the use of the legions opened an easy passage for the Christian missionaries from Damascus to Corinth, and from Italy to the extremity of Spain or Britain; nor did those spiritual conquerors encounter any of the obstacles which usually retard or prevent the introduction of a foreign religion into a distant country. There is the strongest reason to believe that, before the reigns of Diocletian and Constantine, the faith of Christ had been preached in every province and in all the

Historical  
view of the  
progress of  
Christianity.

great cities of the empire; but the foundation of the several congregations, the numbers of the faithful who composed them, and their proportion to the unbelieving multitude are now buried in obscurity or disguised by fiction and declamation. Such imperfect circumstances, however, as have reached our knowledge concerning the increase of the Christian name in Asia and Greece, in Egypt, in Italy, and in the West, we shall now proceed to relate, without neglecting the real or imaginary acquisitions which lay beyond the frontiers of the Roman empire.

The rich provinces that extend from the Euphrates to the Ionian Sea were the principal theatre on which the apostle of

In the East.

the Gentiles displayed his zeal and piety. The seeds of the Gospel, which he had scattered in a fertile soil, were diligently cultivated by his disciples; and it should seem that, during the two first centuries, the most considerable body of Christians was contained within those limits. Among the societies which were instituted in Syria, none were more ancient or more illustrious than those of Damascus, of Beroea or Aleppo, and of Antioch. The prophetic introduction of the Apocalypse has described and immortalized the seven churches of Asia—Ephesus, Smyrna, Pergamus, Thyatira,<sup>154</sup> Sardes, Laodicea, and Philadelphia; and their colonies

<sup>154</sup> The Alogians (Epiphanius de Hæres. 51 [p. 455, ed. Paris, 1622]) disputed the genuineness of the Apocalypse, because the Church of Thyatira was not yet founded. Epiphanius, who allows the fact, extricates himself from the difficulty by ingeniously supposing that St. John wrote in the spirit of prophecy. See Abauzit, Discours sur l'Apocalypse. —

were soon diffused over that populous country. In a very early period, the islands of Cyprus and Crete, the provinces of Thrace and Macedonia, gave a favorable reception to the new religion; and Christian republics were soon founded in the cities of Corinth, of Sparta, and of Athens.<sup>155</sup> The antiquity of the Greek and Asiatic churches allowed a sufficient space of time for their increase and multiplication; and even the swarms of Gnostics and other heretics serve to display the flourishing condition of the orthodox Church, since the appellation of heretics has always been applied to the less numerous party. To these domestic testimonies we may add the confession, the complaints, and the apprehensions of the Gentiles themselves. From the writings of Lucian, a philosopher who had studied mankind, and who describes their manners in the most lively colors, we may learn that, under the reign of Commodus, his native country of Pontus was filled with Epicureans and *Christians*.<sup>156</sup> Within fourscore years after the death of Christ,<sup>157</sup> the humane Pliny laments the magnitude of the evil which he vainly attempted to eradicate. In his very curious epistle to the Emperor Trajan, he affirms that the temples were almost deserted; that the sacred victims scarcely found any purchasers; and that the superstition had not only infected the cities, but had even spread itself into the villages and the open country of Pontus and Bithynia.<sup>158</sup>

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<sup>155</sup> The epistles of Ignatius and Dionysius (ap. Euseb. iv. 23) point out many churches in Asia and Greece. That of Athens seems to have been one of the least flourishing.

<sup>156</sup> Lucian. in Alexandro, c. 25. Christianity, however, must have been very unequally diffused over Pontus; since, in the middle of the third century, there were no more than seventeen believers in the extensive diocese of Neo-Cæsarea. See M. de Tillemont, *Mémoires Ecclésiast.* tom. iv. p. 675, from Basil and Gregory of Nyssa, who were themselves natives of Cappadocia.<sup>a</sup>

<sup>157</sup> According to the ancients, Jesus Christ suffered under the consulship of the two Gemini, in the year 29 of our present era. Pliny was sent into Bithynia (according to Pagi) in the year 110.<sup>b</sup>

<sup>158</sup> Plin. Epist. x. 97.

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<sup>a</sup> Gibbon forgot the conclusion of this story, that Gregory left only seventeen heathens in his diocese. The antithesis is suspicious, and both numbers may have been chosen to magnify the spiritual fame of the wonder-worker.—M.

<sup>b</sup> Pliny was sent into Bithynia in the year 103. See Clinton, *Fast. Rom.* vol. i. p. 89.—S.

Without descending into a minute scrutiny of the expressions or of the motives of those writers who either celebrate or lament the progress of Christianity in the East, it may, in general, be observed that none of them have left us any grounds from whence a just estimate might be formed of the real numbers of the faithful in those provinces. One circumstance, however, has been fortunately preserved which seems to cast a more distinct light on this obscure but interesting subject. Under the reign of Theodosius, after Christianity had enjoyed, during more than sixty years, the sunshine of imperial favor, the ancient and illustrious Church of Antioch consisted of one hundred thousand persons, three thousand of whom were supported out of the public oblations.<sup>159</sup> The splendor and dignity of the Queen of the East; the acknowledged populousness of Cæsarea, Seleucia, and Alexandria; and the destruction of two hundred and fifty thousand souls in the earthquake which afflicted Antioch under the elder Justin,<sup>160</sup> are so many convincing proofs that the whole number of its inhabitants was not less than half a million, and that the Christians, however multiplied by zeal and power, did not exceed a fifth part of that great city. How different a proportion must we adopt when we compare the persecuted with the triumphant Church, the West with the East, remote villages with populous towns, and countries recently converted to the faith with the place where the believers first received the appellation of Christians! It must not, however, be dissembled that, in another passage, Chrysostom, to whom we are indebted for this useful information, computes the multitude of the faithful as even superior to that of the Jews and pagans.<sup>161</sup> But the solution of this apparent dif-

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<sup>159</sup> Chrysostom. Opera, tom. vii. p. 658, 810 [edit. Savil. ii. 422, 529].

<sup>160</sup> John Malala, tom. ii. p. 144 [edit. Oxon.; p. 420, edit. Bonn]. He draws the same conclusion with regard to the populousness of Antioch.

<sup>161</sup> Chrysostom, tom. i. p. 592. I am indebted for these passages, though not for my inference, to the learned Dr. Lardner, *Credibility of the Gospel History*, vol. xii. p. 370.<sup>a</sup>

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<sup>a</sup> The statements of Chrysostom with regard to the population of Antioch, whatever may be their accuracy, are perfectly consistent. In one passage he reckons

faculty is easy and obvious. The eloquent preacher draws a parallel between the civil and the ecclesiastical constitution of Antioch; between the list of Christians who had acquired heaven by baptism and the list of citizens who had a right to share the public liberality. Slaves, strangers, and infants were comprised in the former; they were excluded from the latter.

The extensive commerce of Alexandria, and its proximity to Palestine, gave an easy entrance to the new religion. It

In Egypt. was at first embraced by great numbers of the

Therapeutæ, or Essenians, of the lake Mareotis, a Jewish sect which had abated much of its reverence for Mosaic ceremonies. The austere life of the Essenians, their fasts and excommunications, the community of goods, the love of celibacy, their zeal for martyrdom, and the warmth though not the purity of their faith, already offered a very lively image of the primitive discipline.<sup>162</sup> It was in the school of Alexandria that the Christian theology appears to have assumed a regular and scientific form; and when Hadrian visited Egypt, he found a Church composed of Jews and of Greeks, sufficiently important to attract the notice of that inquisitive prince.<sup>163</sup> But the progress of Christianity was for a long time confined within the limits of a single city, which was itself a foreign colony, and till the close of the second century the predecessors of Demetrius were the only prelates of the Egyptian Church. Three bishops were consecrated by the hands of Demetrius, and the number was increased to twenty by his

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<sup>162</sup> Basnage, *Histoire des Juifs*, l. ii. c. 20, 21, 22, 23, has examined with the most critical accuracy the curious treatise of Philo which describes the Therapeutæ. By proving that it was composed as early as the time of Augustus, Basnage has demonstrated, in spite of Eusebius (l. ii. c. 17) and a crowd of modern Catholics, that the Therapeutæ were neither Christians nor monks. It still remains probable that they changed their name, preserved their manners, adopted some new articles of faith, and gradually became the fathers of the Egyptian ascetics.

<sup>163</sup> See a letter of Hadrian in the *Augustan History*, p. 245. [Vopisc. *Saturn.* c. 1.]

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the population at 200,000; in a second, the Christians at 100,000; in a third he states that the Christians formed more than half the population. Gibbon has neglected to notice the first passage, and has drawn his estimate of the population of Antioch from other sources. The 3000 maintained by alms were widows and virgins alone.—M.



successor Heraclas.<sup>164</sup> The body of the natives, a people distinguished by a sullen inflexibility of temper,<sup>165</sup> entertained the new doctrine with coldness and reluctance; and even in the time of Origen it was rare to meet with an Egyptian who had surmounted his early prejudices in favor of the sacred animals of his country.<sup>166</sup> As soon, indeed, as Christianity ascended the throne, the zeal of those barbarians obeyed the prevailing impulsion; the cities of Egypt were filled with bishops, and the deserts of Thebais swarmed with hermits.

A perpetual stream of strangers and provincials flowed into the capacious bosom of Rome. Whatever was strange or odious, whoever was guilty or suspected, might hope, in the obscurity of that immense capital, to elude the vigilance of the law. In such a various conflux of nations, every teacher, either of truth or of falsehood, every founder, whether of a virtuous or a criminal association, might easily multiply his disciples or accomplices. The Christians of Rome, at the time of the accidental persecution of Nero, are represented by Tacitus as already amounting to a very great multitude,<sup>167</sup> and the language of that great historian is almost similar to the style employed by Livy when he relates the introduction and the suppression of the rites of Bacchus. After the Bacchanals had awakened the severity of the senate, it was likewise apprehended that a very great multitude, as it were *another people*, had been initiated into those abhorred mysteries. A more careful inquiry soon demonstrated that the offenders did not exceed seven thousand—a number, indeed, sufficiently alarming when considered as the object of public justice.<sup>168</sup> It is with the same candid allowance that

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<sup>164</sup> For the succession of Alexandrian bishops, consult Renaudot's History, p. 24, etc. This curious fact is preserved by the Patriarch Eutychius (Annal. tom. i. p. 332, vers. Pocock), and its internal evidence would alone be a sufficient answer to all the objections which Bishop Pearson has urged in the *Vindiciæ Ignatianæ*.

<sup>165</sup> Ammian. Marcellin. xxii. 16.

<sup>166</sup> Origen contra Celsum, l. i. p. 40 [c. 52, tom. i. p. 368, edit. Bened.].

<sup>167</sup> "Ingens multitudo" is the expression of Tacitus, xv. 44.

<sup>168</sup> T. Liv. xxxix. 13, 15, 16, 17. Nothing could exceed the horror and consternation of the senate on the discovery of the Bacchanalians, whose depravity is described, and perhaps exaggerated, by Livy.

we should interpret the vague expressions of Tacitus, and in a former instance of Pliny, when they exaggerate the crowds of deluded fanatics who had forsaken the established worship of the gods. The Church of Rome was undoubtedly the first and most populous of the empire; and we are possessed of an authentic record which attests the state of religion in that city about the middle of the third century, and after a peace of thirty-eight years. The clergy, at that time, consisted of a bishop, forty-six presbyters, seven deacons, as many subdeacons, forty-two acolytes, and fifty readers, exorcists, and porters. The number of widows, of the infirm, and of the poor, who were maintained by the oblations of the faithful, amounted to fifteen hundred.<sup>169</sup> From reason as well as from the analogy of Antioch, we may venture to estimate the Christians of Rome at about fifty thousand. The populousness of that great capital cannot perhaps be exactly ascertained; but the most modest calculation will not surely reduce it lower than a million of inhabitants, of whom the Christians might constitute, at the most, a twentieth part.<sup>170</sup>

The Western provincials appeared to have derived the knowledge of Christianity from the same source which had diffused among them the language, the sentiments, and the manners of Rome. In this more important circumstance, Africa as well as Gaul was gradually fashioned to the imitation of the capital. Yet, notwithstanding the many favorable occasions which might invite the Roman missionaries to visit their Latin provinces, it was late before they passed either the sea or the Alps;<sup>171</sup> nor can we

In Africa and  
the Western  
provinces.

<sup>169</sup> Eusebius, l. vi. c. 43. The Latin translator (M. de Valois) has thought proper to reduce the number of presbyters to forty-four.

<sup>170</sup> This proportion of the presbyters and of the poor to the rest of the people was originally fixed by Burnet (*Travels into Italy*, p. 168), and is approved by Moyle (vol. ii. p. 151). They were both unacquainted with the passage of Chrysostom which converts their conjecture almost into a fact.

<sup>171</sup> *Serius trans Alpes, religione Dei susceptâ.*—Sulpicius Severus, l. ii. [p. 383, edit. Lugd. Bat. 1647]. With regard to Africa, see Tertullian. *ad Scapulam*, c. 3. It is imagined that the Scyllitan martyrs were the first (*Acta Sincera* Ruinart. p. 34). One of the adversaries of Apuleius seems to have been a Christian. *Apolog.* p. 496, 497, edit. Delphin.

discover in those great countries any assured traces either of faith or of persecution that ascend higher than the reign of the Antonines.<sup>172</sup> The slow progress of the Gospel in the cold climate of Gaul was extremely different from the eagerness with which it seems to have been received on the burning sands of Africa. The African Christians soon formed one of the principal members of the primitive Church. The practice introduced into that province of appointing bishops to the most inconsiderable towns, and very frequently to the most obscure villages, contributed to multiply the splendor and importance of their religious societies, which, during the course of the third century, were animated by the zeal of Tertullian, directed by the abilities of Cyprian, and adorned by the eloquence of Lactantius. But if, on the contrary, we turn our eyes towards Gaul, we must content ourselves with discovering, in the time of Marcus Antoninus, the feeble and united congregations of Lyons and Vienne; and even as late as the reign of Decius we are assured that in a few cities only—Arles, Narbonne, Toulouse, Limoges, Clermont, Tours, and Paris—some scattered churches were supported by the devotion of a small number of Christians.<sup>173</sup> Silence is indeed very consistent with devotion; but as it is seldom compatible with zeal, we may perceive and lament the languid state of Christianity in those provinces which had exchanged the Celtic for the Latin tongue, since they did not, during the three first centuries, give birth to a single ecclesiastical writer. From Gaul, which claimed a just pre-eminence of learning and authority over all the countries on this side of the Alps, the light of the

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<sup>172</sup> Tum primum intra Gallias martyria visa.—Sulpicius Severus, l. ii. [l. c.]. These were the celebrated martyrs of Lyons. See Eusebius, v. i. Tillemont, Mém. Ecclés. tom. ii. p. 316. According to the Donatists, whose assertion is confirmed by the tacit acknowledgment of Augustine, Africa was the last of the provinces which received the Gospel. Tillemont, Mém. Ecclés. tom. i. p. 754.

<sup>173</sup> Raræ in aliquibus civitatibus ecclesiæ, paucorum Christianorum devotione, resurgerent.—Acta Sincera, p. 130. Gregory of Tours, l. i. c. 28. Mosheim, p. 207, 449. There is some reason to believe that, in the beginning of the fourth century, the extensive dioceses of Liege, of Treves, and of Cologne composed a single bishopric, which had been very recently founded. See Mémoires de Tillemont, tom. vi. part i. p. 43, 411.

Gospel was more faintly reflected on the remote provinces of Spain and Britain; and if we may credit the vehement assertions of Tertullian, they had already received the first rays of the faith when he addressed his Apology to the magistrates of the Emperor Severus.<sup>174</sup> But the obscure and imperfect origin of the Western churches of Europe has been so negligently recorded that, if we would relate the time and manner of their foundation, we must supply the silence of antiquity by those legends which avarice or superstition long afterwards dictated to the monks in the lazy gloom of their convents.<sup>175</sup> Of these holy romances, that of the apostle St. James can alone, by its singular extravagance, deserve to be mentioned. From a peaceful fisherman of the lake of Gennesareth, he was transformed into a valorous knight, who charged at the head of the Spanish chivalry in their battles against the Moors. The gravest historians have celebrated his exploits; the miraculous shrine of Compostella displayed his power; and the sword of a military order, assisted by the terrors of the Inquisition, was sufficient to remove every objection of profane criticism.<sup>176</sup>

The progress of Christianity was not confined to the Roman empire, and, according to the primitive fathers, who interpret facts by prophecy, the new religion, within a century after the death of its Divine Author, had already visited every part of the globe. "There exists not," says Justin Martyr, "a people, whether Greek or barbarian, or any other race of men, by whatsoever appellation or manners they may be distinguished, however ignorant of arts or agriculture, whether they dwell under tents or wan-

Beyond the  
limits of the  
Roman em-  
pire.

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<sup>174</sup> The date of Tertullian's Apology is fixed, in a dissertation of Mosheim, to the year 198. [Rather 199.—S.]

<sup>175</sup> In the fifteenth century there were few who had either inclination or courage to question whether Joseph of Arimathea founded the monastery of Glastonbury, and whether Dionysius the Areopagite preferred the residence of Paris to that of Athens.

<sup>176</sup> The stupendous metamorphosis was performed in the ninth century. See Mariana (*Hist. Hispan.* l. vii. c. 13, tom. i. p. 285, edit. Hag. Com. 1733), who, in every sense, imitates Livy, and the honest detection of the legend of St. James by Dr. Geddes, *Miscellanies*, vol. ii. p. 221.



der about in covered wagons, among whom prayers are not offered up in the name of a crucified Jesus to the Father and Creator of all things.”<sup>177</sup> But this splendid exaggeration, which even at present it would be extremely difficult to reconcile with the real state of mankind, can be considered only as the rash sally of a devout but careless writer, the measure of whose belief was regulated by that of his wishes. But neither the belief nor the wishes of the fathers can alter the truth of history. It will still remain an undoubted fact that the barbarians of Scythia and Germany, who afterwards subverted the Roman monarchy, were involved in the darkness of paganism; and that even the conversion of Iberia, of Armenia, or of Æthiopia was not attempted with any degree of success till the sceptre was in the hands of an orthodox emperor.<sup>178</sup> Before that time the various accidents of war and commerce might indeed diffuse an imperfect knowledge of the Gospel among the tribes of Caledonia,<sup>179</sup> and among the borderers of the Rhine, the Danube, and the Euphrates.<sup>180</sup> Beyond the last-mentioned river, Edessa was distinguished by a firm and early adherence to the faith.<sup>181</sup> From Edessa the

<sup>177</sup> Justin Martyr, *Dialog. cum Tryphon.* p. 341 [c. 117, p. 211, ed. Bened.]. Irenæus *adv. Hæres.* l. i. c. 10. Tertullian *adv. Jud.* c. 7. See Mosheim, p. 203.

<sup>178</sup> See the fourth century of Mosheim's *History of the Church*. Many, though very confused circumstances, that relate to the conversion of Iberia and Armenia may be found in Moses of Chorene, l. ii. c. 78–89.<sup>a</sup>

<sup>179</sup> According to Tertullian, the Christian faith had penetrated into parts of Britain inaccessible to the Roman arms. About a century afterwards, Ossian, the son of Fingal, is *said* to have disputed, in his extreme old age, with one of the foreign missionaries; and the dispute is still extant in verse, and in the Erse language. See Mr. Macpherson's *Dissertation on the Antiquity of Ossian's Poems*, p. 10.

<sup>180</sup> The Goths, who ravaged Asia in the reign of Gallienus, carried away great numbers of captives, some of whom were Christians and became missionaries. See Tillemont, *Mémoires Ecclés.* tom. iv. p. 44.

<sup>181</sup> The legend of Abgarus, fabulous as it is, affords a decisive proof that, many

<sup>a</sup> Mons. St. Martin has shown that Armenia was the first *nation* that embraced Christianity (*Mémoires sur l'Arménie*, vol. i. p. 306, and notes to Le Beau). Gibbon, indeed, had expressed his intention of withdrawing the words “of Armenia” from the text of future editions (*Vindication, Works*, iv. 577). He was bitterly taunted by Porson for neglecting or declining to fulfil his promise. *Preface to Letters to Travis.*—M.

principles of Christianity were easily introduced into the Greek and Syrian cities which obeyed the successors of Artaxerxes; but they do not appear to have made any deep impression on the minds of the Persians, whose religious system, by the labors of a well-disciplined order of priests, had been constructed with much more art and solidity than the uncertain mythology of Greece and Rome.<sup>182</sup>

From this impartial though imperfect survey of the progress of Christianity, it may perhaps seem probable that the number of its proselytes has been excessively magnified by fear, on the one side, and by devotion on the other. According to the irreproachable testimony of Origen,<sup>183</sup> the proportion of the faithful was very inconsiderable when compared with the multitude of an unbelieving world; but, as we are left without any distinct information, it is impossible to determine, and it is difficult even to conjecture, the real numbers of the primitive Christians. The most favorable calculation, however, that can be deduced from the examples of Antioch and of Rome will not permit us to imagine that more than a twentieth part of the subjects of the empire had enlisted themselves under the banner of the Cross before the important conversion of Constantine. But their habits of faith, of zeal, and of union seemed to multiply their numbers; and the same causes which contributed to their future increase served to render their actual strength more apparent and more formidable.

Such is the constitution of civil society that, whilst a few persons are distinguished by riches, by honors, and by knowledge, the body of the people is condemned to obscurity, ignorance, and poverty. The Christian religion, which addressed

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years before Eusebius wrote his history, the greatest part of the inhabitants of Edessa had embraced Christianity. Their rivals, the citizens of Carrhæ, adhered, on the contrary, to the cause of paganism as late as the sixth century.

<sup>182</sup> According to Bardesanes (apud Euseb. Præpar. Evangel.), there were some Christians in Persia before the end of the second century. In the time of Constantine (see his Epistle to Sapor [Euseb.], Vit. I. iv. c. 13) they composed a flourishing Church. Consult Beausobre, Hist. Critique du Manichéisme, tom. i. p. 180, and the Bibliotheca Orientalis of Assemani.

<sup>183</sup> Origen. contra Celsum, l. viii. p. 424 [c. 69, tom. i. p. 794, ed. Bened.].

itself to the whole human race, must consequently collect a far greater number of proselytes from the lower than from the superior ranks of life. This innocent and natural circumstance has been improved into a very odious imputation, which seems to be less strenuously denied by the apologists than it is urged by the adversaries of the faith; that the new sect of Christians was almost entirely composed of the dregs of the populace, of peasants and mechanics, of boys and women, of beggars and slaves, the last of whom might sometimes introduce the missionaries into the rich and noble families to which they belonged. These obscure teachers (such was the charge of malice and infidelity) are as mute in public as they are loquacious and dogmatical in private. Whilst they cautiously avoid the dangerous encounter of philosophers, they mingle with the rude and illiterate crowd, and insinuate themselves into those minds whom their age, their sex, or their education has the best disposed to receive the impression of superstitious terrors.<sup>184</sup>

This unfavorable picture, though not devoid of a faint resemblance, betrays, by its dark coloring and distorted features, the pencil of an enemy. As the humble faith of Christ diffused itself through the world, it was embraced by several persons who derived some consequence from the advantages of nature or fortune. Aristides, who presented an eloquent apology to the Emperor Hadrian, was an Athenian philosopher.<sup>185</sup> Justin Martyr had sought divine knowledge in the schools of Zeno, of Aristotle, of Pythagoras, and of Plato, before he fortunately was accosted by the old man, or rather the angel, who turned his attention to the study of the Jewish prophets.<sup>186</sup> Clemens of Alexandria

Some exceptions with regard to learning :

<sup>184</sup> Minucius Felix, p. 8 [ed. Lugd. B. 1652], with Wowerus's notes. Celsus apud Origen. l. iii. p. 138, 142 [c. 49, tom. i. p. 479, ed. Bened.]. Julian apud Cyril. l. vi. p. 206, edit. Spanheim.

<sup>185</sup> Euseb. Hist. Eccles. iv. 3. Hieronym. Epist. 83 [Ep. 70, tom. i. p. 424, ed. Vallars.].

<sup>186</sup> The story is prettily told in Justin's Dialogues. Tillemont (Mém. Ecclésiast. tom. ii. p. 384), who relates it after him, is sure that the old man was a disguised angel.

had acquired much various reading in the Greek, and Tertulian in the Latin language. Julius Africanus and Origen possessed a very considerable share of the learning of their times; and although the style of Cyprian is very different from that of Lactantius, we might almost discover that both those writers had been public teachers of rhetoric. Even the study of philosophy was at length introduced among the Christians, but it was not always productive of the most salutary effects; knowledge was as often the parent of heresy as of devotion, and the description which was designed for the followers of Artemon may, with equal propriety, be applied to the various sects that resisted the successors of the apostles: "They presume to alter the Holy Scriptures, to abandon the ancient rule of faith, and to form their opinions according to the subtle precepts of logic. The science of the Church is neglected for the study of geometry, and they lose sight of heaven while they are employed in measuring the earth. Euclid is perpetually in their hands. Aristotle and Theophrastus are the objects of their admiration; and they express an uncommon reverence for the works of Galen. Their errors are derived from the abuse of the arts and sciences of the infidels, and they corrupt the simplicity of the Gospel by the refinements of human reason."<sup>187</sup>

Nor can it be affirmed with truth that the advantages of birth and fortune were always separated from the profession of Christianity. Several Roman citizens were brought before the tribunal of Pliny, and he soon discovered that a great number of persons of *every order* of men in Bithynia had deserted the religion of their ancestors.<sup>188</sup> His unsuspected testimony may, in this instance, ob-

with regard  
to rank and  
fortune.

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<sup>187</sup> Eusebius, v. 28. It may be hoped that none, except the heretics, gave occasion to the complaint of Celsus (ap. Origen. l. ii. p. 77 [c. 27, tom. i. p. 411, edit. Bened.] that the Christians were perpetually correcting and altering their Gospels.<sup>a</sup>

<sup>188</sup> Plin. Epist. x. 97: *Fuerunt alii similis amentia, cives Romani. . . . Multi enim omnis ætatis, omnis ordinis, utriusque sexus, et jam vocantur in periculum et vocabuntur.*

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<sup>a</sup> Origen states in reply that he knows of none who had altered the Gospels except the Marcionites, the Valentinians, and perhaps some followers of Lucanus.—M.



tain more credit than the bold challenge of Tertullian, when he addresses himself to the fears as well as to the humanity of the Proconsul of Africa by assuring him that if he persists in his cruel intentions he must decimate Carthage, and that he will find among the guilty many persons of his own rank, senators and matrons of noblest extraction, and the friends or relations of his most intimate friends.<sup>189</sup> It appears, however, that about forty years afterwards the Emperor Valerian was persuaded of the truth of this assertion, since in one of his rescripts he evidently supposes that senators, Roman knights, and ladies of quality were engaged in the Christian sect.<sup>190</sup> The Church still continued to increase its outward splendor as it lost its internal purity; and, in the reign of Diocletian, the palace, the courts of justice, and even the army, concealed a multitude of Christians who endeavored to reconcile the interests of the present with those of a future life.

And yet these exceptions are either too few in number or too recent in time entirely to remove the imputation of ignorance and obscurity which has been so arrogantly cast on the first proselytes of Christianity.\* Instead of employing in our defence the fictions of later ages, it will be more prudent to convert the occasion of scandal into a subject of edification. Our serious thoughts will suggest to us that the apostles themselves were chosen by Providence among the fishermen of Galilee; and that the lower we depress the temporal condition of the first Christians, the more reason we shall find to admire their merit

Christianity  
most favor-  
ably received  
by the poor  
and simple.

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<sup>189</sup> Tertullian. ad Scapulam. Yet even his rhetoric rises no higher than to claim a tenth part of Carthage.

<sup>190</sup> Cyprian. Epist. 79 [80].

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\* This incomplete enumeration ought to be increased by the names of several pagans converted at the dawn of Christianity, and whose conversion weakens the reproach which the historian appears to support. Such are the Proconsul Sergius Paulus, converted at Paphos (Acts xiii. 7-12); Dionysius, member of the Areopagus, converted with several others at Athens (Acts xvii. 34); several persons at the court of Nero (Philip. iv. 22); Erastus, receiver at Corinth (Rom. xvi. 23); some Asiarchs (Acts xix. 31). As to the philosophers, we may add Tatian, Athenagoras, Theophilus of Antioch, Hegesippus, Melito, Miltiades, Pantænus, Ammonius, etc.—all distinguished for their genius and learning.—G.

and success. It is incumbent on us diligently to remember that the kingdom of heaven was promised to the poor in spirit, and that minds afflicted by calamity and the contempt of mankind cheerfully listen to the divine promise of future happiness; while, on the contrary, the fortunate are satisfied with the possession of this world, and the wise abuse in doubt and dispute their vain superiority of reason and knowledge.

We stand in need of such reflections to comfort us for the loss of some illustrious characters, which in our eyes might have seemed the most worthy of the heavenly present. The names of Seneca, of the elder and the younger Pliny, of Tacitus, of Plutarch, of Galen, of the slave Epictetus, and of the Emperor Marcus Antoninus adorn the age in which they flourished, and exalt the dignity of human nature. They filled with glory their respective stations, either in active or contemplative life; their excellent understandings were improved by study; philosophy had purified their minds from the prejudices of the popular superstition; and their days were spent in the pursuit of truth and the practice of virtue. Yet all these sages (it is no less an object of surprise than of concern) overlooked or rejected the perfection of the Christian system. Their language or their silence equally discovers their contempt for the growing sect which in their time had diffused itself over the Roman empire. Those among them who condescend to mention the Christians consider them only as obstinate and perverse enthusiasts, who exacted an implicit submission to their mysterious doctrines, without being able to produce a single argument that could engage the attention of men of sense and learning.<sup>191</sup>

It is at least doubtful whether any of these philosophers perused the apologies which the primitive Christians repeatedly published in behalf of themselves and of their religion; but it is much to be lamented that such a

Rejected by  
some eminent  
men of the  
first and second  
centuries.

Their neglect  
of prophecy:

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<sup>191</sup> Dr. Lardner, in his first and second volumes of Jewish and Christian testimonies, collects and illustrates those of Pliny the younger, of Tacitus, of Galen, of Marcus Antoninus, and, perhaps, of Epictetus (for it is doubtful whether that philosopher means to speak of the Christians). The new sect is totally unnoticed by Seneca, the elder Pliny, and Plutarch.

cause was not defended by abler advocates. They expose with superfluous wit and eloquence the extravagance of polytheism. They interest our compassion by displaying the innocence and sufferings of their injured brethren. But when they would demonstrate the divine origin of Christianity, they insist much more strongly on the predictions which announced than on the miracles which accompanied the appearance of the Messiah. Their favorite argument might serve to edify a Christian or to convert a Jew, since both the one and the other acknowledge the authority of those prophecies, and both are obliged, with devout reverence, to search for their sense and their accomplishment. But this mode of persuasion loses much of its weight and influence when it is addressed to those who neither understand nor respect the Mosaic dispensation and the prophetic style.<sup>192</sup> In the unskilful hands of Justin and of the succeeding apologists, the sublime meaning of the Hebrew oracles evaporates in distant types, affected conceits, and cold allegories; and even their authenticity was rendered suspicious to an unenlightened Gentile by the mixture of pious forgeries which, under the names of Orpheus, Hermes, and the Sibyls,<sup>193</sup> were obtruded on him as of equal value with the genuine inspirations of Heaven. The adoption of fraud and sophistry in the defence of revelation too often reminds us of the injudicious conduct of those poets who load their *invulnerable* heroes with a useless weight of cumbersome and brittle armor.

But how shall we excuse the supine inattention of the pa-

<sup>192</sup> If the famous prophecy of the Seventy Weeks had been alleged to a Roman philosopher, would he not have replied in the words of Cicero, "Quæ tandem ista auguratio est, annorum potius quam aut mensium aut dierum?"—*De Divinatione*, ii. 30. Observe with what irreverence Lucian (in *Alexandro*, c. 13) and his friend Celsus, apud Origen. (l. vii. [c. 14] p. 327), express themselves concerning the Hebrew prophets.

<sup>193</sup> The philosophers who derided the more ancient predictions of the Sibyls would easily have detected the Jewish and Christian forgeries which have been so triumphantly quoted by the fathers, from Justin Martyr to Lactantius. When the Sibylline verses had performed their appointed task, they, like the system of the millennium, were quietly laid aside. The Christian Sibyl had unluckily fixed the ruin of Rome for the year 195, A.U.C. 948.

gan and philosophic world to those evidences which were presented by the hand of Omnipotence, not to their reason, but to their senses? During the age of Christ, of his apostles, and of their first disciples, the doctrine which they preached was confirmed by innumerable prodigies. The lame walked, the blind saw, the sick were healed, the dead were raised, demons were expelled, and the laws of nature were frequently suspended for the benefit of the Church. But the sages of Greece and Rome turned aside from the awful spectacle, and, pursuing the ordinary occupations of life and study, appeared unconscious of any alterations in the moral or physical government of the world. Under the reign of Tiberius, the whole earth,<sup>194</sup> or at least a celebrated province of the Roman empire,<sup>195</sup> was involved in a preternatural darkness of three hours. Even this miraculous event, which ought to have excited the wonder, the curiosity, and the devotion of mankind, passed without notice in an age of science and history.<sup>196</sup> It happened during the lifetime of Seneca and the elder Pliny, who must have experienced the immediate effects, or received the earliest intelligence, of the prodigy. Each of these philosophers, in a laborious work, has recorded all the great phenomena of nature—earthquakes, meteors, comets, and eclipses—which his indefatigable curiosity could collect.<sup>197</sup> Both the one and the other have omitted to mention the greatest phenomenon to which the mortal eye has been witness since the

and of  
miracles.

General  
silence con-  
cerning the  
darkness of  
the Passion.

<sup>194</sup> The fathers, as they are drawn out in battle array by Dom Calmet (*Dissertations sur la Bible*, tom. iii. p. 295–308), seem to cover the whole earth with darkness, in which they are followed by most of the moderns.

<sup>195</sup> Origen. *ad Matth.* c. 27, and a few modern critics, Beza, Le Clerc, Lardner, etc., are desirous of confining it to the land of Judæa.

<sup>196</sup> The celebrated passage of Phlegon is now wisely abandoned. When Tertullian assures the pagans that the mention of the prodigy is found in *Arcanis* (not *Archivis*)<sup>a</sup> *vestris* (see his *Apology*, c. 21), he probably appeals to the Sibylline verses, which relate it exactly in the words of the Gospel.

<sup>197</sup> Seneca *Quæst. Natur.* l. i. 15, vi. 1, vii. 17. Plin. *Hist. Natur.* l. ii.

<sup>a</sup> The reading preferred by Gibbon rests upon the authority of two MSS. ; and, on the whole, there appears to be, if not a preponderance, at least an equal amount, of evidence in favor of *Archivis*. See Woodham's *Apology of Tertullian*, p. 78, note 26.—S.



creation of the globe. A distinct chapter of Pliny<sup>198</sup> is designed for eclipses of an extraordinary nature and unusual duration ; but he contents himself with describing the singular defect of light which followed the murder of Cæsar, when, during the greatest part of a year, the orb of the sun appeared pale and without splendor. This season of obscurity, which cannot surely be compared with the preternatural darkness of the Passion, had been already celebrated by most of the poets<sup>199</sup> and historians of that memorable age.<sup>200</sup>

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<sup>198</sup> Plin. Hist. Natur. ii. 30.<sup>a</sup>

<sup>199</sup> Virgil. Georgic. i. 466. Tibullus, ii. 5, 75. Ovid. Metamorph. xv. 782. Lucan. Pharsal. i. 535. The last of these poets places this prodigy before the civil war.

<sup>200</sup> See a public epistle of M. Antony in Joseph. Antiquit. xiv. 12 [§ 3]. Plutarch. in Cæsar. [c. 69] p. 471. Appian. Bell. Civil. l. iv. Dion Cassius, l. xlv. [c. 17] p. 431. Julius Obsequens, c. 128 (his little treatise is an abstract of Livy's prodigies).

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<sup>a</sup> This "distinct chapter" contains only two lines. The expression of Gibbon might mislead.—S.

## CHAPTER XVI.\*

The Conduct of the Roman Government towards the Christians, from the Reign of Nero to that of Constantine.

IF we seriously consider the purity of the Christian religion, the sanctity of its moral precepts, and the innocent as well as austere lives of the greater number of those who during the first ages embraced the faith of the Gospel, we should naturally suppose that so benevolent a doctrine would have been received with due reverence even by the unbelieving world; that the learned and the polite, however they might deride the miracles, would have esteemed the virtues of the new sect; and that the magistrates, instead of persecuting, would have protected an order of men who yielded the most passive obedience to the laws, though they declined the active cares of war and government. If, on the other hand, we recollect the universal toleration of polytheism, as it was invariably maintained by the faith of the people, the incredulity of philosophers, and the policy of the Roman senate and emperors, we are at a loss to discover what new offence

Christianity  
persecuted by  
the Roman  
emperors.

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\* The sixteenth chapter I cannot help considering as a very ingenious and specious, but very disgraceful, extenuation of the cruelties perpetrated by the Roman magistrates against the Christians. It is written in the most contemptibly factious spirit of prejudice against the sufferers; it is unworthy of a philosopher and of a man of humanity. Let the narrative of Cyprian's death be examined. He had to relate the murder of an innocent man of advanced age, and in a station deemed venerable by a considerable body of the provincials of Africa, put to death because he refused to sacrifice to Jupiter. Instead of pointing the indignation of posterity against such an atrocious act of tyranny, he dwells with visible art on the small circumstances of decorum and politeness which attended this murder, and which he relates with as much parade as if they were the most important particulars of the event.

Dr. Robertson has been the subject of much blame for his real or supposed lenity towards the Spanish murderers and tyrants in America. That the sixteenth chapter of Mr. G. did not excite the same or greater disapprobation is a proof of the unphilosophical and indeed fanatical animosity against Christianity which was so prevalent during the latter part of the seventeenth [eighteenth] century. — Maekintosh (see *Life*, i. p. 244, 245).

the Christians had committed, what new provocation could exasperate the mild indifference of antiquity, and what new motives could urge the Roman princes, who beheld without concern a thousand forms of religion subsisting in peace under their gentle sway, to inflict a severe punishment on any part of their subjects who had chosen for themselves a singular but an inoffensive mode of faith and worship.

The religious policy of the ancient world seems to have assumed a more stern and intolerant character to oppose the progress of Christianity. About fourscore years after the death of Christ, his innocent disciples were punished with death by the sentence of a proconsul of the most amiable and philosophic character, and according to the laws of an emperor distinguished by the wisdom and justice of his general administration. The apologies which were repeatedly addressed to the successors of Trajan are filled with the most pathetic complaints that the Christians, who obeyed the dictates and solicited the liberty of conscience, were alone, among all the subjects of the Roman empire, excluded from the common benefits of their auspicious government. The deaths of a few eminent martyrs have been recorded with care; and from the time that Christianity was invested with the supreme power, the governors of the Church have been no less diligently employed in displaying the cruelty than in imitating the conduct of their pagan adversaries. To separate, if it be possible, a few authentic as well as interesting facts from an undigested mass of fiction and error, and to relate in a clear and rational manner the causes, the extent, the duration, and the most important circumstances of the persecutions to which the first Christians were exposed, is the design of the present chapter.

The sectaries of a persecuted religion, depressed by fear, animated with resentment, and perhaps heated by enthusiasm, are seldom in a proper temper of mind calmly to investigate, or candidly to appreciate, the motives of their enemies, which often escape the impartial and discerning view even of those who are placed at a secure distance from the flames of persecution. A reason has been assigned for the conduct of the emperors towards the primi-

Inquiry  
into their  
motives.

tive Christians, which may appear the more specious and probable as it is drawn from the acknowledged genius of polytheism. It has already been observed that the religious concord of the world was principally supported by the implicit assent and reverence which the nations of antiquity expressed for their respective traditions and ceremonies. It might therefore be expected that they would unite with indignation against any sect or people which should separate itself from the communion of mankind, and, claiming the exclusive possession of divine knowledge, should disdain every form of worship except its own as impious and idolatrous. The rights of toleration were held by mutual indulgence; they were justly forfeited by a refusal of the accustomed tribute. As the payment of this tribute was inflexibly refused by the Jews, and by them alone, the consideration of the treatment which they experienced from the Roman magistrates will serve to explain how far these speculations are justified by facts, and will lead us to discover the true causes of the persecution of Christianity.

Without repeating what has been already mentioned of the reverence of the Roman princes and governors for the temple of Jerusalem, we shall only observe that the destruction of the temple and city was accompanied and followed by every circumstance that could exasperate the minds of the conquerors, and authorize religious persecution by the most specious arguments of political justice and the public safety. From the reign of Nero to that of Antoninus Pius, the Jews discovered a fierce impatience of the dominion of Rome, which repeatedly broke out in the most furious massacres and insurrections. Humanity is shocked at the recital of the horrid cruelties which they committed in the cities of Egypt, of Cyprus, and of Cyrene, where they dwelt in treacherous friendship with the unsuspecting natives;<sup>1</sup> and we are tempted to applaud the severe retaliation which was exer-

Rebellious  
spirit of the  
Jews.

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<sup>1</sup> In Cyrene they massacred 220,000 Greeks; in Cyprus, 240,000; in Egypt, a very great multitude. Many of these unhappy victims were sawn asunder, according to a precedent to which David had given the sanction of his example. The victorious Jews devoured the flesh, licked up the blood, and twisted the entrails like a girdle round their bodies. See Dion Cassius, l. lxxviii. [c. 32] p. 1145.



cised by the arms of the legions against a race of fanatics whose dire and credulous superstition seemed to render them the implacable enemies not only of the Roman government, but of humankind.<sup>2</sup> The enthusiasm of the Jews was supported by the opinion that it was unlawful for them to pay taxes to an idolatrous master, and by the flattering promise which they derived from their ancient oracles that a conquering Messiah would soon arise destined to break their fetters and to invest the favorites of Heaven with the empire of the earth. It was by announcing himself as their long-expected deliverer, and by calling on all the descendants of Abraham to assert the hope of Israel, that the famous Barchochebas collected a formidable army with which he resisted during two years the power of the Emperor Hadrian.<sup>3</sup>

Notwithstanding these repeated provocations, the resentment of the Roman princes expired after the victory, nor were their apprehensions continued beyond the period of war and danger. By the general indulgence of polytheism, and by the mild temper of Antoninus Pius, the Jews were restored to their ancient privileges, and once more obtained the permission of circumcising their children, with the easy restraint that they should never confer on any foreign proselyte that distinguishing mark of the Hebrew race.<sup>4</sup> The numerous remains of that people, though they were still excluded from the precincts of Jerusalem, were permitted to form and to maintain considerable establishments both in Italy and in the provinces, to acquire the freedom of Rome, to enjoy municipal honors, and to obtain at the same time an exemption from the burdensome and expensive offices of society. The moderation or the contempt of the Romans gave a legal

<sup>2</sup> Without repeating the well-known narratives of Josephus, we may learn from Dion (l. lxi. [c. 14] p. 1162) that in Hadrian's war 580,000 Jews were cut off by the sword, besides an infinite number which perished by famine, by disease, and by fire.

<sup>3</sup> For the sect of the Zealots see Basnage, *Histoire des Juifs*, l. i. c. 17; for the characters of the Messiah, according to the rabbis, l. v. c. 11, 12, 13; for the actions of Barchochebas, l. vii. c. 12 [*Hist. of Jews*, iii. 115, etc.—M.].

<sup>4</sup> It is to Modestinus, a Roman lawyer (l. vi. regular.), that we are indebted for a distinct knowledge of the edict of Antoninus. See Casaubon ad *Hist.* August. p. 27.

sanction to the form of ecclesiastical police which was instituted by the vanquished sect. The patriarch who had fixed his residence at Tiberias was empowered to appoint his subordinate ministers and apostles, to exercise a domestic jurisdiction, and to receive from his dispersed brethren an annual contribution.\* New synagogues were frequently erected in the principal cities of the empire; and the Sabbaths, the fasts, and the festivals, which were either commanded by the Mosaic law or enjoined by the traditions of the rabbis, were celebrated in the most solemn and public manner.† Such gentle treatment insensibly assuaged the stern temper of the Jews. Awakened from their dream of prophecy and conquest, they assumed the behavior of peaceable and industrious subjects. Their irreconcilable hatred of mankind, instead of flaming out in acts of blood and violence, evaporated in less dangerous gratifications. They embraced every opportunity of overreaching the idolaters in trade, and they pronounced secret and ambiguous imprecations against the haughty kingdom of Edom.‡

Since the Jews, who rejected with abhorrence the deities adored by their sovereign and by their fellow-subjects, enjoyed, however, the free exercise of their unsocial religion, there must have existed some other cause which exposed the disciples

\* See Basnage, *Histoire des Juifs*, l. iii. c. 2, 3. The office of patriarch was suppressed by Theodosius the younger.

† We need only mention the Purim, or deliverance of the Jews from the rage of Haman, which, till the reign of Theodosius, was celebrated with insolent triumph and riotous intemperance. Basnage, *Hist. des Juifs*, l. vi. c. 17, l. viii. c. 6.

‡ According to the false Josephus, Tsepho, the grandson of Esau, conducted into Italy the army of Æneas, King of Carthage. Another colony of Idumæans, flying from the sword of David, took refuge in the dominions of Romulus. For these, or for other reasons of equal weight, the name of Edom was applied by the Jews to the Roman empire.‡

‡ The false Josephus is a romancer of very modern date, though some of these legends are probably more ancient. It may be worth considering whether many of the stories in the Talmud are not history in a figurative disguise, adopted from prudence. The Jews might dare to say many things of Rome, under the significant appellation of Edom, which they feared to utter publicly. Later and more ignorant ages took literally, and perhaps embellished, what was intelligible among the generation to which it was addressed. *Hist. of Jews*, iii. 131.

The false Josephus has the inauguration of the emperor, with the seven electors and apparently the pope assisting at the coronation! Pref. p. xxvi.—M.

of Christ to those severities from which the posterity of Abraham was exempt. The difference between them is simple and obvious, but according to the sentiments of antiquity it was of the highest importance. The Jews were a *nation*, the Christians were a *sect*; and if it was natural for every community to respect the sacred institutions of their neighbors, it was incumbent on them to persevere in those of their ancestors. The voice of oracles, the precepts of philosophers, and the authority of the laws unanimously enforced this national obligation. By their lofty claim of superior sanctity the Jews might provoke the polytheists to consider them as an odious and impure race. By disdaining the intercourse of other nations they might deserve their contempt. The laws of Moses might be for the most part frivolous or absurd; yet since they had been received during many ages by a large society, his followers were justified by the example of mankind, and it was universally acknowledged that they had a right to practise what it would have been criminal in them to neglect. But this principle which protected the Jewish synagogue afforded not any favor or security to the primitive Church. By embracing the faith of the Gospel the Christians incurred the supposed guilt of an unnatural and unpardonable offence. They dissolved the sacred ties of custom and education, violated the religious institutions of their country, and presumptuously despised whatever their fathers had believed as true or had revered as sacred. Nor was this apostasy—if we may use the expression—merely of a partial or local kind, since the pious deserter who withdrew himself from the temples of Egypt or Syria would equally disdain to seek an asylum in those of Athens or Carthage. Every Christian rejected with contempt the superstitions of his family, his city, and his province. The whole body of Christians unanimously refused to hold any communion with the gods of Rome, of the empire, and of mankind. It was in vain that the oppressed believer asserted the inalienable rights of conscience and private judgment. Though his situation might excite the pity, his arguments could never reach the understanding either of the philosophic or of the believing part,

The Jews were a people which followed, the Christians a sect which deserted, the religion of their fathers.

of the pagan world. To their apprehensions it was no less a matter of surprise that any individuals should entertain scruples against complying with the established mode of worship than if they had conceived a sudden abhorrence to the manners, the dress, or the language of their native country.\*<sup>a</sup>

The surprise of the pagans was soon succeeded by resentment, and the most pious of men were exposed to the unjust but dangerous imputation of impiety. Malice and prejudice concurred in representing the Christians as a society of atheists, who, by the most daring attack on the religious constitution of the empire, had merited the severest animadversion of the civil magistrate. They had separated themselves (they gloried in the confession) from every mode of superstition which was received in any part of the globe by the various temper of polytheism; but it was not altogether so evident what deity or what form of worship they had substituted to the gods and temples of antiquity. The pure and sublime idea which they entertained of the Supreme Being escaped the gross conception of the pagan multitude, who were at a loss to discover a spiritual and solitary God, that was neither represented under any corporeal figure or visible symbol, nor was adored with the accustomed pomp of libations and festivals, of altars and sacrifices.<sup>b</sup> The sages of Greece and Rome, who had elevated their minds to the contemplation of the existence and attributes of the First Cause, were induced by reason or by vanity

Christianity  
accused of  
atheism, and  
mistaken by  
the people  
and philoso-  
phers.

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\* From the arguments of Celsus, as they are represented and refuted by Origen (l. v. [c. 59] p. 247–259), we may clearly discover the distinction that was made between the Jewish *people* and the Christian *sect*. See in the Dialogue of Minucius Felix (p. 5, 6) a fair and not inelegant description of the popular sentiments with regard to the desertion of the established worship.

<sup>a</sup> Cur nullas aras habent? templa nulla? nulla nota simulacra? . . . Unde autem, vel quis ille, aut ubi, Deus unicus, solitarius, destitutus?—Minucius Felix, p. 10. The pagan interlocutor goes on to make a distinction in favor of the Jews, who had once a temple, altars, victims, etc.

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<sup>a</sup> In all this there is doubtless much truth; yet does not the more important difference lie on the surface? The Christians made many converts, the Jews but few. Had the Jewish been equally a proselytizing religion, would it not have encountered as violent persecution?—M.



to reserve for themselves and their chosen disciples the privilege of this philosophical devotion.<sup>10</sup> They were far from admitting the prejudices of mankind as the standard of truth, but they considered them as flowing from the original disposition of human nature; and they supposed that any popular mode of faith and worship which presumed to disclaim the assistance of the senses would, in proportion as it receded from superstition, find itself incapable of restraining the wanderings of the fancy and the visions of fanaticism. The careless glance which men of wit and learning condescended to cast on the Christian revelation served only to confirm their hasty opinion, and to persuade them that the principle, which they might have revered, of the Divine Unity was defaced by the wild enthusiasm and annihilated by the airy speculations of the new sectaries. The author of a celebrated dialogue, which has been attributed to Lucian, whilst he affects to treat the mysterious subject of the Trinity in a style of ridicule and contempt, betrays his own ignorance of the weakness of human reason and of the inscrutable nature of the divine perfections.<sup>11</sup>

It might appear less surprising that the Founder of Christianity should not only be revered by his disciples as a sage and a prophet, but that he should be adored as a God. The polytheists were disposed to adopt every article of faith which seemed to offer any resemblance, however distant or imperfect, with the popular mythology; and the legends of Bacchus, of Hercules, and of Æsculapius had, in some measure, prepared their imagination for the appearance of the Son of God

<sup>10</sup> It is difficult (says Plato) to attain, and dangerous to publish, the knowledge of the true God. See the *Théologie des Philosophes*, in the Abbé d'Olivet's French translation of Tully, *De Naturâ Deorum*, tom. i. p. 275.

<sup>11</sup> The author of the *Philopatris* perpetually treats the Christians as a company of dreaming enthusiasts, *δαίμονιοι αἰθέριοι, αἰθεροβαροῦντες, ἀεροβαροῦντες*, etc.; and in one place manifestly alludes to the vision in which St. Paul was transported to the third heaven. In another place, Triephton, who personates a Christian, after deriding the gods of paganism, proposes a mysterious oath:

Ὑψιμέδοντα θεόν, μέγαν, ἄμβροτον, οὐρανίωνα,  
Υἱὸν πατρὸς, πνεῦμα ἐκ πατρὸς ἐκπορευόμενον,  
Ἐν ἐκ τριῶν, καὶ ἐξ ἐνὸς τρία.

Ἀριθμέειν με διδάσκεις (is the profane answer of Critias), καὶ ὄρκος ἡ ἀριθμητικὴ· οὐκ οἶδα γάρ τι λέγεις· ἐν τρία, τρία ἔν!

under a human form."<sup>12</sup> But they were astonished that the Christians should abandon the temples of those ancient heroes who, in the infancy of the world, had invented arts, instituted laws, and vanquished the tyrants or monsters who infested the earth, in order to choose for the exclusive object of their religious worship an obscure teacher, who, in a recent age and among a barbarous people, had fallen a sacrifice either to the malice of his own countrymen or to the jealousy of the Roman government. The pagan multitude, reserving their gratitude for temporal benefits alone, rejected the inestimable present of life and immortality which was offered to mankind by Jesus of Nazareth. His mild constancy in the midst of cruel and voluntary sufferings, his universal benevolence, and the sublime simplicity of his actions and character were insufficient, in the opinion of those carnal men, to compensate for the want of fame, of empire, and of success; and whilst they refused to acknowledge his stupendous triumph over the powers of darkness and of the grave, they misrepresented, or they insulted, the equivocal birth, wandering life, and ignominious death of the divine Author of Christianity.<sup>13</sup>

The personal guilt which every Christian had contracted in thus preferring his private sentiment to the national religion was aggravated in a very high degree by the number and union of the criminals. It is well known, and has been already observed, that Roman policy viewed with the utmost jealousy and distrust any association among its subjects; and that the privileges of private corporations, though formed for the most harmless or beneficial purposes, were bestowed with a very sparing hand.<sup>14</sup> The religious assemblies of the Christians,

The union and assemblies of the Christians considered as a dangerous conspiracy.

<sup>12</sup> According to Justin Martyr (Apolog. Major, c. 70-85), the demon, who had gained some imperfect knowledge of the prophecies, purposely contrived this resemblance, which might deter, though by different means, both the people and the philosophers from embracing the faith of Christ.

<sup>13</sup> In the first and second books of Origen, Celsus treats the birth and character of our Saviour with the most impious contempt. The orator Libanius praises Porphyry and Julian for confuting the folly of a sect which styles a dead man of Palestine God, and the Son of God. Socrates, Hist. Ecclesiast. iii. 23.

<sup>14</sup> The Emperor Trajan refused to incorporate a company of one hundred and

who had separated themselves from the public worship, appeared of a much less innocent nature: they were illegal in their principle, and in their consequences might become dangerous. Nor were the emperors conscious that they violated the laws of justice when, for the peace of society, they prohibited those secret and sometimes nocturnal meetings.<sup>15</sup> The pious disobedience of the Christians made their conduct, or perhaps their designs, appear in a much more serious and criminal light; and the Roman princes, who might, perhaps, have suffered themselves to be disarmed by a ready submission, deeming their honor concerned in the execution of their commands, sometimes attempted, by rigorous punishments, to subdue this independent spirit which boldly acknowledged an authority superior to that of the magistrate. The extent and duration of this spiritual conspiracy seemed to render it every day more deserving of his animadversion. We have already seen that the active and successful zeal of the Christians had insensibly diffused them through every province and almost every city of the empire. The new converts seemed to renounce their family and country, that they might connect themselves in an indissoluble band of union with a peculiar society which everywhere assumed a different character from the rest of mankind. Their gloomy and austere aspect, their abhorrence of the common business and pleasures of life, and their frequent predictions of impending calamities<sup>16</sup> inspired the pagans with the apprehension of some danger which would arise from the new sect, the more alarming as it was the more obscure. "Whatever," says Pliny, "may be the principle of their conduct, their inflexible obstinacy appeared deserving of punishment."<sup>17</sup>

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fifty firemen for the use of the city of Nicomedia. He disliked all associations. See Plin. Epist. x. 42, 43.

<sup>15</sup> The proconsul Pliny had published a general edict against unlawful meetings. The prudence of the Christians suspended their *agapæ*; but it was impossible for them to omit the exercise of public worship.

<sup>16</sup> As the prophecies of the Antichrist, approaching conflagration, etc., provoked those pagans whom they did not convert, they were mentioned with caution and reserve; and the Montanists were censured for disclosing too freely the dangerous secret. See Mosheim, p. 413.

<sup>17</sup> Neque enim dubitabam, qualecunque esset quod faterentur (such are the

The precautions with which the disciples of Christ performed the offices of religion were at first dictated by fear and necessity; but they were continued from choice. By imitating the awful secrecy which reigned in the Eleusinian mysteries, the Christians had flattered themselves that they should render their sacred institutions more respectable in the eyes of the pagan world.<sup>18</sup> But the event, as it often happens to the operations of subtle policy, deceived their wishes and their expectations. It was concluded that they only concealed what they would have blushed to disclose. Their mistaken prudence afforded an opportunity for malice to invent, and for suspicious credulity to believe, the horrid tales which described the Christians as the most wicked of humankind, who practised in their dark recesses every abomination that a depraved fancy could suggest, and who solicited the favor of their unknown God by the sacrifice of every moral virtue. There were many who pretended to confess or to relate the ceremonies of this abhorred society. It was asserted "that a new-born infant, entirely covered over with flour, was presented, like some mystic symbol of initiation, to the knife of the proselyte, who unknowingly inflicted many a secret and mortal wound on the innocent victim of his error; that as soon as the cruel deed was perpetrated, the sectaries drank up the blood, greedily tore asunder the quivering members, and pledged themselves to eternal secrecy by a mutual consciousness of guilt. It was as confidently affirmed that this inhuman sacrifice was succeeded by a suitable entertainment, in which intemperance served as a provocative to brutal lust, till, at the appointed moment, the lights were suddenly extinguished, shame was banished, nature was forgotten, and, as accident might direct, the darkness of the night was polluted by the incestuous commerce of sisters and brothers, of sons and of mothers."<sup>19</sup>

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words of Pliny), *pervicaciam certe et inflexibilem obstinationem debere puniri.* — [Epist. x. 97].

<sup>18</sup> See Mosheim's *Ecclesiastical History*, vol. i. p. 101, and Spanheim, *Remarques sur les Césars de Julien*, p. 468, etc.

<sup>19</sup> See Justin Martyr, *Apolog.* i. 35 [c. 27? edit. Bened.], ii. 14 [c. 12, p. 97, edit.



But the perusal of the ancient apologies was sufficient to remove even the slightest suspicion from the mind of a candid adversary. The Christians, with the intrepid security of innocence, appeal from the voice of rumor to the equity of the magistrates. They acknowledge that if any proof can be produced of the crimes which calumny has imputed to them, they are worthy of the most severe punishment. They provoke the punishment and they challenge the proof. At the same time they urge, with equal truth and propriety, that the charge is not less devoid of probability than it is destitute of evidence. They ask whether any one can seriously believe that the pure and holy precepts of the Gospel, which so frequently restrain the use of the most lawful enjoyments, should inculcate the practice of the most abominable crimes; that a large society should resolve to dishonor itself in the eyes of its own members; and that a great number of persons, of either sex and every age and character, insensible to the fear of death or infamy, should consent to violate those principles which nature and education had imprinted most deeply in their minds.<sup>20</sup> Nothing, it should seem, could weaken the force or destroy the effect of so unanswerable a justification, unless it were the injudicious conduct of the apologists themselves, who betrayed the common cause of religion to gratify their devout hatred to the domestic enemies of the Church. It was sometimes faintly insinuated, and sometimes boldly asserted, that the same bloody sacrifices and the same incestuous festivals which were so falsely ascribed to the orthodox believers were in reality celebrated by the Marcionites, by the Carpocratians, and by several other sects of the Gnostics, who, notwithstanding they might deviate into the paths of heresy, were still act-

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Bened.]. Athenagoras in Legation. c. 27. Tertullian, Apolog. c. 7, 8, 9. Minucius Felix, p. 9, 10, 30, 31. The last of these writers relates the accusation in the most elegant and circumstantial manner. The answer of Tertullian is the boldest and most vigorous.

<sup>20</sup> In the persecution of Lyons, some Gentile slaves were compelled, by the fear of tortures, to accuse their Christian master. The Church of Lyons, writing to their brethren of Asia, treat the horrid charge with proper indignation and contempt. Euseb. Hist. Eccles. v. i.

uated by the sentiments of men, and still governed by the precepts of Christianity.<sup>21</sup> Accusations of a similar kind were retorted upon the Church by the schismatics who had departed from its communion;<sup>22</sup> and it was confessed on all sides that the most scandalous licentiousness of manners prevailed among great numbers of those who affected the name of Christians. A pagan magistrate, who possessed neither leisure nor abilities to discern the almost imperceptible line which divides the orthodox faith from heretical pravity, might easily have imagined that their mutual animosity had extorted the discovery of their common guilt. It was fortunate for the repose, or at least for the reputation, of the first Christians that the magistrates sometimes proceeded with more temper and moderation than is usually consistent with religious zeal, and that they reported, as the impartial result of their judicial inquiry, that the sectaries who had deserted the established worship appeared to them sincere in their professions and blameless in their manners, however they might incur, by their absurd and excessive superstition, the censure of the laws.<sup>23</sup>

History, which undertakes to record the transactions of the past for the instruction of future ages, would ill deserve that honorable office if she condescended to plead the cause of tyrants or to justify the maxims of persecution. It must, however, be acknowledged that the conduct of the emperors who appeared the least favorable to the primitive Church is by no means so criminal

Idea of the conduct of the emperors towards the Christians.

<sup>21</sup> See Justin Martyr, *Apolog.* i. 35 [c. 27? edit. Bened.]. Irenæus *adv. Hæres.* i. 24. Clemens Alexandrin. *Stromat.* l. iii. p. 438 [c. 2, p. 514, ed. Oxon. 1715]. Euseb. iv. 8. It would be tedious and disgusting to relate all that the succeeding writers have imagined, all that Epiphanius has received, and all that Tillemont has copied. M. de Beausobre (*Hist. du Manichéisme*, l. ix. ch. 8. 9) has exposed with great spirit the disingenuous arts of Augustine and Pope Leo I.

<sup>22</sup> When Tertullian became a Montanist, he aspersed the morals of the Church which he had so resolutely defended. "Sed majoris est Agape, quia per hanc adolescentes tui cum sororibus dormiunt. Appendices scilicet gulæ lascivia et luxuria."—*De Jejuniis*, c. 17. The 35th canon of the Council of Illiberis provides against the scandals which too often polluted the vigils of the Church and disgraced the Christian name in the eyes of unbelievers.

<sup>23</sup> Tertullian (*Apolog.* c. 2) expatiates on the fair and honorable testimony of Pliny with much reason and some declamation.

as that of modern sovereigns who have employed the arm of violence and terror against the religious opinions of any part of their subjects. From their reflections, or even from their own feelings, a Charles V. or a Louis XIV. might have acquired a just knowledge of the rights of conscience, of the obligation of faith, and of the innocence of error. But the princes and magistrates of ancient Rome were strangers to those principles which inspired and authorized the inflexible obstinacy of the Christians in the cause of truth; nor could they themselves discover in their own breasts any motive which would have prompted them to refuse a legal, and, as it were, a natural submission to the sacred institutions of their country. The same reason which contributes to alleviate the guilt must have tended to abate the rigor of their persecutions. As they were actuated, not by the furious zeal of bigots, but by the temperate policy of legislators, contempt must often have relaxed, and humanity must frequently have suspended, the execution of those laws which they enacted against the humble and obscure followers of Christ. From the general view of their character and motives, we might naturally conclude: I. That a considerable time elapsed before they considered the new sectaries as an object deserving of the attention of government. II. That in the conviction of any of their subjects who were accused of so very singular a crime, they proceeded with caution and reluctance. III. That they were moderate in the use of punishments; and IV. That the afflicted Church enjoyed many intervals of peace and tranquillity. Notwithstanding the careless indifference which the most copious and the most minute of the pagan writers have shown to the affairs of the Christians,<sup>24</sup> it may still be in our

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<sup>24</sup> In the various compilation of the Augustan History (a part of which was composed under the reign of Constantine) there are not six lines which relate to the Christians; nor has the diligence of Xiphilin discovered their name in the large history of Dion Cassius.<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup> The greater part of the Augustan History is dedicated to Diocletian. This may account for the silence of its authors concerning Christianity. The notices that occur are almost all in the Lives composed under the reign of Constantine. It may fairly be concluded, from the language which he puts into the mouth of

power to confirm each of these probable suppositions by the evidence of authentic facts.

I. By the wise dispensation of Providence a mysterious veil was cast over the infancy of the Church, which, till the faith of the Christians was matured and their numbers were multiplied, served to protect them not only from the malice, but even from the knowledge, of the pagan world. The slow and gradual abolition of the Mosaic ceremonies afforded a safe and innocent disguise to the more early proselytes of the Gospel. As they were for the greater part of the race of Abraham, they were distinguished by the peculiar mark of circumcision, offered up their devotions in the Temple of Jerusalem till its final destruction, and received both the Law and the Prophets as the genuine inspirations of the Deity. The Gentile converts, who by a spiritual adoption had been associated to the hope of Israel, were likewise confounded under the garb and appearance of Jews;<sup>25</sup> and as the polytheists paid less regard to articles of faith than to the external worship, the new sect, which carefully concealed, or faintly announced, its future greatness and ambition, was permitted to shelter itself under the general toleration which was granted to an ancient and celebrated people in the Roman empire. It was not long, perhaps, before the Jews themselves, animated with a fiercer zeal and a more jealous faith, perceived the gradual separation of their Nazarene brethren from the doctrine of the synagogue; and they would gladly have extinguished the dangerous heresy in the blood of its adherents. But the decrees of Heaven had already disarmed their malice; and though they might sometimes exert the licentious privilege of sedition, they no longer possessed the administration of criminal justice; nor did they find it easy to infuse into the calm breast of a Roman magistrate the ran-

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<sup>25</sup> An obscure passage of Suetonius (in Claud. c. 25) may seem to offer a proof how strangely the Jews and Christians of Rome were confounded with each other.

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Mæcenas, that Dion was an enemy to all innovations in religion. In fact, when the silence of pagan historians is noticed, it should be remembered how meagre and mutilated are all the extant histories of the period.—M.



cor of their own zeal and prejudice. The provincial governors declared themselves ready to listen to any accusation that might affect the public safety; but as soon as they were informed that it was a question not of facts, but of words—a dispute relating only to the interpretation of the Jewish laws and prophecies—they deemed it unworthy of the majesty of Rome seriously to discuss the obscure differences which might arise among a barbarous and superstitious people. The innocence of the first Christians was protected by ignorance and contempt; and the tribunal of the pagan magistrate often proved their most assured refuge against the fury of the synagogue.<sup>26</sup> If, indeed, we were disposed to adopt the traditions of a too credulous antiquity, we might relate the distant peregrinations, the wonderful achievements, and the various deaths of the twelve apostles; but a more accurate inquiry will induce us to doubt whether any of those persons who had been witnesses to the miracles of Christ were permitted, beyond the limits of Palestine, to seal with their blood the truth of their testimony.<sup>27</sup> From the ordinary term of human life, it may very naturally be presumed that most of them were deceased before the discontent of the Jews broke out into that furious war which was terminated only by the ruin of Jerusalem. During a long period, from the death of Christ to that memorable rebellion, we cannot discover any traces of Roman intolerance, unless they are to be found in the sudden, the transient, but the cruel persecution which was exercised by Nero against the Christians of the capital, thirty-five years after the former, and only two years before the latter, of those great events. The character of the philosophic historian to whom we are principally indebted for the knowledge of this singular

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<sup>26</sup> See, in the 18th and 25th chapters of the Acts of the Apostles, the behavior of Gallio, Proconsul of Achaia, and of Festus, Procurator of Judæa.

<sup>27</sup> In the time of Tertullian and Clemens of Alexandria the glory of martyrdom was confined to St. Peter, St. Paul, and St. James. It was gradually bestowed on the rest of the apostles by the more recent Greeks, who prudently selected for the theatre of their preaching and sufferings some remote country beyond the limits of the Roman empire. See Mosheim, p. 81; and Tillemont, *Mémoires Ecclésiastiques*, tom. i. part iii.

transaction would alone be sufficient to recommend it to our most attentive consideration.

In the tenth year of the reign of Nero, the capital of the empire was afflicted by a fire which raged beyond the memory or example of former ages.<sup>28</sup> The monuments of Grecian art and of Roman virtue, the trophies of the Punic and Gallic wars, the most holy temples, and the most splendid palaces were involved in one common destruction. Of the fourteen regions or quarters into which Rome was divided, four only subsisted entire; three were levelled with the ground; and the remaining seven, which had experienced the fury of the flames, displayed a melancholy prospect of ruin and desolation. The vigilance of government appears not to have neglected any of the precautions which might alleviate the sense of so dreadful a calamity. The imperial gardens were thrown open to the distressed multitude, temporary buildings were erected for their accommodation, and a plentiful supply of corn and provisions was distributed at a very moderate price.<sup>29</sup> The most generous policy seemed to have dictated the edicts which regulated the disposition of the streets and the construction of private houses; and, as it usually happens in an age of prosperity, the conflagration of Rome, in the course of a few years, produced a new city, more regular and more beautiful than the former. But all the prudence and humanity affected by Nero on this occasion were insufficient to preserve him from the popular suspicion. Every crime might be imputed to the assassin of his wife and mother; nor could the prince who prostituted his person and dignity on the theatre be deemed incapable of the most extravagant folly. The voice of rumor accused the emperor as the incendiary of his own capital; and, as the most incredible stories are the best adapted to the genius of an enraged people, it was gravely reported, and firmly believed, that Nero, enjoying the calamity which he had occasioned, amused himself

<sup>28</sup> Tacit. Annal. xv. 38-44. Sueton. in Neron. c. 38. Dion Cassius, l. lxii. [c. 16] p. 1014. Orosius, vii. 7.

<sup>29</sup> The price of wheat (probably of the *modius*) was reduced as low as *terni nummi*, which would be equivalent to about fifteen shillings the English quarter.



### BURNING OF ROME UNDER NERO

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"Nero enjoying the calamity which he had occasioned, amused himself with singing to his lyre the destruction of ancient Troy."

Gibbon's Rome, Vol. II.

Painting by William von Kaulbach





with singing to his lyre the destruction of ancient Troy.<sup>30</sup> To divert a suspicion which the power of despotism was unable to suppress, the emperor resolved to substitute in his own place some fictitious criminals. "With this view" (continues

Cruel punishment of the Christians as the incendiaries of the city.

Tacitus) "he inflicted the most exquisite tortures on those men who, under the vulgar appellation of Christians, were already branded with deserved infamy. They derived their name and origin from Christ, who, in the reign of Tiberius, had suffered death by the sentence of the procurator Pontius Pilate.<sup>31</sup> For a while this dire superstition was checked, but it again burst forth; and not only spread itself over Judæa, the first seat of this mischievous sect, but was even introduced into Rome, the common asylum which receives and protects whatever is impure, whatever is atrocious. The confessions of those who were seized discovered a great multitude of their accomplices, and they were all convicted, not so much for the crime of setting fire to the city as for their hatred of humankind.<sup>32</sup> They

<sup>30</sup> We may observe that the rumor is mentioned by Tacitus with a very becoming distrust and hesitation, whilst it is greedily transcribed by Suetonius, and solemnly confirmed by Dion.

<sup>31</sup> This testimony is alone sufficient to expose the anachronism of the Jews, who place the birth of Christ near a century sooner (Basnage, *Histoire des Juifs*, l. i. c. 14, 15). We may learn from Josephus (*Antiquitat.* xviii. 3 [c. 2, § 2, edit. Oxon. 1720]) that the procuratorship of Pilate corresponded with the last ten years of Tiberius, A.D. 27-37. As to the particular time of the death of Christ, a very early tradition fixed it to the 25th of March, A.D. 29, under the consulship of the two Gemini (Tertullian *adv. Judæos*, c. 8). This date, which is adopted by Pagi, Cardinal Norris, and Le Clerc, seems at least as probable as the vulgar era, which is placed (I know not from what conjectures) four years later.

<sup>32</sup> *Odio humani generis convicti*. These words may either signify the hatred of mankind towards the Christians, or the hatred of the Christians towards mankind. I have preferred the latter sense, as the most agreeable to the style of Tacitus, and to the popular error, of which a precept of the Gospel (see Luke xiv. 26) had been, perhaps, the innocent occasion. My interpretation is justified by the authority of Lipsius; of the Italian, the French, and the English translators of Tacitus; of Mosheim (p. 102), of Le Clerc (*Historia Eccles.* p. 427), of Dr. Lardner (*Testimonies*, vol. i. p. 345), and of the Bishop of Gloucester (*Divine Legation*, vol. iii. p. 38). But as the word *convicti* does not unite very happily with the rest of the sentence, James Gronovius has preferred the reading of *conjuncti*, which is authorized by the valuable MS. of Florence.

died in torments, and their torments were embittered by insult and derision. Some were nailed on crosses; others sewn up in the skins of wild beasts, and exposed to the fury of dogs; others, again, smeared over with combustible materials, were used as torches to illuminate the darkness of the night. The gardens of Nero were destined for the melancholy spectacle, which was accompanied with a horse-race, and honored with the presence of the emperor, who mingled with the populace in the dress and attitude of a charioteer. The guilt of the Christians deserved indeed the most exemplary punishment, but the public abhorrence was changed into commiseration, from the opinion that those unhappy wretches were sacrificed, not so much to the public welfare as to the cruelty of a jealous tyrant.”<sup>33</sup> Those who survey with a curious eye the revolutions of mankind may observe that the gardens and circus of Nero on the Vatican, which were polluted with the blood of the first Christians, have been rendered still more famous by the triumph and by the abuse of the persecuted religion. On the same spot<sup>34</sup> a temple, which far surpasses the ancient glories of the Capitol, has been since erected by the Christian pontiffs, who, deriving their claim of universal dominion from an humble fisherman of Galilee, have succeeded to the throne of the Cæsars, given laws to the barbarian conquerors of Rome, and extended their spiritual jurisdiction from the coast of the Baltic to the shores of the Pacific Ocean.

But it would be improper to dismiss this account of Nero’s persecution till we have made some observations that may serve to remove the difficulties with which it is perplexed, and to throw some light on the subsequent history of the Church.

1. The most sceptical criticism is obliged to respect the truth of this extraordinary fact, and the integrity of this celebrated passage of Tacitus. The former is confirmed by the diligent and accurate Suetonius, who mentions the punishment which Nero inflicted on the Christians, a sect of men who had

Remarks on the passage of Tacitus relative to the persecution of the Christians by Nero.

<sup>33</sup> Tacit. *Annal.* xv. 44.

<sup>34</sup> Nardini, *Roma Antica*, p. 487. Donatus de *Româ Antiquâ*, l. iii. p. 449.

embraced a new and criminal superstition.<sup>35</sup> The latter may be proved by the consent of the most ancient manuscripts; by the inimitable character of the style of Tacitus; by his reputation, which guarded his text from the interpolations of pious fraud; and by the purport of his narration, which accused the first Christians of the most atrocious crimes, without insinuating that they possessed any miraculous or even magical powers above the rest of mankind.<sup>36</sup> 2. Notwithstanding it is probable that Tacitus was born some years before the fire of Rome,<sup>37</sup> he could derive only from reading and conversation the knowledge of an event which happened during his infancy. Before he gave himself to the public, he calmly waited till his genius had attained its full maturity, and he was more than forty years of age when a grateful regard for the memory of the virtuous Agricola extorted from him the most early of those historical compositions which will delight and instruct the most distant posterity. After making a trial of his strength in the life of Agricola, and the description of Germany, he conceived, and at length executed, a more arduous work—the history of Rome, in thirty books, from the fall of Nero to the

<sup>35</sup> Sueton. in Nerone, c. 16. The epithet of *malefica*, which some sagacious commentators have translated *magical*, is considered by the more rational Mosheim as only synonymous to the *exitiabilis* of Tacitus.

<sup>36</sup> The passage concerning Jesus Christ which was inserted into the text of Josephus between the time of Origen and that of Eusebius may furnish an example of no vulgar forgery. The accomplishment of the prophecies, the virtues, miracles, and resurrection of Jesus are distinctly related. Josephus acknowledges that he was the Messiah, and hesitates whether he should call him a man. If any doubt can still remain concerning this celebrated passage, the reader may examine the pointed objections of Le Fèvre (Havercamp. Joseph. tom. ii. p. 267–273), the labored answers of Daubuz (p. 187–232), and the masterly reply (Bibliothèque Ancienne et Moderne, tom. vii. p. 237–288) of an anonymous critic, whom I believe to have been the learned Abbé de Longuerue.<sup>a</sup>

<sup>37</sup> See the lives of Tacitus by Lipsius and the Abbé de la Bletterie, Dictionnaire de Bayle à l'article TACITE, and Fabricius, Biblioth. Latin. tom. ii. p. 386, edit. Ernest.

<sup>a</sup> The modern editor of Eusebius, Heinichen, has adopted, and ably supported, a notion, which had before suggested itself to the editor, that this passage is not altogether a forgery, but interpolated with many additional clauses. Heinichen has endeavored to disengage the original text from the foreign and more recent matter.—M.

accession of Nerva. The administration of Nerva introduced an age of justice and prosperity, which Tacitus had destined for the occupation of his old age;<sup>38</sup> but when he took a nearer view of his subject, judging, perhaps, that it was a more honorable or a less invidious office to record the vices of past tyrants than to celebrate the virtues of a reigning monarch, he chose rather to relate, under the form of annals, the actions of the four immediate successors of Augustus. To collect, to dispose, and to adorn a series of fourscore years in an immortal work, every sentence of which is pregnant with the deepest observations and the most lively images, was an undertaking sufficient to exercise the genius of Tacitus himself during the greatest part of his life. In the last years of the reign of Trajan, whilst the victorious monarch extended the power of Rome beyond its ancient limits, the historian was describing, in the second and fourth books of his *Annals*, the tyranny of Tiberius;<sup>39</sup> and the Emperor Hadrian must have succeeded to the throne before Tacitus, in the regular prosecution of his work, could relate the fire of the capital and the cruelty of Nero towards the unfortunate Christians. At the distance of sixty years, it was the duty of the annalist to adopt the narratives of contemporaries; but it was natural for the philosopher to indulge himself in the description of the origin, the progress, and the character of the new sect, not so much according to the knowledge or prejudices of the age of Nero as according to those of the time of Hadrian. 3. Tacitus very frequently trusts to the curiosity or reflection of his readers to supply those intermediate circumstances and ideas which, in his extreme conciseness, he has thought proper to suppress. We may therefore presume to imagine some probable cause which could direct the cruelty of Nero against the Christians of Rome, whose obscurity as well as innocence should have shielded them from his indignation, and even from his notice. The Jews, who were numerous in the capital and oppressed in their own country, were a much fitter object for the suspicions

<sup>38</sup> Principatum Divi Nervæ, et imperium Trajani, uberiorem securioremque materiam, senectuti seposui.—Tacit. Hist. i. l.

<sup>39</sup> See Tacit. *Annals*. ii. 61, iv. 4.



of the emperor and of the people; nor did it seem unlikely that a vanquished nation, who already discovered their abhorrence of the Roman yoke, might have recourse to the most atrocious means of gratifying their implacable revenge. But the Jews possessed very powerful advocates in the palace, and even in the heart, of the tyrant; his wife and mistress, the beautiful Poppæa, and a favorite player of the race of Abraham, who had already employed their intercession on behalf of the obnoxious people.<sup>40</sup> In their room it was necessary to offer some other victims, and it might easily be suggested that, although the genuine followers of Moses were innocent of the fire of Rome, there had arisen among them a new and pernicious sect of GALILÆANS, which was capable of the most horrid crimes. Under the appellation of GALILÆANS two distinctions of men were confounded, the most opposite to each other in their manners and principles—the disciples who had embraced the faith of Jesus of Nazareth,<sup>41</sup> and the zealots who had followed the standard of Judas the Gaulonite.<sup>42</sup> The former were the friends, the latter were the enemies, of humankind; and the only resemblance between them consisted in the same inflexible constancy which, in the defence of their cause, rendered them insensible of death and tortures. The followers of Judas, who impelled their countrymen into rebellion, were soon buried under the ruins of Jerusalem, whilst those of Jesus, known by the more celebrated name of Christians, diffused themselves over the Roman empire. How natural was it for Tacitus, in the time of Hadrian, to appropriate to the

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<sup>40</sup> The player's name was Aliturus. Through the same channel, Josephus (*De Vitâ snâ*, c. 3), about two years before, had obtained the pardon and release of some Jewish priests who were prisoners at Rome.

<sup>41</sup> The learned Dr. Lardner (*Jewish and Heathen Testimonies*, vol. ii. p. 102, 103) has proved that the name of Galilæans was a very ancient, and perhaps the primitive, appellation of the Christians.

<sup>42</sup> Joseph. *Antiquitat.* xviii. 1, 2. Tillemont, *Ruine des Juifs*, p. 742. The sons of Judas were crucified in the time of Claudius. His grandson, Eleazar, after Jerusalem was taken, defended a strong fortress with 960 of his most desperate followers. When the battering-ram had made a breach, they turned their swords against their wives, their children, and at length against their own breasts. They died to the last man.

Christians the guilt and the sufferings<sup>a</sup> which he might, with far greater truth and justice, have attributed to a sect whose odious memory was almost extinguished! 4. Whatever opinion may be entertained of this conjecture (for it is no more than a conjecture), it is evident that the effect as well as the cause of Nero's persecution were confined to the walls of Rome;<sup>43</sup> that the religious tenets of the Galilæans, or Christians, were never made a subject of punishment, or even of inquiry; and that, as the idea of their sufferings was for a long time connected with the idea of cruelty and injustice, the moderation of succeeding princes inclined them to spare a sect oppressed by a tyrant whose rage had been usually directed against virtue and innocence.

It is somewhat remarkable that the flames of war consumed almost at the same time the Temple of Jerusalem and the Capitol of Rome;<sup>44</sup> and it appears no less singular that the tribute which devotion had destined to the former should have been converted by the power of an assaulting victor to restore and adorn the splendor of the latter.<sup>45</sup> The emperors levied a general capitation tax on the

Oppression of  
the Jews and  
Christians by  
Domitian.

<sup>43</sup> See Dodwell. *Paucitat. Mart.* l. xiii. The Spanish Inscription in Gruter, p. 238, No. 9, is a manifest and acknowledged forgery, contrived by that noted impostor Cyriacus of Ancona to flatter the pride and prejudices of the Spaniards. See Ferreras, *Histoire d'Espagne*, tom. i. p. 192.

<sup>44</sup> The Capitol was burned during the civil war between Vitellius and Vespasian, the 19th of December, A.D. 69. On the 10th of August, A.D. 70, the Temple of Jerusalem was destroyed by the hands of the Jews themselves, rather than by those of the Romans.

<sup>45</sup> The new Capitol was dedicated by Domitian. Sueton. in Domitian. c. 5. Plutarch. in Poplicola [c. 15], tom. i. p. 230, edit. Bryant. The gilding alone cost 12,000 talents (above two millions and a half). It was the opinion of Martial (l.

<sup>a</sup> This conjecture is entirely devoid, not merely of verisimilitude, but even of possibility. Tacitus could not be deceived in appropriating to the Christians of Rome the guilt and the sufferings which he might have attributed with far greater truth to the followers of Judas the Gaulonite; for the latter never went to Rome. Their revolt, their attempts, their opinions, their wars, their punishment, had no other theatre but Judæa (Basnage, *Hist. des Juifs*, tom. i. p. 491). Moreover, the name of Christians had long been given in Rome to the disciples of Jesus; and Tacitus affirms too positively, refers too distinctly to its etymology, to allow us to suspect any mistake on his part.—G.

M. Guizot's expressions are not in the least too strong against this strange imagination of Gibbon; it may be doubted whether the followers of Judas were known as a sect under the name of Galilæans.—M.

Jewish people; and although the sum assessed on the head of each individual was inconsiderable, the use for which it was designed, and the severity with which it was exacted, were considered as an intolerable grievance.<sup>46</sup> Since the officers of the revenue extended their unjust claim to many persons who were strangers to the blood or religion of the Jews, it was impossible that the Christians, who had so often sheltered themselves under the shade of the synagogue, should now escape this rapacious persecution. Anxious, as they were, to avoid the slightest infection of idolatry, their conscience forbade them to contribute to the honor of that demon who had assumed the character of the Capitoline Jupiter. As a very numerous though declining party among the Christians still adhered to the law of Moses, their efforts to dissemble their Jewish origin were detected by the decisive test of circumcision,<sup>47</sup> nor were the Roman magistrates at leisure to inquire into the difference of their religious tenets. Among the Christians who were brought before the tribunal of the emperor, or, as it seems more probable, before that of the procurator of Judæa, two persons are said to have appeared, distinguished by their extraction, which was more truly noble than that of the greatest monarchs. These were the grandsons of St. Jude the apostle, who himself was the brother of Jesus Christ.<sup>48</sup>

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ix. Epigram 4) that if the emperor had called in his debts, Jupiter himself, even though he had made a general auction of Olympus, would have been unable to pay two shillings in the pound.

<sup>46</sup> With regard to the tribute, see Dion Cassius, l. lxvi. [c. 7] p. 1082, with Reimarus's notes; Spanheim, *De Usu Numismatum*, tom. ii. p. 571; and Basnage, *Histoire des Juifs*, l. vii. c. 2.

<sup>47</sup> Suetonius (in Domitian. c. 12) had seen an old man of ninety publicly examined before the procurator's tribunal. This is what Martial calls "*Mentula tributis damnata*."

<sup>48</sup> This appellation was at first understood in the most obvious sense, and it was supposed that the brothers of Jesus were the lawful issue of Joseph and Mary. A devout respect for the virginity of the mother of God suggested to the Gnostics, and afterwards to the orthodox Greeks, the expedient of bestowing a second wife on Joseph. The Latins (from the time of Jerome) improved on that hint, asserted the perpetual celibacy of Joseph, and justified by many similar examples the new interpretation that Jude, as well as Simon and James, who are styled the brothers of Jesus Christ, were only his first-cousins. See Tillemont, *Mém. Ecclésiast.* tom. i. part iii.; and Beausobre, *Hist. Critique du Manichéisme*, l. ii. c. 2.

Their natural pretensions to the throne of David might perhaps attract the respect of the people and excite the jealousy of the governor; but the meanness of their garb and the simplicity of their answers soon convinced him that they were neither desirous nor capable of disturbing the peace of the Roman empire. They frankly confessed their royal origin and their near relation to the Messiah; but they disclaimed any temporal views, and professed that his kingdom, which they devoutly expected, was purely of a spiritual and angelic nature. When they were examined concerning their fortune and occupation, they showed their hands hardened with daily labor, and declared that they derived their whole subsistence from the cultivation of a farm near the village of Cocaba, of the extent of about twenty-four English acres,<sup>49</sup> and of the value of nine thousand drachms, or three hundred pounds sterling. The grandsons of St. Jude were dismissed with compassion and contempt.<sup>50</sup>

But although the obscurity of the house of David might protect them from the suspicions of a tyrant, the present greatness of his own family alarmed the pusillanimous temper of Domitian, which could only be appeased by the blood of those Romans whom he either feared, or hated, or esteemed. Of the two sons of his uncle Flavius Sabinus,<sup>51</sup> the elder was soon convicted of treasonable intentions, and the younger, who bore the name of Flavius Clemens, was indebted for his safety to his want of courage and ability.<sup>52</sup> The emperor for a long time distinguished so harmless a kinsman by his favor and protection,

Execution  
of Clemens  
the consul.

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<sup>49</sup> Thirty-nine *πλῆθρα*, squares of a hundred feet each, which, if strictly computed, would scarcely amount to nine acres. But the probability of circumstances, the practice of other Greek writers, and the authority of M. de Valois incline me to believe that the *πλῆθρον* is used to express the Roman *jugum*.

<sup>50</sup> Eusebius, iii. 20. The story is taken from Hegesippus.

<sup>51</sup> See the death and character of Sabinus in Tacitus (Hist. iii. 74, 75). Sabinus was the elder brother, and, till the accession of Vespasian, had been considered as the principal support of the Flavian family.

<sup>52</sup> Flavius Clementem patruelem suum *contemptissimæ inertię . . . ex tenuissimâ suspitione interemit*.—Sueton. in Domitian. c. 15.



bestowed on him his own niece Domitilla, adopted the children of that marriage to the hope of succession, and invested their father with the honors of the consulship. But he had scarcely finished the term of his annual magistracy, when, on a slight pretence, he was condemned and executed; Domitilla was banished to a desolate island on the coast of Campania;<sup>53</sup> and sentences either of death or of confiscation were pronounced against a great number of persons who were involved in the same accusation. The guilt imputed to their charge was that of *atheism* and *Jewish manners*<sup>54</sup>—a singular association of ideas, which cannot with any propriety be applied except to the Christians, as they were obscurely and imperfectly viewed by the magistrates and by the writers of that period. On the strength of so probable an interpretation, and too eagerly admitting the suspicions of a tyrant as an evidence of their honorable crime, the Church has placed both Clemens and Domitilla among its first martyrs, and has branded the cruelty of Domitian with the name of the second persecution. But this persecution (if it deserves that epithet) was of no long duration. A few months after the death of Clemens and the banishment of Domitilla, Stephen, a freedman belonging to the latter, who had enjoyed the favor, but who had not surely embraced the faith, of his mistress,<sup>a</sup> assassinated the emperor in his palace.<sup>55</sup> The memory of Domitian was condemned by the senate, his acts were rescinded, his exiles recalled; and under the gentle administration of Nerva, while the innocent

<sup>53</sup> The isle of Pandataria, according to Dion. Bruttius Præsens (apud Euseb. iii. 18) banishes her to that of Pontia, which was not far distant from the other. That difference, and a mistake, either of Eusebius or of his transcribers, have given occasion to suppose two Domitillas, the wife and the niece of Clemens. See Tillemont, *Mémoires Ecclésiastiques*, tom. ii. p. 224.

<sup>54</sup> Dion, l. lxxvii. [c. 14] p. 1112. If the Bruttius Præsens from whom it is probable that he collected this account was the correspondent of Pliny (Epistol. vii. 3), we may consider him as a contemporary writer.

<sup>55</sup> Suet. in Domit. c. 17. Philostratus in Vit. Apollon. l. viii.

<sup>a</sup> This is an uncandid sarcasm. There is nothing to connect Stephen with the religion of Domitilla. He was a knave detected in the malversation of money—"interceptarum pecuniarum reus."—M.

were restored to their rank and fortunes, even the most guilty either obtained pardon or escaped punishment.<sup>56</sup>

II. About ten years afterwards, under the reign of Trajan, the younger Pliny was intrusted by his friend and master with the government of Bithynia and Pontus. He soon found himself at a loss to determine by what rule of justice or of law he should direct his conduct in the execution of an office the most repugnant to his humanity. Pliny had never assisted at any judicial proceedings against the Christians, with whose name alone he seems to be acquainted; and he was totally uninformed with regard to the nature of their guilt, the method of their conviction, and the degree of their punishment. In this perplexity, he had recourse to his usual expedient, of submitting to the wisdom of Trajan an impartial, and in some respects a favorable, account of the new superstition, requesting the emperor that he would condescend to resolve his doubts and to instruct his ignorance.<sup>57</sup> The life of Pliny had been employed in the acquisition of learning and in the business of the world. Since the age of nineteen he had pleaded with distinction in the tribunals of Rome,<sup>58</sup> filled a place in the senate, had been invested with the honors of the consulship, and had formed very numerous connections with every order of men, both in Italy and in the provinces. From *his* ignorance, therefore, we may derive some useful information. We may assure ourselves that when he accepted the government of Bithynia there were no general laws or decrees of the senate in force against the Christians; that neither Trajan nor any of his virtuous predecessors, whose

Ignorance of  
Pliny concern-  
ing the  
Christians.

<sup>56</sup> Dion, l. lxxviii. [c. 1] p. 1118. Plin. Epistol. iv. 22.

<sup>57</sup> Plin. Epistol. x. 97. The learned Mosheim expresses himself (p. 147, 232) with the highest approbation of Pliny's moderate and candid temper. Notwithstanding Dr. Lardner's suspicions (see *Jewish and Heathen Testimonies*, vol. ii. p. 46), I am unable to discover any bigotry in his language or proceedings.<sup>a</sup>

<sup>58</sup> Plin. Epistol. v. 8. He pleaded his first cause A.D. 81, the year after the famous eruptions of Mount Vesuvius, in which his uncle lost his life.

<sup>a</sup> Yet the humane Pliny put two female attendants, probably deaconesses, to the torture, in order to ascertain the real nature of these suspicious meetings: "*Necessarium credidi, ex duabus ancillis, quæ ministræ dicebantur, quid esset veri et per tormenta quærere.*"—M.

edicts were received into the civil and criminal jurisprudence, had publicly declared their intentions concerning the new sect; and that, whatever proceedings had been carried on against the Christians, there were none of sufficient weight and authority to establish a precedent for the conduct of a Roman magistrate.

The answer of Trajan, to which the Christians of the succeeding age have frequently appealed, discovers as much regard for justice and humanity as could be reconciled with his mistaken notions of religious policy.<sup>59</sup> Instead of displaying the implacable zeal of an inquisitor anxious to discover the most minute particles of heresy, and exulting in the number of his victims, the emperor expresses much more solicitude to protect the security of the innocent than to prevent the escape of the guilty. He acknowledges the difficulty of fixing any general plan; but he lays down two salutary rules, which often afforded relief and support to the distressed Christians. Though he directs the magistrates to punish such persons as are legally convicted, he prohibits them, with a very humane inconsistency, from making any inquiries concerning the supposed criminals. Nor was the magistrate allowed to proceed on every kind of information. Anonymous charges the emperor rejects, as too repugnant to the equity of his government; and he strictly requires, for the conviction of those to whom the guilt of Christianity is imputed, the positive evidence of a fair and open accuser. It is likewise probable that the persons who assumed so invidious an office were obliged to declare the grounds of their suspicions, to specify (both in respect to time and place) the secret assemblies which their Christian adversary had frequented, and to disclose a great number of circumstances which were concealed with the most vigilant jealousy from the eye of the profane. If they succeeded in their prosecution, they were exposed to the resentment of a considerable and active party, to the censure of the more liberal

<sup>59</sup> Plin. Epistol. x. 98. Tertullian (Apolog. c. 5) considers this rescript as a relaxation of the ancient penal laws, "quas Trajanus ex parte frustratus est;" and yet Tertullian, in another part of his Apology, exposes the inconsistency of prohibiting inquiries and enjoining punishments.

portion of mankind, and to the ignominy which, in every age and country, has attended the character of an informer. If, on the contrary, they failed in their proofs, they incurred the severe, and, perhaps, capital penalty which, according to a law published by the Emperor Hadrian, was inflicted on those who falsely attributed to their fellow-citizens the crime of Christianity. The violence of personal or superstitious animosity might sometimes prevail over the most natural apprehensions of disgrace and danger; but it cannot surely be imagined that accusations of so unpromising an appearance were either lightly or frequently undertaken by the pagan subjects of the Roman empire.<sup>60</sup> <sup>a</sup>

The expedient which was employed to elude the prudence of the laws affords a sufficient proof how effectually they dis-  
 Popular appointed the mischievous designs of private malice  
 clamors. or superstitious zeal. In a large and tumultuous assembly the restraints of fear and shame, so forcible on the minds of individuals, are deprived of the greatest part of their influence. The pious Christian, as he was desirous to obtain or to escape the glory of martyrdom, expected, either with impatience or with terror, the stated returns of the public games and festivals. On those occasions the inhabitants of the great cities of the empire were collected in the circus or the theatre, where every circumstance of the place as well as of the ceremony contributed to kindle their devotion and to extinguish their humanity. Whilst the numerous spectators, crowned with garlands, perfumed with incense, purified with the blood of victims, and surrounded with the altars and statues of their tutelar deities, resigned themselves to the enjoyment of pleasures which they considered as an essential part of their religious worship, they recollected that the Christians

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<sup>60</sup> Eusebius (Hist. Ecclesiast. l. iv. c. 9) has preserved the edict of Hadrian. He has likewise (c. 13) given us one still more favorable under the name of Antoninus, the authenticity of which is not so universally allowed. The Second Apology of Justin contains some curious particulars relative to the accusations of Christians.

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<sup>a</sup> The enactment of this law affords strong presumption that accusations of the "crime of Christianity" were by no means so uncommon, nor received with so much mistrust and caution by the ruling authorities, as Gibbon would insinuate.—M.



alone abhorred the gods of mankind, and, by their absence and melancholy on these solemn festivals, seemed to insult or to lament the public felicity. If the empire had been afflicted by any recent calamity, by a plague, a famine, or an unsuccessful war; if the Tiber had, or if the Nile had not, risen beyond its banks; if the earth had shaken, or if the temperate order of the seasons had been interrupted, the superstitious pagans were convinced that the crimes and the impiety of the Christians, who were spared by the excessive lenity of the government, had at length provoked the divine justice. It was not among a licentious and exasperated populace that the forms of legal proceedings could be observed; it was not in an amphitheatre stained with the blood of wild beasts and gladiators that the voice of compassion could be heard. The impatient clamors of the multitude denounced the Christians as the enemies of gods and men, doomed them to the severest tortures, and, venturing to accuse by name some of the most distinguished of the new sectaries, required with irresistible vehemence that they should be instantly apprehended and cast to the lions.<sup>61</sup> The provincial governors and magistrates who presided in the public spectacles were usually inclined to gratify the inclinations and to appease the rage of the people by the sacrifice of a few obnoxious victims. But the wisdom of the emperors protected the Church from the danger of these tumultuous clamors and irregular accusations, which they justly censured as repugnant both to the firmness and to the equity of their administration. The edicts of Hadrian and of Antoninus Pius expressly declared that the voice of the multitude should never be admitted as legal evidence to convict or to punish those unfortunate persons who had embraced the enthusiasm of the Christians.<sup>62</sup>

III. Punishment was not the inevitable consequence of conviction, and the Christians whose guilt was the most clearly

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<sup>61</sup> See Tertullian (Apolog. c. 40). The Acts of the Martyrdom of Polycarp exhibit a lively picture of these tumults, which were usually fomented by the malice of the Jews.

<sup>62</sup> These regulations are inserted in the above-mentioned edicts of Hadrian and Pius. See the Apology of Melito (apud Euseb. l. iv. c. 26).

proved by the testimony of witnesses, or even by their voluntary confession, still retained in their own power the alternative of life or death. It was not so much the past offence as the actual resistance which excited the indignation of the magistrate. He was persuaded that he offered them an easy pardon, since, if they consented to cast a few grains of incense upon the altar, they were dismissed from the tribunal in safety and with applause. It was esteemed the duty of a humane judge to endeavor to reclaim, rather than to punish, those deluded enthusiasts. Varying his tone according to the age, the sex, or the situation of the prisoners, he frequently condescended to set before their eyes every circumstance which could render life more pleasing or death more terrible, and to solicit—nay, to entreat—them that they would show some compassion to themselves, to their families, and to their friends.<sup>63</sup> If threats and persuasions proved ineffectual, he had often recourse to violence; the scourge and the rack were called in to supply the deficiency of argument, and every art of cruelty was employed to subdue such inflexible, and, as it appeared to the pagans, such criminal obstinacy. The ancient apologists of Christianity have censured, with equal truth and severity, the irregular conduct of their persecutors, who, contrary to every principle of judicial proceeding, admitted the use of torture in order to obtain, not a confession, but a denial, of the crime which was the object of their inquiry.<sup>64</sup> The monks of succeeding ages, who, in their peaceful solitudes, entertained themselves with diversifying the deaths and sufferings of the primitive martyrs, have frequently invented torments of a much more refined and ingenious nature. In particular, it has pleased them to suppose that the zeal of

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<sup>63</sup> See the rescript of Trajan and the conduct of Pliny. The most authentic Acts of the Martyrs abound in these exhortations.\*

<sup>64</sup> In particular, see Tertullian (Apolog. c. 2, 3) and Lactantius (Institut. Divin. v. 9). Their reasonings are almost the same; but we may discover that one of these apologists had been a lawyer and the other a rhetorician.

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\* Pliny's test was the worship of the gods, offerings to the statue of the emperor, and blaspheming Christ—"præterea maledicerent Christo."—M.

the Roman magistrates, disdaining every consideration of moral virtue or public decency, endeavored to seduce those whom they were unable to vanquish, and that by their orders the most brutal violence was offered to those whom they found it impossible to seduce. It is related that pious females, who were prepared to despise death, were sometimes condemned to a more severe trial, and called upon to determine whether they set a higher value on their religion or on their chastity. The youths to whose licentious embraces they were abandoned received a solemn exhortation from the judge to exert their most strenuous efforts to maintain the honor of Venus against the impious virgin who refused to burn incense on her altars. Their violence, however, was commonly disappointed, and the seasonable interposition of some miraculous power preserved the chaste spouses of Christ from the dishonor even of an involuntary defeat. We should not, indeed, neglect to remark that the more ancient as well as authentic memorials of the Church are seldom polluted with these extravagant and indecent fictions.<sup>65</sup>

The total disregard of truth and probability in the representation of these primitive martyrdoms was occasioned by a very natural mistake. The ecclesiastical writers of the fourth and fifth centuries ascribe to the magistrates of Rome the same degree of implacable and unrelenting zeal which filled their own breasts against the heretics or the idolaters of their own times. It is not improbable that some of those persons who were raised to the dignities of the empire might have imbibed the prejudices of the populace, and that the cruel disposition of others might occasionally be stimulated by motives of avarice or of personal resentment.<sup>66</sup> But it is certain, and we may appeal to the grate-

Humanity of  
the Roman  
magistrates.

<sup>65</sup> See two instances of this kind of torture in the *Acta Sincera Martyrum*, published by Ruinart, p. 160, 399. Jerome, in his *Legend of Paul the Hermit*, tells a strange story of a young man who was chained naked on a bed of flowers, and assaulted by a beautiful and wanton courtesan. He quelled the rising temptation by biting off his tongue.

<sup>66</sup> The conversion of his wife provoked Claudius Herminianus, Governor of Capadocia, to treat the Christians with uncommon severity. Tertullian. *ad Scapulam*, c. 3.

ful confessions of the first Christians, that the greatest part of those magistrates who exercised in the provinces the authority of the emperor or of the senate, and to whose hands alone the jurisdiction of life and death was intrusted, behaved like men of polished manners and liberal educations, who respected the rules of justice, and who were conversant with the precepts of philosophy. They frequently declined the odious task of persecution, dismissed the charge with contempt, or suggested to the accused Christian some legal evasion by which he might elude the severity of the laws.<sup>67</sup> Whenever they were invested with a discretionary power,<sup>68</sup> they used it much less for the oppression than for the relief and benefit of the afflicted Church. They were far from condemning all the Christians who were accused before their tribunal, and very far from punishing with death all those who were convicted of an obstinate adherence to the new superstition. Contenting themselves, for the most part, with the milder chastisements of imprisonment, exile, or slavery in the mines,<sup>69</sup> they left the unhappy victims of their justice some reason to hope that a prosperous event—the accession, the marriage, or the triumph of an emperor—might speedily restore them by a general pardon to their former state. The martyrs devoted to immediate execution by the Roman magistrates appear to have been selected from the most opposite extremes. They were either bishops and presbyters, the persons the most distinguished among the Christians by their

Inconsiderable number of martyrs.

<sup>67</sup> Tertullian, in his epistle to the Governor of Africa, mentions several remarkable instances of lenity and forbearance which had happened within his knowledge.

<sup>68</sup> “*Neque enim in universum aliquid quod quasi certam formam habeat, constitui potest:*” an expression of Trajan, which gave a very great latitude to the governors of provinces.<sup>a</sup>

<sup>69</sup> In metalla damnamur, in insulas relegamur.—Tertullian, Apolog. c. 12. The mines of Numidia contained nine bishops, with a proportionable number of their clergy and people, to whom Cyprian addressed a pious epistle of praise and comfort. See Cyprian. Epistol. 76, 77.

<sup>a</sup> Gibbon altogether forgets that Trajan fully approved of the course pursued by Pliny. That course was to order all who persevered in their faith to be led to execution: “*perseverantes duci jussi.*”—M.



rank and influence, and whose example might strike terror into the whole sect;<sup>70</sup> or else they were the meanest and most abject among them, particularly those of the servile condition, whose lives were esteemed of little value, and whose sufferings were viewed by the ancients with too careless an indifference.<sup>71</sup> The learned Origen, who, from his experience as well as reading, was intimately acquainted with the history of the Christians, declares, in the most express terms, that the number of martyrs was very inconsiderable.<sup>72</sup> His authority would alone be sufficient to annihilate that formidable army of martyrs whose relics, drawn for the most part from the catacombs of Rome, have replenished so many churches,<sup>73</sup> and whose

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<sup>70</sup> Though we cannot receive with entire confidence either the epistles or the acts of Ignatius (they may be found in the second volume of the Apostolic Fathers), yet we may quote that Bishop of Antioch as one of these *exemplary* martyrs. He was sent in chains to Rome as a public spectacle; and when he arrived at Troas, he received the pleasing intelligence that the persecution of Antioch was already at an end.

<sup>71</sup> Among the martyrs of Lyons (Euseb. l. v. c. 1) the slave Blandina was distinguished by more exquisite tortures. Of the five martyrs so much celebrated in the Acts of Felicitas and Perpetua, two were of a servile, and two others of a very mean, condition.

<sup>72</sup> Origen. advers. Celsum, l. iii. p. 116 [c. 8, tom. i. p. 452, ed. Bened.]. His words deserve to be transcribed: 'Ολεγοὶ κατὰ καιροῦς, καὶ σφόδρα εὐαριθμητοὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς Χριστιανῶν θεοσεβείας τεθνήκασι.<sup>a</sup>

<sup>73</sup> If we recollect that all the plebeians of Rome were not Christians, and that all the Christians were not saints and martyrs, we may judge with how much safety religious honors can be ascribed to bones or urns indiscriminately taken from the public burial-place. After ten centuries of a very free and open trade, some suspicions have arisen among the more learned Catholics. They now require, as a proof of sanctity and martyrdom, the letters B. M., a vial full of red liquor supposed to be blood, or the figure of a palm-tree. But the two former signs are of little weight, and with regard to the last it is observed by the critics—1. That the figure, as it is called, of a palm is perhaps a cypress, and perhaps only a stop, the flourish of a comma used in the monumental inscriptions. 2. That the palm was the symbol of victory among the pagans. 3. That among the Christians it served as the emblem not only of martyrdom, but in general of a joyful resurrection.

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<sup>a</sup> The words that follow should be quoted: "God not permitting that all this class of men should be exterminated," which appears to indicate that Origen thought the number put to death inconsiderable only when compared to the numbers who had survived. Besides this, he is speaking of the state of the religion under Caracalla, Elagabalus, Alexander Severus, and Philip, who had not persecuted the Christians. It was during the reign of the latter that Origen wrote his books against Celsum.—G.

marvellous achievements have been the subject of so many volumes of holy romance.<sup>74</sup> But the general assertion of Origen may be explained and confirmed by the particular testimony of his friend Dionysius, who, in the immense city of Alexandria, and under the rigorous persecution of Decius, reckons only ten men and seven women who suffered for the profession of the Christian name.<sup>75</sup>

During the same period of persecution, the zealous, the eloquent, the ambitious Cyprian governed the Church, not only of Carthage, but even of Africa. He possessed every quality which could engage the reverence of the faithful or provoke the suspicions and resentment of the pagan magistrates. His character as well as his station seemed to mark out that holy prelate as the most distinguished object of envy and of danger.<sup>76</sup> The experience, however, of the life of Cyprian is sufficient to prove that our fancy has exaggerated the perilous situation of a Christian bishop; and that the dangers to which he was exposed were less imminent than those which temporal ambition is always prepared to encounter in the pursuit of honors. Four Roman emperors, with their families, their favorites, and their adherents, perished by the sword in the space of ten years, during which the Bishop of Carthage guided by his authority and eloquence

Example of  
Cyprian,  
Bishop of  
Carthage.

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See the epistle of P. Mabillon on the worship of unknown saints, and Muratori sopra le Antichità Italiane, Dissertat. lviii.

<sup>74</sup> As a specimen of these legends, we may be satisfied with 10,000 Christian soldiers crucified in one day, either by Trajan or Hadrian, on Mount Ararat. See Baronius ad Martyrologium Romanum; Tillemont, *Mém. Ecclés.* tom. ii. part ii. p. 438; and Geddes's *Miscellanies*, vol. ii. p. 203. The abbreviation of MIL., which may signify either *soldiers* or *thousands*, is said to have occasioned some extraordinary mistakes.

<sup>75</sup> Dionysius apud Euseb. l. vi. c. 41. One of the seventeen was likewise accused of robbery.<sup>a</sup>

<sup>76</sup> The letters of Cyprian exhibit a very curious and original picture both of the *man* and of the *times*. See likewise the two *Lives of Cyprian* (composed with equal accuracy, though with very different views), the one by Le Clerc (*Bibliothèque Universelle*, tom. xii. p. 208-378), the other by Tillemont, *Mémoires Ecclés.* tom. iv. part i. p. 76-459.

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<sup>a</sup> Gibbon ought to have said, was falsely accused of robbery, for so it is in the Greek text.—G.

the councils of the African Church. It was only in the third year of his administration that he had reason, during a few months, to apprehend the severe edicts of Decius, the vigilance of the magistrate, and the clamors of the multitude, who loudly demanded that Cyprian, the leader of the Christians, should be thrown to the lions. Prudence suggested the necessity of a temporary retreat, and the voice of prudence was obeyed. He withdrew himself into an obscure solitude, from whence he could maintain a constant correspondence with the clergy and people of Carthage; and, concealing himself till the tempest was past, he preserved his life, without relinquishing either his power or his reputation. His extreme caution did not, however, escape the censure of the more rigid Christians, who lamented, or the reproaches of his personal enemies, who insulted, a conduct which they considered as a pusillanimous and criminal desertion of the most sacred duty.<sup>77</sup> The propriety of reserving himself for the future exigencies of the Church, the example of several holy bishops,<sup>78</sup> and the divine admonitions which, as he declares himself, he frequently received in visions and ecstasies, were the reasons alleged in his justification.<sup>79</sup> But his best apology may be found in the cheerful resolution with which, about eight years afterwards, he suffered death in the cause of religion. The authentic history of his martyrdom has been recorded with unusual candor and impartiality. A short abstract, therefore, of its most important circumstances will convey the clearest information of the spirit and of the forms of the Roman persecutions.<sup>80</sup>

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<sup>77</sup> See the polite but severe epistle of the clergy of Rome to the Bishop of Carthage (Cyprian. Epist. 8, 9). Pontius labors with the greatest care and diligence to justify his master against the general censure.

<sup>78</sup> In particular those of Dionysius of Alexandria, and Gregory Thaumaturgus of Neo-Cæsarea. See Euseb. Hist. Eccles. l. vi. c. 40; and Mémoires de Tillemont, tom. iv. part ii. p. 685.

<sup>79</sup> See Cyprian. Epist. 16, and his life by Pontius.

<sup>80</sup> We have an original Life of Cyprian by the deacon Pontius, the companion of his exile and the spectator of his death; and we likewise possess the ancient proconsular Acts of his martyrdom. These two relations are consistent with each other, and with probability; and, what is somewhat remarkable, they are both unsullied by any miraculous circumstances.

When Valerian was consul for the third and Gallienus for the fourth time, Paternus, Proconsul of Africa, summoned Cyprian to appear in his private council-chamber. He there acquainted him with the imperial mandate which he had just received,<sup>81</sup> that those who had abandoned the Roman religion should immediately return to the practice of the ceremonies of their ancestors. Cyprian replied without hesitation that he was a Christian and a bishop, devoted to the worship of the true and only Deity, to whom he offered up his daily supplications for the safety and prosperity of the two emperors, his lawful sovereigns. With modest confidence he pleaded the privilege of a citizen in refusing to give any answer to some invidious, and, indeed, illegal questions which the proconsul had proposed. A sentence of banishment was pronounced as the penalty of Cyprian's disobedience, and he was conducted without delay to Curubis, a free and maritime city of Zengitana, in a pleasant situation, a fertile territory, and at the distance of about forty miles from Carthage.<sup>82</sup> The exiled bishop enjoyed the conveniences of life and the consciousness of virtue. His reputation was diffused over Africa and Italy; an account of his behavior was published for the edification of the Christian world;<sup>83</sup> and his solitude was frequently interrupted by the letters, the visits, and the congratulations of the faithful. On the arrival of a new proconsul in the province, the fortune of Cyprian appeared for some time to wear a still more favorable aspect.

<sup>81</sup> It should seem that these were circular orders, sent at the same time to all the governors. Dionysius (apud Euseb. l. vii. c. 11) relates the history of his own banishment from Alexandria almost in the same manner. But as he escaped and survived the persecution, we must account him either more or less fortunate than Cyprian.

<sup>82</sup> See Plin. Hist. Natur. v. 3; Cellarius, Geograph. Antiq. part iii. p. 96; Shaw's Travels, p. 90; and for the adjacent country (which is terminated by Cape Bona, or the Promontory of Mercury) L'Afrique de Marmol. tom. ii. p. 494. There are the remains of an aqueduct near Curubis, or Curbis, at present altered into Gurbes; and Dr. Shaw read an inscription which styles that city *Colonia Fulvia*. The deacon Pontius (in Vit. Cyprian. c. 12) calls it "Apricum et competentem locum, hospitium pro voluntate secretum, et quicquid apponi eis ante promissum est, qui regnum et justitiam Dei quærunt."

<sup>83</sup> See Cyprian. Epistol. 77, edit. Fell.



He was recalled from banishment, and, though not yet permitted to return to Carthage, his own gardens in the neighborhood of the capital were assigned for the place of his residence.<sup>84</sup>

At length, exactly one year<sup>85</sup> after Cyprian was first apprehended, Galerius Maximus, Proconsul of Africa, received the imperial warrant for the execution of the Christian teachers. The Bishop of Carthage was sensible that he should be singled out for one of the first victims, and the frailty of nature tempted him to withdraw himself, by a secret flight, from the danger and the honor of martyrdom;<sup>86</sup> but, soon recovering that fortitude which his character required, he returned to his gardens and patiently expected the ministers of death. Two officers of rank who were intrusted with that commission placed Cyprian between them in a chariot, and, as the proconsul was not then at leisure, they conducted him, not to a prison, but to a private house in Carthage, which belonged to one of them. An elegant supper was provided for the entertainment of the bishop, and his Christian friends were permitted for the last time to enjoy his society, whilst the streets were filled with a multitude of the faithful, anxious and alarmed at the approaching fate of their spiritual father.<sup>86</sup> In the morning he appeared before the tribunal of

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<sup>84</sup> Upon his conversion he had sold those gardens for the benefit of the poor. The indulgence of God (most probably the liberality of some Christian friend) restored them to Cyprian. See Pontius, c. 15.

<sup>85</sup> When Cyprian, a twelvemonth before, was sent into exile, he dreamt that he should be put to death the next day. The event made it necessary to explain that word as signifying a year. Pontius, c. 12.

<sup>86</sup> Pontius (c. 15) acknowledges that Cyprian, with whom he supped, passed the night "*custodiâ delicatâ*." The bishop exercised a last and very proper act of ju-

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<sup>2</sup> This was not, as it appears, the motive which induced St. Cyprian to conceal himself for a short time. He was threatened to be carried to Utica; he preferred remaining at Carthage, in order to suffer martyrdom in the midst of his flock, and in order that his death might conduce to the edification of those whom he had guided during life. Such, at least, is his own explanation of his conduct in one of his letters: *Cum perlatum ad nos fuisset, fratres carissimi, frumentarios esse missos qui me Uticam perducerent, et consilio carissimorum persuasum esset, ut de hortis nostris interim secederemus, justâ interveniente causâ, consensi; eo quod congruat episcopum in eâ civitate, in quâ Ecclesiæ dominicæ præest, illic Dominum confiteri et plebem universam præpositi præsentis confessione clarificari.* — *Ep.* 83 [81 edit. Oxon.]. — G.

the proconsul, who, after informing himself of the name and situation of Cyprian, commanded him to offer sacrifice, and pressed him to reflect on the consequences of his disobedience. The refusal of Cyprian was firm and decisive, and the magistrate, when he had taken the opinion of his council, pronounced, with some reluctance, the sentence of death. It was conceived in the following terms: "That Thascius Cyprianus should be immediately beheaded, as the enemy of the gods of Rome, and as the chief and ringleader of a criminal association, which he had seduced into an impious resistance against the laws of the most holy emperors Valerian and Gallienus."<sup>87</sup> The manner of his execution was the mildest and least painful that could be inflicted on a person convicted of any capital offence; nor was the use of torture admitted to obtain from the Bishop of Carthage either the recantation of his principles or the discovery of his accomplices.

As soon as the sentence was proclaimed, a general cry of "We will die with him!" arose at once among the listening multitude of Christians who waited before the palace gates. The generous effusions of their zeal and affection were neither serviceable to Cyprian nor dangerous to themselves. He was led away under a guard of tribunes and centurions, without resistance and without insult, to the place of his execution, a spacious and level plain near the city, which was already filled with great numbers of spectators. His faithful presbyters and deacons were permitted to accompany their holy bishop.<sup>a</sup> They assisted him in laying aside his upper

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risdiction by directing that the younger females who watched in the street should be removed from the dangers and temptations of a nocturnal crowd. Act. Proconsularia, c. 2.

<sup>87</sup> See the original sentence in the Acts, c. 4; and in Pontius, c. 17. The latter expresses it in a more rhetorical manner.

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<sup>a</sup> There is nothing in the Life of St. Cyprian, by Pontius, nor in the ancient manuscripts, which can make us suppose that the presbyters and deacons, in their clerical character, and known to be such, had the permission to attend their holy bishop. Setting aside all religious considerations, it is impossible not to be surprised at the kind of complaisance with which the historian here insists, in favor of the persecutors, on some mitigating circumstances allowed at the death of a man whose only crime was maintaining his own opinions with frankness and courage.—G.

garment, spread linen on the ground to catch the precious relics of his blood, and received his orders to bestow five-and-twenty pieces of gold on the executioner. The martyr then covered his face with his hands, and at one blow his head was separated from his body. His corpse remained during some hours exposed to the curiosity of the Gentiles, but in the night it was removed, and transported, in a triumphal procession and with a splendid illumination, to the burial-place of the Christians. The funeral of Cyprian was publicly celebrated without receiving any interruption from the Roman magistrates; and those among the faithful who had performed the last offices to his person and his memory were secure from the danger of inquiry or of punishment. It is remarkable that of so great a multitude of bishops in the province of Africa, Cyprian was the first who was esteemed worthy to obtain the crown of martyrdom.<sup>88</sup>

It was in the choice of Cyprian either to die a martyr or to live an apostate, but on that choice depended the alternative of honor or infamy. Could we suppose that the Bishop of Carthage had employed the profession of the Christian faith only as the instrument of his avarice or ambition, it was still incumbent on him to support the character which he had assumed,<sup>89</sup> and, if he possessed the smallest degree of manly fortitude, rather to expose himself to the most cruel tortures than by a single act to exchange the

Various incitements to martyrdom.

<sup>88</sup> Pontius, c. 19. M. de Tillemont (*Mémoires*, tom. iv. part i. p. 450, note 50) is not pleased with so positive an exclusion of any former martyrs of the episcopal rank.<sup>a</sup>

<sup>89</sup> Whatever opinion we may entertain of the character or principles of Thomas Becket, we must acknowledge that he suffered death with a constancy not unworthy of the primitive martyrs. See Lord Lyttelton's *History of Henry II.* vol. ii. p. 592, etc.

<sup>a</sup> M. de Tillemont, as an honest writer, explains the difficulties which he felt about the text of Pontius, and concludes by distinctly stating that without doubt there is some mistake, and that Pontius must have meant only Africa Minor or Carthage; for St. Cyprian, in his 58th (69th) letter addressed to Pupianus, speaks expressly of many bishops his colleagues, "qui proscripti sunt, vel apprehensi in carcere et catenis fuerunt; aut qui in exilium relegati, illustri itinere ad Dominum profecti sunt; aut qui quibusdam locis animadversi, cœlestes coronas de Domini clarificatione sumpserunt."—G.

reputation of a whole life for the abhorrence of his Christian brethren and the contempt of the Gentile world. But if the zeal of Cyprian was supported by the sincere conviction of the truth of those doctrines which he preached, the crown of martyrdom must have appeared to him as an object of desire rather than of terror. It is not easy to extract any distinct ideas from the vague though eloquent declamations of the fathers, or to ascertain the degree of immortal glory and happiness which they confidently promised to those who were so fortunate as to shed their blood in the cause of religion.<sup>90</sup> They inculcated with becoming diligence that the fire of martyrdom supplied every defect and expiated every sin; that, while the souls of ordinary Christians were obliged to pass through a slow and painful purification, the triumphant sufferers entered into the immediate fruition of eternal bliss, where, in the society of the patriarchs, the apostles, and the prophets, they reigned with Christ, and acted as his assessors in the universal judgment of mankind. The assurance of a lasting reputation upon earth, a motive so congenial to the vanity of human nature, often served to animate the courage of the martyrs. The honors which Rome or Athens bestowed on those citizens who had fallen in the cause of their country were cold and unmeaning demonstrations of respect when compared with the ardent gratitude and devotion which the primitive Church expressed towards the victorious champions of the faith. The annual commemoration of their virtues and sufferings was observed as a sacred ceremony, and at length terminated in religious worship. Among the Christians who had publicly confessed their religious principles, those who (as it very frequently happened) had been dismissed from the tribunal or the prisons of the pagan magistrates obtained such honors as were justly due to their imperfect martyrdom and their generous resolution. The most pious females courted the permission of imprinting kisses on the fetters which they

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<sup>90</sup> See, in particular, the treatise of Cyprian *De Lapsis*, p. 87-98, edit. Fell. [p. 121]. The learning of Dodwell (*Dissertat. Cyprianic.* xii. xiii.) and the ingenuity of Middleton (*Free Inquiry*, p. 162, etc.) have left scarcely anything to add concerning the merit, the honors, and the motives of the martyrs.



had worn and on the wounds which they had received. Their persons were esteemed holy, their decisions were admitted with deference, and they too often abused, by their spiritual pride and licentious manners, the pre eminence which their zeal and intrepidity had acquired.<sup>91</sup> Distinctions like these, whilst they display the exalted merit, betray the inconsiderable number, of those who suffered and of those who died for the profession of Christianity.

The sober discretion of the present age will more readily censure than admire, but can more easily admire than imitate, the fervor of the first Christians, who, according to the lively expression of Sulpicius Severus, desired martyrdom with more eagerness than his own contemporaries solicited a bishopric.<sup>92</sup> The epistles which Ignatius composed as he was carried in chains through the cities of Asia breathe sentiments the most repugnant to the ordinary feelings of human nature. He earnestly beseeches the Romans that, when he should be exposed in the amphitheatre, they would not, by their kind but unseasonable intercession, deprive him of the crown of glory ; and he declares his resolution to provoke and irritate the wild beasts which might be employed as the instruments of his death.<sup>93</sup> Some stories are related of the courage of martyrs who actually performed what Ignatius had intended, who exasperated the fury of the lions, pressed the executioner to hasten his office, cheerfully leaped into the fires which were kindled to consume them, and discovered a sensation of joy and pleasure in the midst of the most exquisite tortures. Several examples have been preserved of a zeal impatient of those restraints which the em-

<sup>91</sup> Cyprian. Epistol. 5, 6, 7, 22, 24 ; and De Unitat. Ecclesiæ. The number of pretended martyrs has been very much multiplied by the custom which was introduced of bestowing that honorable name on confessors.

<sup>92</sup> *Certatim gloriosa in certamina ruebatur ; multoque avidius tum martyria gloriosis mortibus quærebantur, quam nunc Episcopatus pravis ambitionibus appetuntur.*—Sulpicius Severus, l. ii. [p. 385, edit. Lugd. Bat. 1647]. He might have omitted the word *nunc*.

<sup>93</sup> See Epist. ad Roman. c. 4, 5, ap. Patres Apostol. tom. ii. p. 27. It suited the purpose of Bishop Pearson (see *Vindiciæ Ignatianæ*, part ii. c. 9) to justify, by a profusion of examples and authorities, the sentiments of Ignatius,

perors had provided for the security of the Church. The Christians sometimes supplied by their voluntary declaration the want of an accuser, rudely disturbed the public service of paganism,<sup>94</sup> and, rushing in crowds round the tribunal of the magistrates, called upon them to pronounce and to inflict the sentence of the law. The behavior of the Christians was too remarkable to escape the notice of the ancient philosophers, but they seem to have considered it with much less admiration than astonishment. Incapable of conceiving the motives which sometimes transported the fortitude of believers beyond the bounds of prudence or reason, they treated such an eagerness to die as the strange result of obstinate despair, of stupid insensibility, or of superstitious frenzy.<sup>95</sup> "Unhappy men!" exclaimed the proconsul Antoninus to the Christians of Asia—"unhappy men! if you are thus weary of your lives, is it so difficult for you to find ropes and precipices?"<sup>96</sup> He was extremely cautious (as it is observed by a learned and pious historian) of punishing men who had found no accusers but themselves, the imperial laws not having made any provision for so unexpected a case; condemning, therefore, a few as a warning to their brethren, he dismissed the multitude with indignation and contempt.<sup>97</sup> Notwithstanding this real or affected disdain, the intrepid constancy of the faithful was productive of more salutary effects on those minds which nature or grace had disposed for the easy reception of religious truth. On these melancholy occasions there were many among the Gentiles who pitied, who admired, and who were converted. The generous enthusiasm was communicated from the sufferer to

<sup>94</sup> The story of Polyuctes, on which Corneille has founded a very beautiful tragedy, is one of the most celebrated, though not perhaps the most authentic, instances of this excessive zeal. We should observe that the 60th canon of the Council of Illiberis refuses the title of martyrs to those who exposed themselves to death by publicly destroying the idols.

<sup>95</sup> See Epictetus, l. iv. c. 7 (though there is some doubt whether he alludes to the Christians); Marcus Antoninus de Rebus suis, l. xi. c. 3; Lucian, in Peregrin.

<sup>96</sup> Tertullian, ad Scapul. c. 5. The learned are divided between three persons of the same name, who were all proconsuls of Asia. I am inclined to ascribe this story to Antoninus Pius, who was afterwards emperor, and who may have governed Asia under the reign of Trajan.

<sup>97</sup> Mosheim, De Rebus Christ. ante Constantin. p. 235.

the spectators, and the blood of martyrs, according to a well-known observation, became the seed of the Church.

But although devotion had raised and eloquence continued to inflame this fever of the mind, it insensibly gave way to the more natural hopes and fears of the human heart, to the love of life, the apprehension of pain, and the horror of dissolution. The more prudent rulers of the Church found themselves obliged to restrain the indiscreet ardor of their followers, and to distrust a constancy which too often abandoned them in the hour of trial.<sup>98</sup> As the lives of the faithful became less mortified and austere, they were every day less ambitious of the honors of martyrdom; and the soldiers of Christ, instead of distinguishing themselves by voluntary deeds of heroism, frequently deserted their post, and fled in confusion before the enemy whom it was their duty to resist. There were three methods, however, of escaping the flames of persecution, which were not attended with an equal degree of guilt: the first, indeed, was generally allowed to be innocent; the second was of a doubtful, or at least of a venial nature; but the third implied a direct and criminal apostasy from the Christian faith.

I. A modern inquisitor would hear with surprise that, whenever an information was given to a Roman magistrate of any person within his jurisdiction who had embraced the sect of the Christians, the charge was communicated to the party accused, and that a convenient time was allowed him to settle his domestic concerns and to prepare an answer to the crime which was imputed to him.<sup>99</sup> If he entertained any doubt of his own constancy, such a delay afforded him the opportunity of preserving his life and honor by flight, of withdrawing himself into some obscure retirement or some distant province, and of patiently expecting the return of peace and security. A measure so consonant to

Gradual  
relaxation.

Three meth-  
ods of escap-  
ing martyr-  
dom.

<sup>98</sup> See the Epistle of the Church of Smyrna, ap. Euseb. Hist. Eccles. l. iv. c. 15.

<sup>99</sup> In the Second Apology of Justin there is a particular and very curious instance of this legal delay. The same indulgence was granted to accused Christians in the persecution of Decius; and Cyprian (de Lapsis) expressly mentions the "*Dies negantibus præstitutus*."

reason was soon authorized by the advice and example of the most holy prelates ; and seems to have been censured by few, except by the Montanists, who deviated into heresy by their strict and obstinate adherence to the rigor of ancient discipline.<sup>100</sup> II. The provincial governors, whose zeal was less prevalent than their avarice, had countenanced the practice of selling certificates (or libels, as they were called) which attested that the persons therein mentioned had complied with the laws and sacrificed to the Roman deities. By producing these false declarations, the opulent and timid Christians were enabled to silence the malice of an informer, and to reconcile in some measure their safety with their religion. A slight penance atoned for this profane dissimulation.<sup>101</sup> III. In every persecution there were great numbers of unworthy Christians who publicly disowned or renounced the faith which they had professed, and who confirmed the sincerity of their abjuration by the legal acts of burning incense or of offering sacrifices. Some of these apostates had yielded on the first menace or exhortation of the magistrate, whilst the patience of others had been subdued by the length and repetition of tortures. The affrighted countenances of some betrayed their inward remorse, while others advanced with confidence and alacrity to the altars of the gods.<sup>102</sup> But the disguise which fear had imposed subsisted no longer than the present danger. As soon as the severity of the persecution was abated, the doors

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<sup>100</sup> Tertullian considers flight from persecution as an imperfect but very criminal apostasy, as an impious attempt to elude the will of God, etc., etc. He has written a treatise on this subject (see p. 536-544, edit. Rigalt.), which is filled with the wildest fanaticism and the most incoherent declamation. It is, however, somewhat remarkable that Tertullian did not suffer martyrdom himself.

<sup>101</sup> The *Libellatici*, who are chiefly known by the writings of Cyprian, are described with the utmost precision in the copious commentary of Mosheim, p. 483-489.

<sup>102</sup> Plin. Epistol. x. 97. Dionysius Alexandrin. ap. Euseb. l. vi. c. 41. Ad prima statim verba minantis inimici maximus fratrum numerus fidem suam prodidit : nec prostratus est persecutionis impetu, sed voluntario lapsu seipsum prostravit.—Cyprian. Opera, p. 89. Among these deserters were many priests and even bishops.

<sup>a</sup> The penance was not so slight, for it was exactly the same with that of apostates who had sacrificed to idols : it lasted several years. See Fleury, Hist. Ecc. v. ii. p. 171.—G.



of the churches were assailed by the returning multitude of penitents, who detested their idolatrous submission, and who solicited with equal ardor, but with various success, their re-admission into the society of Christians.<sup>103 a</sup>

IV. Notwithstanding the general rules established for the conviction and punishment of the Christians, the fate of those sectaries, in an extensive and arbitrary government, must still, in a great measure, have depended on their own behavior, the circumstances of the times, and the temper of their supreme as well as subordinate rulers. Zeal might sometimes provoke, and prudence might sometimes avert or assuage, the superstitious fury of the pagans. A variety of motives might dispose the provincial governors either to enforce or to relax the execution of the laws; and of these motives the most forcible was their regard not only for the public edicts, but for the secret intentions of the emperor—a glance from whose eye was sufficient to kindle or to extinguish the flames of persecution. As often as any occasional severities were exercised in the different parts of the empire, the primitive Christians lamented, and perhaps magnified, their own sufferings; but the celebrated number of *ten* persecutions has been determined by the ecclesiastical writers of the fifth century, who possessed a more distant view of the prosperous or adverse fortunes of the Church from the age of Nero to that of Diocletian. The ingenious parallels of the *ten* plagues of Egypt and of the *ten* horns of

Alternatives  
of severity  
and tolera-  
tion.

The ten per-  
secutions.

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<sup>103</sup> It was on this occasion that Cyprian wrote his treatise *De Lapsis* and many of his epistles. The controversy concerning the treatment of penitent apostates does not occur among the Christians of the preceding century. Shall we ascribe this to the superiority of their faith and courage, or to our less intimate knowledge of their history?

<sup>a</sup> Pliny says that the greater part of the Christians persisted in avowing themselves to be so; the reason for his consulting Trajan was the “*periclitantium numerus*.” Eusebius (l. vi. c. 41) does not permit us to doubt that the number of those who renounced their faith was infinitely below the number of those who boldly confessed it. The præfect, he says, and his assessors present at the council, were alarmed at seeing the crowd of Christians; the judges themselves trembled. Lastly, St. Cyprian informs us that the greater part of those who had appeared weak brethren in the persecution of Decius signalized their courage in that of Gallus. *Steterunt fortes, et ipso dolore penitentiae facti ad prælium fortiores.*—Epist. lx. p. 142.—G.

the Apocalypse first suggested this calculation to their minds; and in their application of the faith of prophecy to the truth of history they were careful to select those reigns which were indeed the most hostile to the Christian cause.<sup>104</sup> But these transient persecutions served only to revive the zeal and to restore the discipline of the faithful; and the moments of extraordinary rigor were compensated by much longer intervals of peace and security. The indifference of some princes and the indulgence of others permitted the Christians to enjoy, though not perhaps a legal, yet an actual and public toleration of their religion.

The Apology of Tertullian contains two very ancient, very singular, but at the same time very suspicious instances of imperial clemency—the edicts published by Tiberius and by Marcus Antoninus, and designed not only to protect the innocence of the Christians, but even to proclaim those stupendous miracles which had attested the truth of their doctrine. The first of these examples is attended with some difficulties which might perplex a sceptical mind.<sup>105</sup> We are required to believe *that* Pontius Pilate informed the emperor of the unjust sentence of death which he had pronounced against an innocent, and, as it appeared, a divine person; and that, without acquiring the merit, he exposed himself to the danger of martyrdom; *that* Tiberius, who avowed his contempt for all religion, immediately conceived the design of placing the Jewish Messiah among the gods of Rome; *that* his servile senate ventured to disobey the commands of their master; *that* Tiberius, instead of resenting their refusal, contented himself with protecting the Christians from the severity of the laws many years before such laws were enacted or before the Church had assumed any distinct

<sup>104</sup> See Mosheim, p. 97. Sulpicius Severus was the first author of this computation; though he seemed desirous of reserving the tenth and greatest persecution for the coming of the Antichrist.

<sup>105</sup> The testimony given by Pontius Pilate is first mentioned by Justin. The successive improvements which the story acquired (as it has passed through the hands of Tertullian, Eusebius, Epiphanius, Chrysostom, Orosius, Gregory of Tours, and the authors of the several editions of the Acts of Pilate) are very fairly stated by Dom Calmet, *Dissertat. sur l'Écriture*, tom. iii. p. 651, etc.



THE EMPEROR  
MARCUS AURELIUS ANTONINUS  
(originally Marcus Annius Verus)

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Born at Rome, April 20, 121 A.D.; died at Pannonia, March 17, 180 A.D.  
Gibbon's Rome, Vol. II.      Marble Bust, Vatican Museum, Rome





name or existence; and, lastly, *that* the memory of this extraordinary transaction was preserved in the most public and authentic records, which escaped the knowledge of the historians of Greece and Rome, and were only visible to the eyes of an African Christian who composed his Apology one hundred and sixty years after the death of Tiberius. The edict of Marcus Antoninus is supposed to have been the effect of his devotion and gratitude for the miraculous deliverance which he had obtained in the Marcomannic war. The distress of the legions, the seasonable tempest of rain and hail, of thunder and of lightning, and the dismay and defeat of the barbarians, have been celebrated by the eloquence of several pagan writers. If there were any Christians in that army, it was natural that they should ascribe some merit to the fervent prayers which in the moment of danger they had offered up for their own and the public safety. But we are still assured by monuments of brass and marble, by the imperial medals, and by the Antonine column, that neither the prince nor the people entertained any sense of this signal obligation, since they unanimously attribute their deliverance to the providence of Jupiter and to the interposition of Mercury. During the whole course of his reign Marcus despised the Christians as a philosopher and punished them as a sovereign.<sup>106 a</sup>

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<sup>106</sup> On this miracle, as it is commonly called, of the Thundering Legion, see the admirable criticism of Mr. Moyle in his Works, vol. ii. p. 81-390.

<sup>a</sup> Gibbon with this phrase, and that below which admits the injustice of Marcus, has decterously glossed over one of the most remarkable facts in the early Christian history, that the reign of the wisest and most humane of the heathen emperors was the most fatal to the Christians. Most writers have ascribed the persecutions under Marcus to the latent bigotry of his character; Mosheim to the influence of the philosophic party; but the fact is admitted by all. A late writer (Mr. Waddington, Hist. of the Church, p. 47) has not scrupled to assert that "this prince polluted every year of a long reign with innocent blood;" but the causes, as well as the date, of the persecutions authorized or permitted by Marcus are equally uncertain.

Of the Asiatic edict recorded by Melito the date is unknown, nor is it quite clear that it was an imperial edict. If it was the act under which Polycarp suffered, his martyrdom is placed by Ruinart in the sixth, by Mosheim in the ninth year of the reign of Marcus. The martyrs of Vienne and Lyons are assigned by Dodwell to the seventh, by most writers to the seventeenth. In fact, the commencement of the persecutions of the Christians appears to synchronize exactly with the period of the breaking-out of the Marcomannic war, which seems to have alarmed the whole empire and the emperor himself into a paroxysm of returning

By a singular fatality, the hardships which they had endured under the government of a virtuous prince immediately ceased on the accession of a tyrant; and as none except themselves had experienced the injustice of Marcus, so they alone were protected by the lenity of Commodus. The celebrated Marcia, the most favored of his concubines, and who at length contrived the murder of her imperial lover, entertained a singular affection for the oppressed Church; and though it was impossible that she could reconcile the practice of vice with the precepts of the Gospel, she might hope to atone for the frailties of her sex and profession by declaring herself the patroness of the Christians.<sup>107 a</sup> Under the gracious protection of Marcia, they passed in safety the thirteen years of a cruel tyranny; and when the empire was established in the house of Severus, they formed a domestic but more honorable connection with the new court. The emperor was persuaded that in a dangerous sickness he had derived some benefit, either spiritual or physical, from the holy oil with which one of his slaves had anointed him. He always treated with peculiar distinction several persons of both sexes who had embraced the new religion. The nurse as well as the preceptor of Caracalla were Christians;<sup>b</sup> and if that young prince ever betrayed a sentiment of humanity, it was occasioned by an incident which, however trifling, bore some

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<sup>107</sup> Dion Cassius, or rather his abbreviator Xiphilin, l. lxxii. [c. 4] p. 1206. Mr. Moyle (p. 266) has explained the condition of the Church under the reign of Commodus.

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piety to their gods, of which the Christians were the victims. See *Jul. Capit. Script. Hist. Aug.* p. 181, edit. 1661. [*M. Anton. Phil.* c. 13.] It is remarkable that Tertullian (*Apologet.* c. 5) distinctly asserts that Verus (*M. Aurelius*) issued no edicts against the Christians, and almost positively exempts him from the charge of persecution.—M.

This remarkable synchronism, which explains the persecutions under *M. Aurelius*, is shown at length in *Milman's History of Christianity*, book ii. ch. 7.—M. 1845.

<sup>a</sup> The statement of Dion Cassius only makes Marcia the patroness of the Christians; but we now learn from the recently discovered work of Hippolytus—who calls her *φιλόθεος*—that she had been converted to the Christian faith. See *Bunsen, Hippolytus and his Age*, vol. i. p. 127.—S.

<sup>b</sup> The Jews and Christians contest the honor of having furnished a nurse to the fratricide son of Severus, Caracalla. *Hist. of Jews*, iii. 158.—M.

relation to the cause of Christianity.<sup>108</sup> Under the reign of Severus the fury of the populace was checked; the rigor of ancient laws was for some time suspended; and the provincial governors were satisfied with receiving an annual present from the churches within their jurisdiction as the price, or as the reward, of their moderation.<sup>109</sup> The controversy concerning the precise time of the celebration of Easter armed the bishops of Asia and Italy against each other, and was considered as the most important business of this period of leisure and tranquillity.<sup>110</sup> Nor was the peace of the Church interrupted

A.D. 198.

till the increasing numbers of proselytes seem at length to have attracted the attention and to have alienated the mind of Severus. With the design of restraining the progress of Christianity, he published an edict which, though it was designed to affect only the new converts, could not be carried into strict execution without exposing to danger and punishment the most zealous of their teachers and missionaries. In this mitigated persecution we may still discover the indulgent spirit of Rome and of polytheism, which so readily admitted every excuse in favor of those who practised the religious ceremonies of their fathers.<sup>111</sup>

But the laws which Severus had enacted soon expired with the authority of that emperor; and the Christians, after this accidental tempest, enjoyed a calm of thirty-eight years.<sup>112</sup> Till this period they had usually held their assemblies in private houses and sequestered places.

Of the successors of Severus.  
A.D. 211-249.

<sup>108</sup> Compare the Life of Caracalla, in the Augustan History, with the epistle of Tertullian to Scapula. Dr. Jortin (Remarks on Ecclesiastical History, vol. ii. p. 5, etc.) considers the cure of Severus by the means of holy oil with a strong desire to convert it into a miracle.

<sup>109</sup> Tertullian. de Fugâ, c. 13. The present was made during the feast of the Saturnalia; and it is a matter of serious concern to Tertullian that the faithful should be confounded with the most infamous professions which purchased the connivance of the government.

<sup>110</sup> Euseb. l. v. c. 23, 24. Mosheim, p. 435-447.

<sup>111</sup> *Judæos fieri sub gravi poenâ vetuit. Idem etiam de Christianis sanxit.*—Hist. August. p. 70 [Spart. Sever. c. 17].

<sup>112</sup> Sulpicius Severus, l. ii. p. 384 [edit. Lugd. Bat. 1647]. This computation (allowing for a single exception) is confirmed by the History of Eusebius and by the writings of Cyprian.

They were now permitted to erect and consecrate convenient edifices for the purpose of religious worship;<sup>113</sup> to purchase lands, even at Rome itself, for the use of the community; and to conduct the elections of their ecclesiastical ministers in so public, but at the same time in so exemplary a manner as to deserve the respectful attention of the Gentiles.<sup>114</sup> This long repose of the Church was accompanied with dignity. The reigns of those princes who derived their extraction from the Asiatic provinces proved the most favorable to the Christians. The eminent persons of the sect, instead of being reduced to implore the protection of a slave or concubine, were admitted into the palace in the honorable characters of priests and philosophers; and their mysterious doctrines, which were already diffused among the people, insensibly attracted the curiosity of their sovereign. When the Empress Mamæa passed through Antioch, she expressed a desire of conversing with the celebrated Origen, the fame of whose piety and learning was spread over the East. Origen obeyed so flattering an invitation, and though he could not expect to succeed in the conversion of an artful and ambitious woman, she listened with pleasure to his eloquent exhortations, and honorably dismissed him to his retirement in Palestine.<sup>115</sup> The sentiments of Mamæa were adopted by her son Alexander, and the philosophic devotion of that emperor was marked by a singular but injudicious regard for the Christian religion. In his domestic chapel he placed the statues of Abraham, of Orpheus, of Apollonius, and of Christ, as an honor justly due to those respectable sages

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<sup>113</sup> The antiquity of Christian churches is discussed by Tillemont (*Mémoires Ecclésiastiques*, tom. iii. part ii. p. 68-72) and by Mr. Moyle (vol. i. p. 378-398). The former refers the first construction of them to the peace of Alexander Severus; the latter, to the peace of Gallienus.

<sup>114</sup> See the Augustan History, p. 130 [Lamprid. Alex. Sever. c. 45]. The Emperor Alexander adopted their method of publicly proposing the names of those persons who were candidates for ordination. It is true that the honor of this practice is likewise attributed to the Jews.

<sup>115</sup> Euseb. Hist. Ecclesiast. l. vi. c. 21. Hieronym. de Script. Eccles. c. 54 [vol. ii. p. 879, edit. Vallars.]. Mamæa was styled a holy and pious woman both by the Christians and the pagans. From the former, therefore, it was impossible that she should deserve that honorable epithet.



who had instructed mankind in the various modes of addressing their homage to the supreme and universal Deity.<sup>116</sup> A purer faith as well as worship was openly professed and practised among his household. Bishops, perhaps for the first time,

were seen at court; and, after the death of Alexander, when the inhuman Maximin discharged his fury on the favorites and servants of his unfortunate benefactor, a great number of Christians of every rank and of both sexes were involved in the promiscuous massacre which, on their account, has improperly received the name of Persecution.<sup>117</sup>

Notwithstanding the cruel disposition of Maximin, the effects of his resentment against the Christians were of a very local and temporary nature; and the pious Origen, who had been proscribed as a devoted victim, was still reserved to convey the truths of the Gospel to the ear of monarchs.<sup>118</sup> He addressed several edifying letters to the Emperor Philip, to his wife, and to his mother; and as soon as that prince, who was born in the neighborhood of Palestine, had usurped the imperial sceptre, the Christians acquired a friend and a protector. The public

Of Maximin,  
Philip, and  
Decius.

A.D. 244.

<sup>116</sup> See the Augustan History, p. 123 [Lampr. Alex. Sever. c. 29]. Mosheim (p. 465) seems to refine too much on the domestic religion of Alexander. His design of building a public temple to Christ (Hist. August. p. 129 [Lampr. Alex. Sever. c. 43]), and the objection which was suggested either to him, or in similar circumstances to Hadrian, appear to have no other foundation than an improbable report invented by the Christians, and credulously adopted by an historian of the age of Constantine.

<sup>117</sup> Euseb. l. vi. c. 28. It may be presumed that the success of the Christians had exasperated the increasing bigotry of the pagans. Dion Cassius, who composed his history under the former reign, had most probably intended for the use of his master those counsels of persecution which he ascribes to a better age and to the favorite of Augustus. Concerning this oration of Mæcenas, or rather of Dion, I may refer to my own unbiassed opinion (vol. i. c. 1, note 25) and to the Abbé de la Bletterie (*Mémoires de l'Académie*, tom. xxiv. p. 303; tom. xxv. p. 432).

<sup>118</sup> Orosius, l. vii. c. 19, mentions Origen as the object of Maximin's resentment; and Firmilianus, a Cappadocian bishop of that age, gives a just and confined idea of this persecution (apud Cyprian. Epist. 75).

<sup>a</sup> It is with good reason that this massacre has been called a persecution, for it lasted during the whole reign of Maximin, as may be seen in Eusebius (l. vi. c. 28). Rufinus expressly confirms it: "Tribus annis a Maximino persecutione commotâ, in quibus finem et persecutionis fecit et vitæ."—Hist. l. vi. c. 19.—G.

and even partial favor of Philip towards the sectaries of the new religion, and his constant reverence for the ministers of the Church, gave some color to the suspicion which prevailed in his own times that the emperor himself was become a convert to the faith,<sup>119</sup> and afforded some grounds for a fable which was afterwards invented that he had been purified by confession and penance from the guilt contracted by the murder of

A.D. 249.

his innocent predecessor.<sup>120</sup> The fall of Philip introduced, with the change of masters, a new system of government so oppressive to the Christians that their former condition, ever since the time of Domitian, was represented as a state of perfect freedom and security if compared with the rigorous treatment which they experienced under the short reign of Decius.<sup>121</sup> The virtues of that prince will scarcely allow us to suspect that he was actuated by a mean resentment against the favorites of his predecessor; and it is more reasonable to believe that in the prosecution of his general design to restore the purity of Roman manners he was desirous of delivering the empire from what he condemned as a recent and criminal superstition. The bishops of the most considerable cities were removed by exile or death. The vigilance of the magistrates prevented the clergy of Rome during sixteen months from proceeding to a new election; and it was the opinion of the Christians that the emperor would more patiently endure a competitor for the purple than a bishop in the capi-

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<sup>119</sup> The mention of those princes who were publicly supposed to be Christians, as we find it in an epistle of Dionysius of Alexandria (apud Euseb. l. vii. c. 10), evidently alludes to Philip and his family, and forms a contemporary evidence that such a report had prevailed; but the Egyptian bishop, who lived at an humble distance from the court of Rome, expresses himself with a becoming diffidence concerning the truth of the fact. The epistles of Origen (which were extant in the time of Eusebius, see l. vi. c. 36) would most probably decide this curious rather than important question.

<sup>120</sup> Euseb. l. vi. c. 34. The story, as is usual, has been embellished by succeeding writers, and is confuted, with much superfluous learning, by Frederick Spanheim (*Opera Varia*, tom. ii. p. 400, etc.).

<sup>121</sup> Lactantius de Mortibus Persecutorum, c. 3, 4. After celebrating the felicity and increase of the Church under a long succession of good princes, he adds, "Extitit post annos plurimos, execrabile animal, Decius, qui vexaret Ecclesiam."

tal.<sup>122</sup> Were it possible to suppose that the penetration of Decius had discovered pride under the disguise of humility, or that he could foresee the temporal dominion which might insensibly arise from the claims of spiritual authority, we might be less surprised that he should consider the successors of St. Peter as the most formidable rivals to those of Augustus.

The administration of Valerian was distinguished by a levity and inconstancy ill suited to the gravity of the *Roman Censor*. In the first part of his reign he surpassed in clemency those princes who had been suspected of an attachment to the Christian faith. In the last three years and a half, listening to the insinuations of a minister addicted to the superstitions of Egypt, he adopted the maxims and imitated the severity of his predecessor Decius.<sup>123</sup> The accession of Gallienus, which increased the calamities of the empire, restored peace to the Church; and the Christians obtained the free exercise of their religion by an edict addressed to the bishops, and conceived in such terms as seemed to acknowledge their office and public character.<sup>124</sup> The ancient laws, without being formally repealed, were suffered to sink into oblivion; and (excepting only some hostile intentions which are attributed to the Emperor Aurelian<sup>125</sup>)

Of Valerian,  
Gallienus,  
and his suc-  
cessors.  
A.D. 253-260.

<sup>122</sup> Euseb. l. vi. c. 39. Cyprian. Epistol. 55. The see of Rome remained vacant from the martyrdom of Fabianus, the 20th of January, A.D. 250, till the election of Cornelius, the 4th of June, A.D. 251. Decius had probably left Rome, since he was killed before the end of that year.

<sup>123</sup> Euseb. l. vii. c. 10. Mosheim (p. 548) has very clearly shown that the præfect Macrianus and the Egyptian *Magus* are one and the same person.

<sup>124</sup> Eusebius (l. vii. c. 13) gives us a Greek version of this Latin edict, which seems to have been very concise. By another edict he directed that the *Cæmetæria* should be restored to the Christians.

<sup>125</sup> Euseb. l. vii. c. 30. Lactantius de M. P. c. 6. Hieronym. in Chron. p. 177 [Anno ab. Abr. 2290, tom. viii. p. 757, edit. Vallars.]. Orosius, l. vii. c. 23. Their language is in general so ambiguous and incorrect that we are at a loss to determine how far Aurelian had carried his intentions before he was assassinated. Most of the moderns (except Dodwell, Dissertat. Cyprian. xi. 64) have seized the occasion of gaining a few extraordinary martyrs.\*

\* Dr. Lardner has detailed, with his usual impartiality, all that has come down to us relating to the persecution of Aurelian, and concludes by saying, "Upon more carefully examining the words of Eusebius, and observing the accounts of

the disciples of Christ passed above forty years in a state of prosperity far more dangerous to their virtue than the severest trials of persecution.

The story of Paul of Samosata, who filled the metropolitan see of Antioch while the East was in the hands of Odenathus and Zenobia, may serve to illustrate the condition and character of the times. The wealth of that prelate was a sufficient evidence of his guilt, since it was neither derived from the inheritance of his fathers nor acquired by the arts of honest industry. But Paul considered the service of the Church as a very lucrative profession.<sup>126</sup> His ecclesiastical jurisdiction was venal and rapacious; he extorted frequent contributions from the most opulent of the faithful, and converted to his own use a considerable part of the public revenue. By his pride and luxury the Christian religion was rendered odious in the eyes of the Gentiles. His council-chamber and his throne, the splendor with which he appeared in public, the suppliant crowd who solicited his attention, the multitude of letters and petitions to which he dictated his answers, and the perpetual hurry of business in which he was involved were circumstances much better suited to the state of a civil magistrate<sup>127</sup> than to the humility of a primi-

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<sup>126</sup> Paul was better pleased with the title of *ducenarius* than with that of bishop. The *ducenarius* was an imperial procurator, so called from his salary of 200 *sestertia*, or £1600 a year. (See Salmasius ad Hist. August. p. 124.) Some critics suppose that the Bishop of Antioch had actually obtained such an office from Zenobia, while others consider it only as a figurative expression of his pomp and insolence.

<sup>127</sup> Simony was not unknown in those times, and the clergy sometimes bought what they intended to sell. It appears that the bishopric of Carthage was purchased by a wealthy matron, named Lucilla, for her servant Majorinus. The price was 400 *folles* (Monument. Antiq. ad calcem Optati, p. 263). Every *folles* contained 125 pieces of silver, and the whole sum may be computed at about £2400.

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other authors, learned men have generally, and, as I think, very judiciously, determined that Aurelian not only intended, but did actually persecute; but his persecution was short, he having died soon after the publication of his edicts."—Heathen Test. ch. xxxvi. Basnage positively pronounces the same opinion: *Non intentatum modo, sed executum quoque brevissimo tempore mandatum, nobis infixum est in animis.*—Basn. Ann. 275, No. 2; and compare Pagi Ann. 272, Nos. 4, 12, 273.—G.



tive bishop. When he harangued his people from the pulpit, Paul affected the figurative style and the theatrical gestures of an Asiatic sophist, while the cathedral resounded with the loudest and most extravagant acclamations in the praise of his divine eloquence. Against those who resisted his power or refused to flatter his vanity the prelate of Antioch was arrogant, rigid, and inexorable; but he relaxed the discipline and lavished the treasures of the Church on his dependent clergy, who were permitted to imitate their master in the gratification of every sensual appetite. For Paul indulged himself very freely in the pleasures of the table, and he had received into the episcopal palace two young and beautiful women as the constant companions of his leisure moments.<sup>128</sup>

Notwithstanding these scandalous vices, if Paul of Samosata had preserved the purity of the orthodox faith, his reign over the capital of Syria would have ended only with his life; and had a seasonable persecution intervened, an effort of courage might, perhaps, have placed him in the rank of saints and martyrs.\* Some nice and subtle errors, which he imprudently adopted and obstinately maintained, concerning the doctrine of the Trinity excited the zeal and indignation of the Eastern churches.<sup>129</sup> From Egypt to the Euxine Sea, the bishops were in arms and in motion. Several councils were held, confutations were published, excommunications were pronounced, ambiguous explanations were by turns accepted and refused, treaties were concluded and violated, and at length Paul of Samosata was degraded from his episcopal character by the sentence of seventy or

He is degraded from the see of Antioch. A.D. 270.

<sup>128</sup> If we are desirous of extenuating the vices of Paul, we must suspect the assembled bishops of the East of publishing the most malicious calumnies in circular epistles addressed to all the churches of the empire (apud. Euseb. l. vii. c. 30).

<sup>129</sup> His heresy (like those of Noetus and Sabellius, in the same century) tended to confound the mysterious distinction of the divine persons. See Mosheim, p. 702, etc.

\* It appears, nevertheless, that the vices and immoralities of Paul of Samosata had much weight in the sentence pronounced against him by the bishops. The object of the letter addressed by the synod to the bishops of Rome and Alexandria was to inform them of the change in the faith of Paul, the altercations and discussions to which it had given rise, as well as of his morals and the whole of his conduct. Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. vii. c. xxx.—G.

eighty bishops who assembled for that purpose at Antioch, and who, without consulting the rights of the clergy or people, appointed a successor by their own authority. The manifest irregularity of this proceeding increased the numbers of the discontented faction; and as Paul, who was no stranger to the arts of courts, had insinuated himself into the favor of Zenobia, he maintained above four years the possession of the episcopal house and office.\* The victory of Aurelian changed the face of the East, and the two contending parties, who applied to each other the epithets of schism and heresy, were either commanded or permitted to plead their cause before the tribunal of the conqueror. This public and very singular trial affords a convincing proof that the existence, the property, the privileges, and the internal policy of the Christians were acknowledged, if not by the laws, at least by the magistrates, of the empire. As a pagan and as a soldier, it could scarcely be expected that Aurelian should enter into the discussion, whether the sentiments of Paul or those of his adversaries were most agreeable to the true standard of the orthodox faith. His determination, however, was founded on the general principles of equity and reason.

The sentence  
is executed  
by Aurelian.  
A.D. 274.

He considered the bishops of Italy as the most impartial and respectable judges among the Christians, and, as soon as he was informed that they had unanimously approved the sentence of the council, he acquiesced in their opinion, and immediately gave orders that Paul should be compelled to relinquish the temporal possessions belonging to an office of which, in the judgment of his brethren, he had been regularly deprived. But while we applaud the justice we should not overlook the policy of Aurelian, who was desirous of restoring and cementing the dependence of the provinces on the capital by every means which could bind the interest or prejudices of any part of his subjects.<sup>130</sup>

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<sup>130</sup> Euseb. Hist. Eccles. l. vii. c. 30. We are entirely indebted to him for the curious story of Paul of Samosata.

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\* Her favorite (Zenobia's), Paul of Samosata, seems to have entertained some views of attempting a union between Judaism and Christianity; both parties re-

Amidst the frequent revolutions of the empire, the Christians still flourished in peace and prosperity; and, notwithstanding a celebrated era of martyrs has been deduced from the accession of Diocletian,<sup>131</sup> the new system of policy introduced and maintained by the wisdom of that prince continued, during more than eighteen years, to breathe the mildest and most liberal spirit of religious toleration. The mind of Diocletian himself was less adapted indeed to speculative inquiries than to the active labors of war and government. His prudence rendered him averse to any great innovation, and, though his temper was not very susceptible of zeal or enthusiasm, he always maintained an habitual regard for the ancient deities of the empire. But the leisure of the two empresses—of his wife Prisca, and of Valeria his daughter—permitted them to listen with more attention and respect to the truths of Christianity, which in every age has acknowledged its important obligations to female devotion.<sup>132</sup> The principal eunuchs—Lucian<sup>133</sup> and Dorotheus, Gorgonius and Andrew—who attended the person, possessed the favor, and governed the household of Diocletian, protected by their powerful influence the faith which they had embraced. Their example was imitated by many of the most considerable officers of the palace, who, in their respective stations, had the care of the imperial ornaments, of the robes, of the furniture, of the jewels, and even of the private treasury; and though it

<sup>131</sup> The era of martyrs, which is still in use among the Copts and the Abyssinians, must be reckoned from the 29th of August, A.D. 284, as the beginning of the Egyptian year was nineteen days earlier than the real accession of Diocletian. See *Dissertation Préliminaire à l'Art de vérifier les Dates*.<sup>a</sup>

<sup>132</sup> The expression of Lactantius (de M. P. c. 15), “sacrificio pollui coegit,” implies their antecedent conversion to the faith, but does not seem to justify the assertion of Mosheim (p. 912) that they had been privately baptized.

<sup>133</sup> M. de Tillemont (*Mémoires Ecclésiastiques*, tom. v. part i. p. 11, 12) has quoted from the *Spicilegium* of Dom Luc d'Archeri a very curious instruction which Bishop Theonas composed for the use of Lucian.

jected the unnatural alliance.—*Hist. of Jews*, iii. 175, and *Jost, Geschichte der Israeliten*, iv. 167. The protection of the severe Zenobia is the only circumstance which may raise a doubt of the notorious immorality of Paul.—M.

<sup>a</sup> On the era of martyrs see the very curious dissertations of Mons. Letronne on some recently discovered inscriptions in Egypt and Nubia, p. 102, etc.—M.

might sometimes be incumbent on them to accompany the emperor when he sacrificed in the temple,<sup>134</sup> they enjoyed, with their wives, their children, and their slaves, the free exercise of the Christian religion. Diocletian and his colleagues frequently conferred the most important offices on those persons who avowed their abhorrence for the worship of the gods, but who had displayed abilities proper for the service of the State. The bishops held an honorable rank in their respective provinces, and were treated with distinction and respect not only by the people, but by the magistrates themselves. Almost in every city the ancient churches were found insufficient to contain the increasing multitude of proselytes, and in their place more stately and capacious edifices were erected for the public worship of the faithful. The corruption of manners and principles, so forcibly lamented by Eusebius,<sup>135</sup> may be considered not only as a consequence, but as a proof, of the liberty which the Christians enjoyed and abused under the reign of Diocletian. Prosperity had relaxed the nerves of discipline. Fraud, envy, and malice prevailed in every congregation. The presbyters aspired to the episcopal office, which every day became an object more worthy of their ambition. The bishops, who contended with each other for ecclesiastical pre-eminence, appeared by their conduct to claim a secular and tyrannical power in the Church; and the lively faith which still distinguished the Christians from the Gentiles was shown much less in their lives than in their controversial writings.

Notwithstanding this seeming security, an attentive observer might discern some symptoms that threatened the Church with

Progress of  
zeal and su-  
perstition  
among the  
pagans.

a more violent persecution than any which she had yet endured. The zeal and rapid progress of the Christians awakened the polytheists from their supine indifference in the cause of those deities whom custom and education had taught them to revere. The mutual provocations of a religious war, which had already contin-

<sup>134</sup> Lactantius de M. P. c. 10.

<sup>135</sup> Euseb. Hist. Eccles. l. viii. c. 1. The reader who consults the original will not accuse me of heightening the picture. Eusebius was about sixteen years of age at the accession of the Emperor Diocletian.



ued above two hundred years, exasperated the animosity of the contending parties. The pagans were incensed at the rashness of a recent and obscure sect which presumed to accuse their countrymen of error and to devote their ancestors to eternal misery. The habits of justifying the popular mythology against the invectives of an implacable enemy produced in their minds some sentiments of faith and reverence for a system which they had been accustomed to consider with the most careless levity. The supernatural powers assumed by the Church inspired at the same time terror and emulation. The followers of the established religion intrenched themselves behind a similar fortification of prodigies; invented new modes of sacrifice, of expiation, and of initiation;<sup>136</sup> attempted to revive the credit of their expiring oracles;<sup>137</sup> and listened with eager credulity to every impostor who flattered their prejudices by a tale of wonders.<sup>138</sup> Both parties seemed to acknowledge the truth of those miracles which were claimed by their adversaries; and while they were contented with ascribing them to the arts of magic and to the power of demons, they mutually concurred in restoring and establishing the reign of superstition.<sup>139</sup> Philosophy, her most dangerous enemy, was now converted into her most useful ally. The

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<sup>136</sup> We might quote, among a great number of instances, the mysterious worship of Mithras and the Taurobolia, the latter of which became fashionable in the time of the Antonines (see a Dissertation of M. de Boze, in the *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, tom. ii. p. 443). The romance of Apuleius is as full of devotion as of satire.

<sup>137</sup> The impostor Alexander very strongly recommended the oracle of Trophonius at Mallos, and those of Apollo at Claros and Miletus (Lucian, tom. ii. p. 236, edit. Reitz [Alexand. c. 29]). The last of these, whose singular history would furnish a very curious episode, was consulted by Diocletian before he published his edicts of persecution (Lactantius de M. P. c. 11).

<sup>138</sup> Besides the ancient stories of Pythagoras and Aristeas, the cures performed at the shrine of Æsculapius, and the fables related of Apollonius of Tyana, were frequently opposed to the miracles of Christ; though I agree with Dr. Lardner (see *Testimonies*, vol. iii. p. 253, 352) that, when Philostratus composed the *Life of Apollonius*, he had no such intention.

<sup>139</sup> It is seriously to be lamented that the Christian fathers, by acknowledging the supernatural, or, as they deem it, the infernal part of paganism, destroy with their own hands the great advantage which we might otherwise derive from the liberal concessions of our adversaries.

groves of the Academy, the gardens of Epicurus, and even the portico of the Stoics were almost deserted as so many different schools of scepticism or impiety;<sup>140</sup> and many among the Romans were desirous that the writings of Cicero should be condemned and suppressed by the authority of the senate.<sup>141</sup> The prevailing sect of the new Platonicians judged it prudent to connect themselves with the priests, whom perhaps they despised, against the Christians, whom they had reason to fear. These fashionable philosophers prosecuted the design of extracting allegorical wisdom from the fictions of the Greek poets; instituted mysterious rites of devotion for the use of their chosen disciples; recommended the worship of the ancient gods as the emblems or ministers of the Supreme Deity, and composed against the faith of the Gospel many elaborate treatises,<sup>142</sup> which have since been committed to the flames by the prudence of orthodox emperors.<sup>143</sup>

Although the policy of Diocletian and the humanity of Constantius inclined them to preserve inviolate the maxims of toleration, it was soon discovered that their two associates, Maximian and Galerius, entertained the most implacable aversion for the name and religion of the Christians. The minds of those princes had never been enlightened by science; education had never softened their temper. They owed their greatness to their swords,

Maximian  
and Galerius  
punish a few  
Christian  
soldiers.

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<sup>140</sup> Julian ([tom. i.] p. 301, edit. Spanheim) expresses a pious joy that the providence of the gods had extinguished the impious sects, and for the most part destroyed the books of the Pyrrhonians and Epicureans, which had been very numerous, since Epicurus himself composed no less than three hundred volumes. See Diogenes Laertius, l. x. c. 26.

<sup>141</sup> Cumque alios audiam mussitare indignanter, et dicere oportere statui per senatum, aboleantur ut hæc scripta, quibus Christiana religio comprobetur, et vetustatis opprimatur auctoritas. — Arnobius adversus Gentes, l. iii. p. 103, 104 [p. 98, 99, edit. Ant. 1604]. He adds very properly, “Erroris convincite Ciceronem . . . nam intercipere scripta, et publicatam velle submergere lectionem, non est Deum [Deos] defendere sed veritatis testificationem timere.”

<sup>142</sup> Lactantius (Divin. Institut. l. v. c. 2, 3) gives a very clear and spirited account of two of these philosophic adversaries of the faith. The large treatise of Porphyry against the Christians consisted of thirty books, and was composed in Sicily about the year 270.

<sup>143</sup> See Socrates, Hist. Eccles. l. i. c. 9, and Codex Justinian. l. i. tit. i. l. 3.

and in their most elevated fortune they still retained their superstitious prejudices of soldiers and peasants. In the general administration of the provinces, they obeyed the laws which their benefactor had established; but they frequently found occasions of exercising within their camp and palaces a secret persecution,<sup>144</sup> for which the imprudent zeal of the Christians sometimes offered the most specious pretences. A sentence of death was executed upon Maximilianus, an African youth, who had been produced by his own father before the magistrate as a sufficient and legal recruit, but who obstinately persisted in declaring that his conscience would not permit him to embrace the profession of a soldier.<sup>145</sup> It could scarcely be expected that any government should suffer the action of Marcellus the centurion to pass with impunity. On the day of a public festival, that officer threw away his belt, his arms, and the ensigns of his office, and exclaimed with a loud voice that he would obey none but Jesus Christ, the eternal King, and that he renounced forever the use of carnal weapons and the service of an idolatrous master. The soldiers, as soon as they recovered from their astonishment, secured the person of Marcellus. He was examined in the city of Tingi by the president of that part of Mauritania; and as he was convicted by his own confession, he was condemned and beheaded for the crime of desertion.<sup>146</sup> Examples of such a nature savor

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<sup>144</sup> Eusebius, l. viii. c. 4, 17. He limits the number of military martyrs by a remarkable expression (*σπανίως τούτων εἰς πού καὶ δεύτερος*), of which neither his Latin nor French translator has rendered the energy. Notwithstanding the authority of Eusebius, and the silence of Lactantius, Ambrose, Sulpicius, Orosius, etc., it has been long believed that the Thebæan legion, consisting of 6000 Christians, suffered martyrdom by the order of Maximian, in the valley of the Pennine Alps. The story was first published about the middle of the fifth century, by Eucherius, Bishop of Lyons, who received it from certain persons, who received it from Isaac, Bishop of Geneva, who is said to have received it from Theodore, Bishop of Octodurum. The abbey of St. Maurice still subsists—a rich monument of the credulity of Sigismund, King of Burgundy. See an excellent Dissertation in the thirty-sixth volume of the *Bibliothèque Raisonnée*, p. 427–454.

<sup>145</sup> See the *Acta Sincera*, p. 299. The accounts of his martyrdom, and of that of Marcellus, bear every mark of truth and authenticity. <sup>146</sup> *Acta Sin.* p. 302.<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup> M. Guizot here justly observes that it was the necessity of sacrificing to the gods which induced Marcellus to act in this manner.—M.

much less of religious persecution than of martial or even civil law ; but they served to alienate the mind of the emperors, to justify the severity of Galerius, who dismissed a great number of Christian officers from their employments ; and to authorize the opinion that a sect of enthusiasts which avowed principles so repugnant to the public safety must either remain useless, or would soon become dangerous subjects of the empire.

After the success of the Persian war had raised the hopes and the reputation of Galerius, he passed a winter with Diocletian in the palace of Nicomedia ; and the fate of Christianity became the object of their secret consultations.<sup>147</sup> The experienced emperor was still inclined to pursue measures of lenity ; and though he readily consented to exclude the Christians from holding any employments in the household or the army, he urged in the strongest terms the danger as well as cruelty of shedding the blood of those deluded fanatics. Galerius at length extorted from him the permission of summoning a council, composed of a few persons the most distinguished in the civil and military departments of the State. The important question was agitated in their presence, and those ambitious courtiers easily discerned that it was incumbent on them to second, by their eloquence, the importunate violence of the Cæsar. It may be presumed that they insisted on every topic which might interest the pride, the piety, or the fears of their sovereign in the destruction of Christianity. Perhaps they represented that the glorious work of the deliverance of the empire was left imperfect, as long as an independent people was permitted to subsist and multiply in the heart of the provinces. The Christians (it might speciously be alleged), renouncing the gods and the institutions of Rome, had constituted a distinct republic, which might yet be suppressed before it had acquired any military force ; but which was already governed by its

<sup>147</sup> De M. P. c. 11. Lactantius (or whoever was the author of this little treatise) was, at that time, an inhabitant of Nicomedia ; but it seems difficult to conceive how he could acquire so accurate a knowledge of what passed in the imperial cabinet.



own laws and magistrates, was possessed of a public treasure, and was intimately connected in all its parts by the frequent assemblies of the bishops, to whose decrees their numerous and opulent congregations yielded an implicit obedience. Arguments like these may seem to have determined the reluctant mind of Diocletian to embrace a new system of persecution; but though we may suspect, it is not in our power to relate, the secret intrigues of the palace, the private views and resentments, the jealousy of women or eunuchs, and all those trifling but decisive causes which so often influence the fate of empires and the councils of the wisest monarchs.<sup>148</sup>

The pleasure of the emperors was at length signified to the Christians, who, during the course of this melancholy winter, had expected, with anxiety, the result of so many secret consultations. The 23d of February, which coincided with the Roman festival of the Terminalia,<sup>149</sup> was appointed (whether from accident or design) to set bounds to the progress of Christianity. At the earliest dawn of day the Prætorian præfect,<sup>150</sup> accompanied by several generals, tribunes, and officers of the revenue, repaired to the principal church of Nicomedia, which was situated on an eminence in the most populous and beautiful part of the city. The doors were instantly broken open; they rushed into the sanctuary; and as they searched in vain for some visible object of worship, they were obliged to content themselves with committing to the flames the volumes of Holy Scripture. The ministers of Diocletian were followed by a numerous body of guards and pioneers, who marched in order of battle, and were provided with all the instruments used in the destruction of fortified cities. By their incessant labor, a sacred

Demolition of  
the church of  
Nicomedia.  
A. D. 303.  
February 23.

<sup>148</sup> The only circumstance which we can discover is the devotion and jealousy of the mother of Galerius. She is described by Lactantius as “*Deorum montium cultrix; mulier admodum superstitiosa.*” She had a great influence over her son, and was offended by the disregard of some of her Christian servants.

<sup>149</sup> The worship and festival of the god Terminus are elegantly illustrated by M. de Boze, *Mém. de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, tom. i. p. 50.

<sup>150</sup> In our only MS. of Lactantius we read *præfectus*; but reason, and the authority of all the critics, allow us, instead of that word, which destroys the sense of the passage, to substitute *præfectus*.

edifice, which towered above the imperial palace, and had long excited the indignation and envy of the Gentiles, was in a few hours levelled with the ground.<sup>151</sup>

The next day the general edict of persecution was published;<sup>152</sup> and though Diocletian, still averse to the effusion of blood, had moderated the fury of Galerius, who proposed that every one refusing to offer sacrifice should immediately be burned alive, the penalties inflicted on the obstinacy of the Christians might be deemed sufficiently rigorous and effectual. It was enacted that their churches, in all the provinces of the empire, should be demolished to their foundations; and the punishment of death was denounced against all who should presume to hold any secret assemblies for the purpose of religious worship. The philosophers, who now assumed the unworthy office of directing the blind zeal of persecution, had diligently studied the nature and genius of the Christian religion; and as they were not ignorant that the speculative doctrines of the faith were supposed to be contained in the writings of the prophets, of the evangelists, and of the apostles, they most probably suggested the order that the bishops and presbyters should deliver all their sacred books into the hands of the magistrates, who were commanded, under the severest penalties, to burn them in a public and solemn manner. By the same edict, the property of the Church was at once confiscated; and the several parts of which it might consist were either sold to the highest bidder, united to the imperial domain, bestowed on the cities and corporations, or granted to the solicitations of rapacious courtiers. After taking such effectual measures to abolish the worship and to dissolve the government of the Christians, it was thought necessary to subject to the most intolerable hardships the condition of those perverse individuals who should still reject the religion of nature, of Rome, and of their an-

<sup>151</sup> Lactantius (de M. P. c. 12) gives a very lively picture of the destruction of the church.

<sup>152</sup> Mosheim (p. 922-926), from many scattered passages of Lactantius and Eusebius, has collected a very just and accurate notion of this edict; though he sometimes deviates into conjecture and refinement.

cestors. Persons of a liberal birth were declared incapable of holding any honors or employments; slaves were forever deprived of the hopes of freedom; and the whole body of the people was put out of the protection of the law. The judges were authorized to hear and to determine every action that was brought against a Christian. But the Christians were not permitted to complain of any injury which they themselves had suffered; and thus those unfortunate sectaries were exposed to the severity, while they were excluded from the benefits, of public justice. This new species of martyrdom, so painful and lingering, so obscure and ignominious, was perhaps the most proper to weary the constancy of the faithful; nor can it be doubted that the passions and interest of mankind were disposed on this occasion to second the designs of the emperors. But the policy of a well-ordered government must sometimes have interposed in behalf of the oppressed Christians; nor was it possible for the Roman princes entirely to remove the apprehension of punishment, or to connive at every act of fraud and violence, without exposing their own authority and the rest of their subjects to the most alarming dangers.<sup>153</sup>

This edict was scarcely exhibited to the public view, in the most conspicuous place of Nicomedia, before it was torn down by the hands of a Christian, who expressed at the same time, by the bitterest invectives, his contempt as well as abhorrence for such impious and tyrannical governors. His offence, according to the mildest laws, amounted to treason and deserved death. And if it be true that he was a person of rank and education, those circumstances could serve only to aggravate his guilt. He was burned, or rather roasted, by a slow fire; and his executioners, zealous to revenge the personal insult which had been offered to the emperors, exhausted every refinement of cruelty, without being able to subdue his patience or to alter the steady and in-

Zeal and punishment of a Christian.

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<sup>153</sup> Many ages afterwards, Edward I. practised, with great success, the same mode of persecution against the clergy of England. See Hume's History of England, vol. ii. p. 300, last 4to edition.

sulting smile which, in his dying agonies, he still preserved in his countenance. The Christians, though they confessed that his conduct had not been strictly conformable to the laws of prudence, admired the divine fervor of his zeal; and the excessive commendations which they lavished on the memory of their hero and martyr contributed to fix a deep impression of terror and hatred in the mind of Diocletian.<sup>154</sup>

His fears were soon alarmed by the view of a danger from which he very narrowly escaped. Within fifteen days the palace of Nicomedia, and even the bedchamber of Diocletian, were twice in flames; and though both times they were extinguished without any material damage, the singular repetition of the fire was justly considered as an evident proof that it had not been the effect of chance or negligence. The suspicion naturally fell on the Christians; and it was suggested, with some degree of probability, that those desperate fanatics, provoked by their present sufferings, and apprehensive of impending calamities, had entered into a conspiracy with their faithful brethren, the eunuchs of the palace, against the lives of two emperors whom they detested as the irreconcilable enemies of the Church of God. Jealousy and resentment prevailed in every breast, but especially in that of Diocletian. A great number of persons, distinguished either by the offices which they had filled or by the favor which they had enjoyed, were thrown into prison. Every mode of torture was put in practice, and the court as well as city was polluted with many bloody executions.<sup>155</sup> But as it was found impossible to extort any discovery of this mysterious transaction, it seems incumbent on us either to presume the innocence or to admire the resolution of the sufferers. A

Fire of the  
palace of Nicomedia imputed to the Christians.

<sup>154</sup> Lactantius only calls him "quidam, etsi non recte, magno tamen animo," etc., M. P. c. 13. Eusebius (l. viii. c. 5) adorns him with secular honors. Neither has condescended to mention his name, but the Greeks celebrate his memory under that of John. See Tillemont, *Mémoires Ecclés.* tom. v. part ii. p. 320.

<sup>155</sup> Lactantius de M. P. c. 13, 14 [14, 15]. "Potentissimi quondam Eunuchi necati, per quos Palatium et ipse constabat." Eusebius (l. viii. c. 6) mentions the cruel executions of the eunuchs Gorgonius and Dorotheus, and of Anthimus, Bishop of Nicomedia; and both those writers describe, in a vague but tragical manner, the horrid scenes which were acted even in the imperial presence.



few days afterwards, Galerius hastily withdrew himself from Nicomedia, declaring that if he delayed his departure from that devoted palace, he should fall a sacrifice to the rage of the Christians. The ecclesiastical historians, from whom alone we derive a partial and imperfect knowledge of this persecution, are at a loss how to account for the fears and danger of the emperors. Two of these writers, a prince and a rhetorician, were eye-witnesses of the fire of Nicomedia. The one ascribes it to lightning and the divine wrath, the other affirms that it was kindled by the malice of Galerius himself.<sup>156</sup>

As the edict against the Christians was designed for a general law of the whole empire, and as Diocletian and Galerius, though they might not wait for the consent, were assured of the concurrence, of the Western princes, it would appear more consonant to our ideas of policy that the governors of all the provinces should have received secret instructions to publish, on one and the same day, this declaration of war within their respective departments. It was at least to be expected that the convenience of the public highways and established posts would have enabled the emperors to transmit their orders with the utmost despatch from the palace of Nicomedia to the extremities of the Roman world; and that they would not have suffered fifty days to elapse before the edict was published in Syria, and near four months before it was signified to the cities of Africa.<sup>157</sup> This delay may perhaps be imputed to the cautious temper of Diocletian, who had yielded a reluctant consent to the measures of persecution, and who was desirous of trying the experiment under

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<sup>156</sup> See Lactantius, Eusebius, and Constantine, ad Cœtum Sanctorum, c. xxv. Eusebius confesses his ignorance of the cause of this fire.<sup>a</sup>

<sup>157</sup> Tillemont, Mémoires Ecclés. tom. v. part i. p. 43.

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<sup>a</sup> As the history of these times affords us no example of any attempts made by the Christians against their persecutors, we have no reason, not the slightest probability, to attribute to them the fire in the palace; and the authority of Constantine and Lactantius remains to explain it. M. de Tillemont has shown how they can be reconciled (Hist. des Empereurs, Vie de Dioclétien, xix.).—G. Had it been done by a Christian, it would probably have been a fanatic, who would have avowed and gloried in it. Tillemont's supposition that the fire was first caused by lightning, and fed and increased by the malice of Galerius, seems singularly improbable.—M.

his more immediate eye before he gave way to the disorders and discontent which it must inevitably occasion in the distant provinces. At first, indeed, the magistrates were restrained from the effusion of blood, but the use of every other severity was permitted, and even recommended to their zeal; nor could the Christians, though they cheerfully resigned the ornaments of their churches, resolve to interrupt their religious assemblies, or to deliver their sacred books to the flames. The pious obstinacy of Felix, an African bishop, appears to have embarrassed the subordinate ministers of the government. The curator of his city sent him in chains to the proconsul. The proconsul transmitted him to the Prætorian præfect of Italy; and Felix, who disdained even to give an evasive answer, was at length beheaded at Venusia, in Lucania, a place on which the birth of Horace has conferred fame.<sup>158</sup> This precedent, and perhaps some imperial rescript which was issued in consequence of it, appeared to authorize the governors of provinces in punishing with death the refusal of the Christians to deliver up their sacred books. There were undoubtedly many persons who embraced this opportunity of obtaining the crown of martyrdom; but there were likewise too many who purchased an ignominious life by discovering and betraying the Holy Scripture into the hands of infidels. A great number even of bishops and presbyters acquired, by this criminal compliance, the opprobrious epithet of *Traditors*; and their offence was productive of much present scandal and of much future discord in the African Church.<sup>159</sup>

The copies as well as the versions of Scripture were already so multiplied in the empire that the most severe inquisition could no longer be attended with any fatal consequences, and even the sacrifice of those volumes which, in every congregation, were preserved for public use required the consent of some treacherous and unworthy Chris-

Demolition of  
the churches.

<sup>158</sup> See the *Acta Sincera* of Ruinart, p. 353; those of Felix of Thibara, or Tibiur, appear much less corrupted than in the other editions, which afford a lively specimen of legendary license.

<sup>159</sup> See the first book of Optatus of Milevis against the Donatists. Paris, 1700, edit. Dupin. He lived under the reign of Valens.

tians. But the ruin of the churches was easily effected by the authority of the government and by the labor of the pagans. In some provinces, however, the magistrates contented themselves with shutting up the places of religious worship. In others they more literally complied with the terms of the edict; and, after taking away the doors, the benches, and the pulpit, which they burned, as it were, in a funeral pile, they completely demolished the remainder of the edifice.<sup>160</sup> It is perhaps to this melancholy occasion that we should apply a very remarkable story, which is related with so many circumstances of variety and improbability that it serves rather to excite than to satisfy our curiosity. In a small town in Phrygia, of whose name as well as situation we are left ignorant, it should seem that the magistrates and the body of the people had embraced the Christian faith; and as some resistance might be apprehended to the execution of the edict, the governor of the province was supported by a numerous detachment of legionaries. On their approach the citizens threw themselves into the church, with the resolution either of defending by arms that sacred edifice or of perishing in its ruins. They indignantly rejected the notice and permission which was given them to retire, till the soldiers, provoked by their obstinate refusal, set fire to the building on all sides, and consumed, by this extraordinary kind of martyrdom, a great number of Phrygians with their wives and children.<sup>161</sup>

Some slight disturbances, though they were suppressed al-

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<sup>160</sup> The ancient monuments published at the end of Optatus, p. 261, etc., describe, in a very circumstantial manner, the proceedings of the governors in the destruction of churches. They made a minute inventory of the plate, etc., which they found in them. That of the church of Cirta, in Numidia, is still extant. It consisted of two chalices of gold and six of silver; six urns, one kettle, seven lamps, all likewise of silver, besides a large quantity of brass utensils and wearing apparel.

<sup>161</sup> Lactantius (Institut. Divin. v. 11) confines the calamity to the *conventiculum*, with its congregation. Eusebius (viii. 11) extends it to a whole city, and introduces something very like a regular siege. His ancient Latin translator, Rufinus, adds the important circumstance of the permission given to the inhabitants of retiring from thence. As Phrygia reached to the confines of Isauria, it is possible that the restless temper of those independent barbarians may have contributed to this misfortune.

most as soon as excited, in Syria and the frontiers of Armenia, afforded the enemies of the Church a very plausible occasion to insinuate that those troubles had been secretly fomented by the intrigues of the bishops, who had already forgotten their ostentatious professions of passive and unlimited obedience.<sup>162</sup> The resentment or the fears of Diocletian at length transported him beyond the bounds of moderation which he had hitherto preserved, and he declared, in a series of cruel edicts, his intention of abolishing the Christian name. By the first of these edicts the governors of the provinces were directed to apprehend all persons of the ecclesiastical order; and the prisons destined for the vilest criminals were soon filled with a multitude of bishops, presbyters, deacons, readers, and exorcists. By a second edict the magistrates were commanded to employ every method of severity which might reclaim them from their odious superstition and oblige them to return to the established worship of the gods. This rigorous order was extended, by a subsequent edict, to the whole body of Christians, who were exposed to a violent and general persecution.<sup>163</sup> Instead of those salutary restraints which had required the direct and solemn testimony of an accuser, it became the duty as well as the interest of the imperial officers to discover, to pursue, and to torment the most obnoxious among the faithful. Heavy penalties were denounced against all who should presume to save a proscribed sectary from the just indignation of the gods and of the emperors. Yet, notwithstanding the severity of this law, the virtuous courage of many of the pagans, in concealing their friends or relations, affords an honorable proof that the rage of super-

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<sup>162</sup> Eusebius, l. viii. c. 6. M. de Valois (with some probability) thinks that he has discovered the Syrian rebellion in an oration of Libanius; and that it was a rash attempt of the tribune Eugenius, who, with only five hundred men, seized Antioch, and might perhaps allure the Christians by the promise of religious toleration. From Eusebius (l. ix. c. 8), as well as from Moses of Chorene (Hist. Armen. l. ii. 77, etc.), it may be inferred that Christianity was already introduced into Armenia.

<sup>163</sup> See Mosheim, p. 938; the text of Eusebius very plainly shows that the governors, whose powers were enlarged, not restrained, by the new laws, could punish with death the most obstinate Christians as an example to their brethren.





“CHRISTIANOS AD LEONEM”

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Christian martyrs in the arena of the circus exposed to the attacks of wild beasts.

Gibbon's Rome, Vol. II.

Painting by P. de Laubadère



stition had not extinguished in their minds the sentiments of nature and humanity.<sup>164</sup>

Diocletian had no sooner published his edicts against the Christians than, as if he had been desirous of committing to other hands the work of persecution, he divested himself of the imperial purple. The character and situation of his colleagues and successors sometimes urged them to enforce, and sometimes inclined them to suspend, the execution of these rigorous laws; nor can we acquire a just and distinct idea of this important period of ecclesiastical history unless we separately consider the state of Christianity in the different parts of the empire during the space of ten years which elapsed between the first edicts of Diocletian and the final peace of the Church.

The mild and humane temper of Constantius was averse to the oppression of any part of his subjects. The principal offices of his palace were exercised by Christians. He loved their persons, esteemed their fidelity, and entertained not any dislike to their religious principles. But as long as Constantius remained in the subordinate station of Cæsar, it was not in his power openly to reject the edicts of Diocletian or to disobey the commands of Maximian. His authority contributed, however, to alleviate the sufferings which he pitied and abhorred. He consented with reluctance to the ruin of the churches, but he ventured to protect the Christians themselves from the fury of the populace and from the rigor of the laws. The provinces of Gaul (under which we may probably include those of Britain) were indebted for the singular tranquillity which they enjoyed to the gentle interposition of their sovereign.<sup>165</sup> But Datianus, the president or governor of Spain, actuated either by zeal or policy, chose rather to execute the public edicts of the emperors than to understand the secret intentions of Constantius;

General idea  
of the perse-  
cution

in the West-  
ern provinces  
under Con-  
stantius and  
Constantine;

<sup>164</sup> Athanasius, p. 833, apud Tillemont, *Mém. Ecclés.* tom. v. part i. p. 90.

<sup>165</sup> Eusebius, l. viii. c. 13. Lactantius de M. P. c. 15. Dodwell (*Dissertat. Cypr.* xi. 75) represents them as inconsistent with each other. But the former evidently speaks of Constantius in the station of Cæsar, and the latter of the same prince in the rank of Augustus.

and it can scarcely be doubted that his provincial administration was stained with the blood of a few martyrs.<sup>166</sup> The elevation of Constantius to the supreme and independent dignity of Augustus gave a free scope to the exercise of his virtues, and the shortness of his reign did not prevent him from establishing a system of toleration of which he left the precept and the example to his son Constantine. His fortunate son, from the first moment of his accession declaring himself the protector of the Church, at length deserved the appellation of the first emperor who publicly professed and established the Christian religion. The motives of his conversion, as they may variously be deduced from benevolence, from policy, from conviction, or from remorse, and the progress of the revolution, which, under his powerful influence and that of his sons, rendered Christianity the reigning religion of the Roman empire, will form a very interesting and important chapter in the third volume of this history. At present it may be sufficient to observe that every victory of Constantine was productive of some relief or benefit to the Church.

The provinces of Italy and Africa experienced a short but violent persecution. The rigorous edicts of Diocletian were strictly and cheerfully executed by his associate in Italy and Africa, under Maximian and Severus; Maximian, who had long hated the Christians, and who delighted in acts of blood and violence. In the autumn of the first year of the persecution the two emperors met at Rome to celebrate their triumph; several oppressive laws appear to have issued from their secret consultations, and the diligence of the magistrates was animated by the presence of their sovereigns. After Diocletian had divested himself of the purple, Italy and Africa were administered un-

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<sup>166</sup> Datianus is mentioned in Gruter's Inscriptions as having determined the limits between the territories of Pax Julia and those of Ebora, both cities in the southern part of Lusitania. If we recollect the neighborhood of those places to Cape St. Vincent, we may suspect that the celebrated deacon and martyr of that name has been inaccurately assigned by Prudentius, etc., to Saragossa or Valentia. See the pompous history of his sufferings in the *Mémoires de Tillemont*, tom. v. part ii. p. 58-85. Some critics are of opinion that the department of Constantius, as Cæsar, did not include Spain, which still continued under the immediate jurisdiction of Maximian.



der the name of Severus, and were exposed, without defence, to the implacable resentment of his master Galerius. Among the martyrs of Rome, Adauctus deserves the notice of posterity. He was of a noble family in Italy, and had raised himself, through the successive honors of the palace, to the important office of treasurer of the private demesnes. Adauctus is the more remarkable for being the only person of rank and distinction who appears to have suffered death during the whole course of this general persecution.<sup>107</sup>

The revolt of Maxentius immediately restored peace to the churches of Italy and Africa, and the same tyrant who oppressed every other class of his subjects showed himself just, humane, and even partial, towards the afflicted Christians. He depended on their gratitude and affection, and very naturally presumed that the injuries which they had suffered, and the dangers which they still apprehended, from his most inveterate enemy would secure the fidelity of a party already considerable by their numbers and opulence.<sup>108</sup> Even the conduct of Maxentius towards the bishops of Rome and Carthage may be considered as the proof of his toleration, since it is probable that the most orthodox princes would adopt the same measures with regard to their established clergy. Marcellus, the former of those prelates, had thrown the capital into confusion by the severe penance which he imposed on a great number of Christians who, during the late persecution, had renounced or dissembled their religion. The rage of faction broke out in frequent and violent seditions; the blood of the faithful was shed by each other's hands; and the exile of Marcellus, whose prudence seems to have been less eminent than his zeal, was found to be the only measure capable of restoring peace to the distracted Church of

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<sup>107</sup> Eusebius, l. viii. c. 11. Gruter, Inscip. p. 1171, No. 18. Rufinus has mistaken the office of Adauctus, as well as the place of his martyrdom.<sup>a</sup>

<sup>108</sup> Eusebius, l. viii. c. 14. But as Maxentius was vanquished by Constantine, it suited the purpose of Lactantius to place his death among those of the persecutors.

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<sup>a</sup> M. Guizot suggests the powerful eunuchs of the palace, Dorotheus, Gorgonius, and Andrew, admitted by Gibbon himself to have been put to death, p. 271. —M.

Rome.<sup>169</sup> The behavior of Mensurius, Bishop of Carthage, appears to have been still more reprehensible. A deacon of that city had published a libel against the emperor. The offender took refuge in the episcopal palace, and, though it was somewhat early to advance any claims of ecclesiastical immunities, the bishop refused to deliver him up to the officers of justice. For this treasonable resistance Mensurius was summoned to court, and, instead of receiving a legal sentence of death or banishment, he was permitted, after a short examination, to return to his diocese.<sup>170</sup> Such was the happy condition of the Christian subjects of Maxentius, that, whenever they were desirous of procuring for their own use any bodies of martyrs, they were obliged to purchase them from the most distant provinces of the East. A story is related of Aglae, a Roman lady, descended from a consular family, and possessed of so ample an estate that it required the management of seventy-three stewards. Among these Boniface was the favorite of his mistress, and, as Aglae mixed love with devotion, it is reported that he was admitted to share her bed. Her fortune enabled her to gratify the pious desire of obtaining some sacred relics from the East. She intrusted Boniface with a considerable sum of gold and a large quantity of aromatics, and her lover, attended by twelve horsemen and three covered chariots, undertook a remote pilgrimage as far as Tarsus in Cilicia.<sup>171</sup>

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<sup>169</sup> The epitaph of Marcellus is to be found in Gruter, Inscip. p. 1172, No. 3, and it contains all that we know of his history. Marcellinus and Marcellus, whose names follow in the list of popes, are supposed by many critics to be different persons; but the learned Abbé de Longuerue was convinced that they were one and the same.

Veridicus rector lapsis quia crimina flevit  
 Prædixit miseris, fuit omnibus hostis amarus.  
 Hinc furor, hinc odium; sequitur discordia, lites,  
 Seditio, cædes; solvuntur fœdera pacis.  
 Crimen ob alterius, Christum qui in pace negavit  
 Finibus expulsus patriæ est feritate Tyranni.  
 Hæc breviter Damasus voluit comperta referre:  
 Marcelli populus meritum cognoscere posset.

We may observe that Damasus was made bishop of Rome A.D. 366.

<sup>170</sup> Optatus contr. Donatist. l. i. c. 17, 18.

<sup>171</sup> The Acts of the Passion of St. Boniface, which abound in miracles and dec-

The sanguinary temper of Galerius, the first and principal author of the persecution, was formidable to those Christians whom their misfortunes had placed within the limits of his dominions; and it may fairly be presumed that many persons of a middle rank, who were not confined by the chains either of wealth or of poverty, very frequently deserted their native country, and sought a refuge in the milder climate of the West. As long as he commanded only the armies and provinces of Illyricum, he could with difficulty either find or make a considerable number of martyrs in a warlike country which had entertained the missionaries of the Gospel with more coldness and reluctance than any other part of the empire.<sup>172</sup> But when Galerius had obtained the supreme power and the government of the East, he indulged in their fullest extent his zeal and cruelty, not only in the provinces of Thrace and Asia, which acknowledged his immediate jurisdiction, but in those of Syria, Palestine, and Egypt, where Maximin gratified his own inclination by yielding a rigorous obedience to the stern commands of his benefactor.<sup>173</sup> The frequent disappointments of his ambitious views, the experience of six years of persecution, and the salutary reflections which a lingering and painful distemper suggested to the mind of Galerius, at length convinced him that the most violent efforts of despotism are insufficient to extirpate a whole people, or to subdue their religious prejudices.

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lamation, are published by Ruinart (p. 283-291), both in Greek and Latin, from the authority of very ancient manuscripts.<sup>a</sup>

<sup>172</sup> During the four first centuries there exist few traces of either bishops or bishoprics in the Western Illyricum. It has been thought probable that the Primate of Milan extended his jurisdiction over Sirmium, the capital of that great province. See the *Geographia Sacra* of Charles de St. Paul, p. 68-76, with the observations of Lucas Holstenius.

<sup>173</sup> The eighth book of Eusebius, as well as the supplement concerning the martyrs of Palestine, principally relate to the persecution of Galerius and Maximin. The general lamentations with which Lactantius opens the fifth book of his *Divine Institutions* allude to their cruelty.

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<sup>a</sup> Sir D. Dalrymple (Lord Hailes) calls the story of Aglæ and Boniface as of equal authority with our popular histories of Whittington and Hickathrift.—*Christian Antiquities*, ii. 64.—M.

Desirous of repairing the mischief that he had occasioned, he published in his own name, and in those of Licinius and Constantine, a general edict, which, after a pompous recital of the imperial titles, proceeded in the following manner :

“Among the important cares which have occupied our mind for the utility and preservation of the empire, it was our in-

Galerius publishes an edict of toleration.

tention to correct and re-establish all things according to the ancient laws and public discipline of the Romans. We were particularly desirous of reclaim-

ing into the way of reason and nature the deluded Christians who had renounced the religion and ceremonies instituted by their fathers, and, presumptuously despising the practice of antiquity, had invented extravagant laws and opinions according to the dictates of their fancy, and had collected a various society from the different provinces of our empire. The edicts which we have published to enforce the worship of the gods having exposed many of the Christians to danger and distress, many having suffered death, and many more, who still persist in their impious folly, being left destitute of *any* public exercise of religion, we are disposed to extend to those unhappy men the effects of our wonted clemency. We permit them, therefore, freely to profess their private opinions, and to assemble in their conventicles without fear or molestation, provided always that they preserve a due respect to the established laws and government. By another rescript we shall signify our intentions to the judges and magistrates, and we hope that our indulgence will engage the Christians to offer up their prayers to the Deity whom they adore for our safety and prosperity, for their own, and for that of the republic.”<sup>174</sup> It is not usually in the language of edicts and manifestoes that we should search for the real character or the secret motives of

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<sup>174</sup> Eusebius (l. viii. c. 17) has given us a Greek version, and Lactantius (de M. P. c. 34) the Latin original, of this memorable edict. Neither of these writers seems to recollect how directly it contradicts whatever they have just affirmed of the remorse and repentance of Galerius.<sup>a</sup>

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<sup>a</sup> But Gibbon has answered this by his just observation that it is not in the language of edicts and manifestoes that we should search for the secret motives of princes.—M.



princes; but as these were the words of a dying emperor, his situation, perhaps, may be admitted as a pledge of his sincerity.

When Galerius subscribed this edict of toleration, he was well assured that Licinius would readily comply with the inclinations of his friend and benefactor, and that any measures in favor of the Christians would obtain the approbation of Constantine. But the emperor would not venture to insert in the preamble the name of Maximin, whose consent was of the greatest importance, and who succeeded a few days afterwards to the provinces of Asia. In the first six months, however, of his new reign, Maximin affected to adopt the prudent counsels of his predecessor; and though he never condescended to secure the tranquillity of the Church by a public edict, Sabinus, his Prætorian præfect, addressed a circular letter to all the governors and magistrates of the provinces, expatiating on the imperial clemency, acknowledging the invincible obstinacy of the Christians, and directing the officers of justice to cease their ineffectual prosecutions, and to connive at the secret assemblies of those enthusiasts. In consequence of these orders, great numbers of Christians were released from prison or delivered from the mines. The confessors, singing hymns of triumph, returned into their own countries, and those who had yielded to the violence of the tempest solicited with tears of repentance their readmission into the bosom of the Church.<sup>175</sup>

But this treacherous calm was of short duration; nor could the Christians of the East place any confidence in the character of their sovereign. Cruelty and superstition were the ruling passions of the soul of Maximin. The former suggested the means, the latter pointed out the objects, of persecution. The emperor was devoted to the worship of the gods, to the study of magic, and to the belief of oracles. The prophets or philosophers, whom he revered as the favorites of Heaven, were frequently raised to the government of provinces and admitted into his most se-

Maximin  
prepares to  
renew the  
persecution.

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<sup>175</sup> Eusebius, l. ix. c. 1. He inserts the epistle of the præfect.

cret councils. They easily convinced him that the Christians had been indebted for their victories to their regular discipline, and that the weakness of polytheism had principally flowed from a want of union and subordination among the ministers of religion. A system of government was therefore instituted, which was evidently copied from the policy of the Church. In all the great cities of the empire, the temples were repaired and beautified by the order of Maximin, and the officiating priests of the various deities were subjected to the authority of a superior pontiff destined to oppose the bishop, and to promote the cause of paganism. These pontiffs acknowledged, in their turn, the supreme jurisdiction of the metropolitans, or high-priests of the province, who acted as the immediate vicegerents of the emperor himself. A white robe was the ensign of their dignity; and these new prelates were carefully selected from the most noble and opulent families. By the influence of the magistrates and of the sacerdotal order, a great number of dutiful addresses were obtained, particularly from the cities of Nicomedia, Antioch, and Tyre, which artfully represented the well-known intentions of the court as the general sense of the people; solicited the emperor to consult the laws of justice rather than the dictates of his clemency; expressed their abhorrence of the Christians, and humbly prayed that those impious sectaries might at least be excluded from the limits of their respective territories. The answer of Maximin to the address which he obtained from the citizens of Tyre is still extant. He praises their zeal and devotion in terms of the highest satisfaction, descants on the obstinate impiety of the Christians, and betrays, by the readiness with which he consents to their banishment, that he considered himself as receiving, rather than as conferring, an obligation. The priests as well as the magistrates were empowered to enforce the execution of his edicts, which were engraved on tables of brass; and though it was recommended to them to avoid the effusion of blood, the most cruel and ignominious punishments were inflicted on the refractory Christians.<sup>176</sup>

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<sup>176</sup> See Eusebius, l. viii. c. 14, l. ix. c. 2-8. Lactantius de M. P. c. 36. These

The Asiatic Christians had everything to dread from the severity of a bigoted monarch who prepared his measures of violence with such deliberate policy. But a few months End of the persecutions. had scarcely elapsed before the edicts published by the two Western emperors obliged Maximin to suspend the prosecution of his designs. The civil war which he so rashly undertook against Licinius employed all his attention, and the defeat and death of Maximin soon delivered the Church from the last and most implacable of her enemies.<sup>177</sup>

In this general view of the persecution which was first authorized by the edicts of Diocletian, I have purposely refrained from describing the particular sufferings and deaths of the Christian martyrs. It would have Probable account of the sufferings of the martyrs and confessors. been an easy task, from the history of Eusebius, from the declamations of Lactantius, and from the most ancient acts, to collect a long series of horrid and disgusting pictures, and to fill many pages with racks and scourges, with iron hooks and red-hot beds, and with all the variety of tortures which fire and steel, savage beasts, and more savage executioners, could inflict on the human body. These melancholy scenes might be enlivened by a crowd of visions and miracles, destined either to delay the death, to celebrate the triumph, or to discover the relics of those canonized saints who suffered for the name of Christ. But I cannot determine what I ought to transcribe till I am satisfied how much I ought to believe. The gravest of the ecclesiastical historians, Eusebius himself, indirectly confesses that he has related whatever might redound to the glory, and that he has suppressed all that could tend to the disgrace, of religion.<sup>178</sup> Such an ac-

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writers agree in representing the arts of Maximin; but the former relates the execution of several martyrs, while the latter expressly affirms, “occidi servos Dei vetuit.”

<sup>177</sup> A few days before his death he published a very ample edict of toleration, in which he imputes all the severities which the Christians suffered to the judges and governors, who had misunderstood his intentions. See the edict in Eusebius, l. ix. c. 10.

<sup>178</sup> Such is the *fair* deduction from two remarkable passages in Eusebius, l. viii. c. 2, and De Martyr. Palestin. c. 12. The prudence of the historian has exposed his own character to censure and suspicion. It was well known that he himself

knowledge will naturally excite a suspicion that a writer who has so openly violated one of the fundamental laws of history has not paid a very strict regard to the observance of the other; and the suspicion will derive additional credit from the character of Eusebius, which was less tinctured with credulity and more practised in the arts of courts than that of almost any of his contemporaries. On some particular occasions, when the magistrates were exasperated by some personal motives of interest or resentment, when the zeal of the martyrs urged them to forget the rules of prudence, and perhaps of decency, to overturn the altars, to pour out imprecations against the emperors, or to strike the judge as he sat on his tribunal, it may be presumed that every mode of torture which cruelty could invent or constancy could endure was exhausted on those devoted victims.<sup>179</sup> Two circumstances, however,

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had been thrown into prison, and it was suggested that he had purchased his deliverance by some dishonorable compliance. The reproach was urged in his lifetime, and even in his presence, at the Council of Tyre. See Tillemont, *Mémoires Ecclésiastiques*, tom. viii. part i. p. 67.<sup>b</sup>

<sup>179</sup> The ancient, and perhaps authentic, account of the sufferings of Tarachus and his companions (*Acta Sincera*, Ruinart, p. 419-448) is filled with strong expressions of resentment and contempt, which could not fail of irritating the mag-

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\* Historical criticism does not consist in rejecting indiscriminately all the facts which do not agree with a particular system, as Gibbon does in this chapter, in which, except at the last extremity, he will not consent to believe a martyrdom. Authorities are to be weighed, not excluded from examination. Now, the pagan historians justify in many places the details which have been transmitted to us by the historians of the Church concerning the tortures endured by the Christians. Celsus reproaches the Christians with holding their assemblies in secret, on account of the fear inspired by their sufferings; "for when you are arrested," he says, "you are dragged to punishment; and, before you are put to death, you have to suffer all kinds of tortures."—Origen cont. Cels. l. i. ii. vi. viii. passim. Libanius, the panegyrist of Julian, says, while speaking of the Christians, "Those who followed a corrupt religion were in continual apprehensions; they feared lest Julian should invent tortures still more refined than those to which they had been exposed before, as mutilation, burning alive, etc.; for the emperors had inflicted upon them all these barbarities."—Lib. Parent. in Julian. ap. Fab. Bibl. Græc. No. 9, No. 58, p. 283.—G.

<sup>b</sup> This sentence of Gibbon has given rise to several learned dissertations: Möller, *De Fide Eusebii Cæsar*, etc., Havniæ, 1813. Danzius, *De Eusebio Cæs. Hist. Eccl. Scriptore*, ejusque fide historicâ rectè æstimandâ, etc., Jenæ, 1815. Kestner, *Commentatio de Eusebii Hist. Eccles. Conditoris Auctoritate et Fide*, etc. See also Reuterdahl, *De Fontibus Historiæ Eccles. Eusebianæ*, Lond. Goth. 1826. Gibbon's inference may appear stronger than the text will warrant, yet it is difficult, after reading the passages, to dismiss all suspicion of partiality from the mind.—M.



have been unwarily mentioned, which insinuate that the general treatment of the Christians who had been apprehended by the officers of justice was less intolerable than it is usually imagined to have been. 1. The confessors who were condemned to work in the mines were permitted, by the humanity or the negligence of their keepers, to build chapels, and freely to profess their religion in the midst of those dreary habitations.<sup>180</sup>

2. The bishops were obliged to check and to censure the forward zeal of the Christians, who voluntarily threw themselves into the hands of the magistrates. Some of these were persons oppressed by poverty and debts, who blindly sought to terminate a miserable existence by a glorious death. Others were allured by the hope that a short confinement would expiate the sins of a whole life; and others again were actuated by the less honorable motive of deriving a plentiful subsistence, and perhaps a considerable profit, from the alms which the charity of the faithful bestowed on the prisoners.<sup>181</sup>

After the Church had triumphed over all her enemies, the interest as well as vanity of the captives prompted them to magnify the merit of their respective suffering. A convenient distance of time or place gave an ample scope to the progress of fiction; and the frequent instances which might be alleged of holy martyrs whose wounds had been instantly healed, whose strength had been renewed, and whose lost members had miraculously been restored, were extremely convenient for the purpose of removing every difficulty and of silencing every objection. The most extravagant legends, as they conduced to the honor of the Church, were applauded by the credulous multitude, countenanced by the power of the clergy, and attested by the suspicious evidence of ecclesiastical history.

The vague descriptions of exile and imprisonment, of pain

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istrate. The behavior of *Ædesius* to *Hierocles*, Præfect of Egypt, was still more extraordinary. *Λόγοις τε καὶ ἔργοις τὸν δικάστην . . . περιβαλὼν.*—Euseb. de Martyr. Palestin. c. 5.

<sup>180</sup> Euseb. de Martyr. Palestin. c. 13.

<sup>181</sup> Augustin. Collat. Carthagin. Dei, iii. c. 13, ap. Tillemont, *Mémoires Ecclésiastiques*, tom. v. part i. p. 43. The controversy with the Donatists has reflected some, though perhaps a partial, light on the history of the African Church.

and torture, are so easily exaggerated or softened by the pencil of an artful orator<sup>a</sup> that we are naturally induced to inquire into a fact of a more distinct and stubborn kind—the number of persons who suffered death in consequence of the edicts published by Diocletian, his associates, and his successors. The recent legendaries record whole armies and cities which were at once swept away by the undistinguishing rage of persecution. The more ancient writers content themselves with pouring out a liberal effusion of loose and tragical invectives, without condescending to ascertain the precise number of those persons who were permitted to seal with their blood their belief of the Gospel. From the history of Eusebius it may, however, be collected that only nine bishops were punished with death; and we are assured, by his particular enumeration of the martyrs of Palestine, that no more than ninety-two Christians were entitled to that honorable appellation.<sup>182</sup> As we are unacquainted with the degree of episcopal zeal and courage which prevailed at that time, it is not in our power to draw any useful inferences from the former of these facts; but the latter may serve to justify a very

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<sup>182</sup> Eusebius de Martyr. Palestin. c. 13. He closes his narration by assuring us that these were the martyrdoms inflicted in Palestine during the *whole* course of the persecution. The ninth chapter of his eighth book, which relates to the province of Thebais, in Egypt, may seem to contradict our moderate computation; but it will only lead us to admire the artful management of the historian. Choosing for the scene of the most exquisite cruelty the most remote and sequestered country of the Roman empire, he relates that in Thebais from ten to one hundred persons had frequently suffered martyrdom in the same day. But when he proceeds to mention his own journey into Egypt, his language insensibly becomes more cautious and moderate. Instead of a large but definite number, he speaks of many Christians (πλείους), and most artfully selects two ambiguous words (ιστορήσαμεν and υπομείναντας) which may signify either what he had seen or what he had heard; either the expectation or the execution of the punishment. Having thus provided a secure evasion, he commits the equivocal passage to his readers and

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<sup>a</sup> Perhaps there never was an instance of an author committing so deliberately the fault which he reprobates so strongly in others. What is the dexterous management of the more inartificial historians of Christianity, in exaggerating the numbers of the martyrs, compared to the unfair address with which Gibbon here quietly dismisses from the account all the horrible and excruciating tortures which fell short of death? The reader may refer to the twelfth chapter (book viii.) of Eusebius for the description and for the scenes of these tortures.—M.

important and probable conclusion. According to the distribution of Roman provinces, Palestine may be considered as the sixteenth part of the Eastern empire;<sup>183</sup> and since there were some governors who, from a real or affected clemency, had preserved their hands unstained with the blood of the faithful,<sup>184</sup> it is reasonable to believe that the country which had given birth to Christianity produced at least the sixteenth part of the martyrs who suffered death within the dominions of Galerius and Maximin. The whole might consequently amount to about fifteen hundred, a number which, if it is equally divided between the ten years of the persecution, will allow an annual consumption of one hundred and fifty martyrs. Allotting the same proportion to the provinces of Italy, Africa, and perhaps Spain, where, at the end of two or three years, the rigor of the penal laws was either suspended or abolished, the multitude of Christians in the Roman empire on whom a capital punishment was inflicted by a judicial sentence will be reduced to somewhat less than two thousand persons. Since it cannot be doubted that the Christians were more numerous, and their enemies more exasperated, in the time of Diocletian than they had ever been in any former persecution, this probable and moderate computation may teach us to estimate the number of primitive saints and martyrs who sacrificed their lives for the important purpose of introducing Christianity into the world.

We shall conclude this chapter by a melancholy truth which obtrudes itself on the reluctant mind: that, even admitting, without hesitation or inquiry, all that his-

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Conclusion. translators, justly conceiving that their piety would induce them to prefer the most favorable sense. There was perhaps some malice in the remark of Theodorus Metochita, that all who, like Eusebius, had been conversant with the Egyptians delighted in an obscure and intricate style. (See Valesius ad loc.).

<sup>183</sup> When Palestine was divided into three, the præfecture of the East contained forty-eight provinces. As the ancient distinctions of nations were long since abolished, the Romans distributed the provinces according to a general proportion of their extent and opulence.

<sup>184</sup> Ut gloriari possint nullum se innocentium peremisse, nam et ipse audiui aliquos gloriantes, quia administratio sua, in hac parte, fuerit incruenta.—Lactant, Institut. Divin. v. 11.

tory has recorded or devotion has feigned on the subject of martyrdoms, it must still be acknowledged that the Christians, in the course of their intestine dissensions, have inflicted far greater severities on each other than they had experienced from the zeal of infidels. During the ages of ignorance which followed the subversion of the Roman empire in the West, the bishops of the imperial city extended their dominion over the laity as well as clergy of the Latin Church. The fabric of superstition which they had erected, and which might long have defied the feeble efforts of reason, was at length assaulted by a crowd of daring fanatics, who, from the twelfth to the sixteenth century, assumed the popular character of reformers. The Church of Rome defended by violence the empire which she had acquired by fraud; a system of peace and benevolence was soon disgraced by proscriptions, wars, massacres, and the institution of the holy office. And as the reformers were animated by the love of civil as well as of religious freedom, the Catholic princes connected their own interest with that of the clergy, and enforced by fire and the sword the terrors of spiritual censures. In the Netherlands alone more than one hundred thousand of the subjects of Charles V. are said to have suffered by the hand of the executioner; and this extraordinary number is attested by Grotius,<sup>186</sup> a man of genius and learning, who preserved his moderation amidst the fury of contending sects, and who composed the annals of his own age and country at a time when the invention of printing had facilitated the means of intelligence and increased the danger of detection. If we are obliged to submit our belief to the authority of Grotius, it must be allowed that the number of Protestants who were executed in a single province and a single reign far exceeded that of the primitive martyrs in the space of three centuries and of the Roman empire. But if the improbability of the fact itself should prevail over the weight of evidence; if Grotius should be convicted of exaggerating the merit and sufferings of the reformers,<sup>186</sup> we shall

<sup>186</sup> Grot. *Annal. de Rebus Belgicis*, l. i. p. 12, edit. fol.

<sup>186</sup> Fra Paolo (*Istoria del Concilio Tridentino*, l. iii.) reduces the number of the Belgic martyrs to 50,000. In learning and moderation Fra Paolo was not inferi-



be naturally led to inquire what confidence can be placed in the doubtful and imperfect monuments of ancient credulity; what degree of credit can be assigned to a courtly bishop and a passionate declaimer who, under the protection of Constantine, enjoyed the exclusive privilege of recording the persecutions inflicted on the Christians by the vanquished rivals or disregarded predecessors of their gracious sovereign.

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or to Grotius. The priority of time gives some advantage to the evidence of the former, which he loses, on the other hand, by the distance of Venice from the Netherlands.

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<sup>a</sup> Eusebius and the author of the *Treatise de Mortibus Persecutorum*. It is deeply to be regretted that the history of this period rests so much on the loose, and, it must be admitted, by no means scrupulous, authority of Eusebius. Ecclesiastical history is a solemn and melancholy lesson that the best, even the most sacred, cause will eventually suffer by the least departure from truth!—M.

## CHAPTER XVII.

Foundation of Constantinople.—Political System of Constantine and his Successors.—Military Discipline.—The Palace.—The Finances.

THE unfortunate Licinius was the last rival who opposed the greatness, and the last captive who adorned the triumph, of Constantine. After a tranquil and prosperous reign, the conqueror bequeathed to his family the inheritance of the Roman empire; a new capital, a new policy, and a new religion; and the innovations which he established have been embraced and consecrated by succeeding generations. The age of the great Constantine and his sons is filled with important events; but the historian must be impressed by their number and variety unless he diligently separates from each other the scenes which are connected only by the order of time. He will describe the political institutions that gave strength and stability to the empire before he proceeds to relate the wars and revolutions which hastened its decline. He will adopt the division unknown to the ancients of civil and ecclesiastical affairs; the victory of the Christians, and their intestine discord, will supply copious and distinct materials both for edification and for scandal.

After the defeat and abdication of Licinius, his victorious rival proceeded to lay the foundations of a city destined to reign in future times the mistress of the East, and to survive the empire and religion of Constantine.

Design of a  
new capital.  
A.D. 324.

The motives, whether of pride or of policy, which first induced Diocletian to withdraw himself from the ancient seat of government, had acquired additional weight by the example of his successors and the habits of forty years. Rome was insensibly confounded with the dependent kingdoms which had once acknowledged her supremacy; and the country of

the Cæsars was viewed with cold indifference by a martial prince, born in the neighborhood of the Danube, educated in the courts and armies of Asia, and invested with the purple by the legions of Britain. The Italians, who had received Constantine as their deliverer, submissively obeyed the edicts which he sometimes condescended to address to the senate and people of Rome; but they were seldom honored with the presence of their new sovereign. During the vigor of his age, Constantine, according to the various exigencies of peace and war, moved with slow dignity or with active diligence along the frontiers of his extensive dominions, and was always prepared to take the field either against a foreign or a domestic enemy. But as he gradually reached the summit of prosperity and the decline of life, he began to meditate the design of fixing in a more permanent station the strength as well as majesty of the throne. In the choice of an advantageous situation he preferred the confines of Europe and Asia; to curb with a powerful arm the barbarians who dwelt between the Danube and the Tanais; to watch with an eye of jealousy the conduct of the Persian monarch, who indignantly supported the yoke of an ignominious treaty. With these views, Diocletian had selected and embellished the residence of Nicomedia; but the memory of Diocletian was justly abhorred by the protector of the Church, and Constantine was not insensible to the ambition of founding a city which might perpetuate the glory of his own name. During the late operations of the war against Licinius, he had sufficient opportunity to contemplate, both as a soldier and as a statesman, the incomparable position of Byzantium, and to observe how strongly it was guarded by nature against a hostile attack, whilst it was accessible on every side to the benefits of commercial intercourse. Many ages before Constantine, one of the most judicious historians of antiquity<sup>1</sup> had described the advantages of a situation from whence a feeble colony of

Situation of  
Byzantium.

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<sup>1</sup> Polybius, l. iv. [c. 45] p. 423, edit. Casaubon. He observes that the peace of the Byzantines was frequently disturbed, and the extent of their territory contracted, by the inroads of the wild Thracians.

Greeks derived the command of the sea and the honors of a flourishing and independent republic.<sup>2</sup>

If we survey Byzantium in the extent which it acquired with the august name of Constantinople, the figure of the imperial city may be represented under that of an unequal triangle. The obtuse point, which advances towards the east and the shores of Asia, meets and repels the waves of the Thracian Bosphorus. The northern side of the city is bounded by the harbor, and the southern is washed by the Propontis, or Sea of Marmara. The basis of the triangle is opposed to the West, and terminates the continent of Europe. But the admirable form and division of the circumjacent land and water cannot, without a more ample explanation, be clearly or sufficiently understood.

Description  
of Constanti-  
nople.

The winding channel through which the waters of the Euxine flow with a rapid and incessant course towards the Mediterranean received the appellation of Bosphorus, a name not less celebrated in the history than in the fables of antiquity.<sup>3</sup> A crowd of temples and of votive altars profusely scattered along its steep and woody banks attested the unskilfulness, the terrors, and the devotion of the Grecian navigators who, after the example of the Argonauts, explored the dangers of the inhospitable Euxine. On these banks tradition long preserved the memory of the palace of Phineus, infested by the obscene harpies,<sup>4</sup> and of the sylvan reign of Amy-

The Bospho-  
rus.

<sup>2</sup> The navigator Byzas, who was styled the Son of Neptune, founded the city 656 [rather 667—S.] years before the Christian era. His followers were drawn from Argos and Megara. Byzantium was afterwards rebuilt and fortified by the Spartan general Pausanias. See Scaliger, *Animadvers. ad Euseb.* p. 81. Ducange, *Constantinopolis*, l. i. part i. c. 15, 16. With regard to the wars of the Byzantines against Philip, the Gauls, and the kings of Bithynia, we should trust none but the ancient writers who lived before the greatness of the imperial city had excited a spirit of flattery and fiction.

<sup>3</sup> The Bosphorus has been very minutely described by Dionysius of Byzantium, who lived in the time of Domitian (Hudson, *Geograph. Minor.* tom. iii.), and by Gilles, or Gyllius, a French traveller of the sixteenth century. Tournefort (*Lettre XV.*) seems to have used his own eyes and the learning of Gyllius. [Add Von Hammer, *Constantinopolis und der Bosphorus*, 8vo.—M.]

<sup>4</sup> There are very few conjectures so happy as that of Le Clerc (*Bibliothèque Universelle*, tom. i. p. 148), who supposes that the harpies were only locusts.



cus, who defied the son of Leda to the combat of the Cestus.\* The straits of the Bosphorus are terminated by the Cyanean rocks, which, according to the description of the poets, had once floated on the face of the waters, and were destined by the gods to protect the entrance of the Euxine against the eye of profane curiosity.<sup>6</sup> From the Cyanean rocks to the point and harbor of Byzantium the winding length of the Bosphorus extends about sixteen miles,<sup>7</sup> and its most ordinary breadth may be computed at about one mile and a half. The *new* castles of Europe and Asia are constructed, on either continent, upon the foundations of two celebrated temples—of Serapis and of Jupiter Urius. The *old* castles, a work of the Greek emperors, command the narrowest part of the channel, in a place where the opposite banks advance within five hundred paces of each other.<sup>8</sup> These fortresses were restored and strengthened by Mahomet the Second when he meditated the siege of Constantinople;<sup>9</sup> but the Turkish conqueror was most probably ignorant that near two thousand years before his reign Darius had chosen the same situation to connect the two continents by a bridge of boats.<sup>9</sup> At a small distance from

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The Syriac or Phœnician name of those insects, their noisy flight, the stench and devastation which they occasion, and the north wind which drives them into the sea, all contribute to form the striking resemblance.

<sup>6</sup> The residence of Amycus was in Asia, between the old and the new castles, at a place called Laurus Insana. That of Phineus was in Europe, near the village of Mauromole and the Black Sea. See Gyllius de Bosph. l. ii. c. 23. Tournefort, Lettre XV.

<sup>7</sup> The deception was occasioned by several pointed rocks, alternately covered and abandoned by the waves. At present there are two small islands, one towards either shore; that of Europe is distinguished by the column of Pompey.

<sup>8</sup> The ancients computed one hundred and twenty stadia, or fifteen Roman miles. They measured only from the new castles, but they carried the straits as far as the town of Chalcedon.

<sup>9</sup> Ducas. Hist. c. 34 [p. 136, edit. Paris; p. 108, edit. Ven.; p. 242, edit. Bonn]. Leunclavius, Hist. Turcica Mussulmanica, l. xv. p. 577. Under the Greek empire these castles were used as state-prisons, under the tremendous name of Lethe, or, towers of oblivion.

<sup>9</sup> Darius engraved in Greek and Assyrian letters, on two marble columns, the

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\* The real width at the narrowest point is about six hundred yards. See Chesney, Exped. Euphrat. vol. i. p. 326.—S.

the old castles we discover the little town of Chrysopolis, or Scutari, which may almost be considered as the Asiatic suburb of Constantinople. The Bosphorus, as it begins to open into the Propontis, passes between Byzantium and Chalcedon. The latter of those cities was built by the Greeks a few years before the former; and the blindness of its founders, who overlooked the superior advantages of the opposite coast, has been stigmatized by a proverbial expression of contempt.<sup>10</sup>

The harbor of Constantinople, which may be considered as an arm of the Bosphorus, obtained, in a very remote period, the denomination of the *Golden Horn*. The curve  
 The port. which it describes might be compared to the horn of a stag or, as it should seem with more propriety, to that of an ox.<sup>11</sup> The epithet of *Golden* was expressive of the riches which every wind wafted from the most distant countries into the secure and capacious port of Constantinople. The river Lycus, formed by the conflux of two little streams, pours into the harbor a perpetual supply of fresh water, which serves to cleanse the bottom and to invite the periodical shoals of fish to seek their retreat in that convenient recess. As the vicissitudes of tides are scarcely felt in those seas, the constant depth of the harbor allows goods to be landed on the quays without the assistance of boats; and it has been observed that in many places the largest vessels may rest their prows against the houses while their sterns are floating in the water.<sup>12</sup> From the mouth of the Lycus to that of the harbor this arm of the Bosphorus

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names of his subject nations and the amazing numbers of his land and sea forces. The Byzantines afterwards transported these columns into the city, and used them for the altars of their tutelar deities.—Herodotus, l. iv. c. 87.

<sup>10</sup> Namque arcissimo inter Europam Asiamque divortio Byzantium in extremâ Europâ posuere Græci, quibus, Pythium Apollinem consulentibus ubi conderent urbem, redditum oraculum est, quærerent sedem cæcorum terris adversam. Eâ ambage Chalcedonii monstrabantur, quod priores illuc advecti, prævisâ locorum utilitate pejora legissent.—Tacit. Annal. xii. 63.

<sup>11</sup> Strabo, l. vii. p. 492 [320, edit. Casaubon]. Most of the antlers are now broken off, or, to speak less figuratively, most of the recesses of the harbor are filled up. See Gyllius de Bosphoro Thracio, l. i. c. 5.

<sup>12</sup> Procopius de Ædificiis, l. i. c. 5. His description is confirmed by modern travellers. See Thévenot, part i. l. i. ch. 15. Tournesfort, Lettre XII. Niebuhr, Voyage d'Arabie, p. 22.

is more than seven miles in length. The entrance is about five hundred yards broad, and a strong chain could be occasionally drawn across it to guard the port and city from the attack of a hostile navy.<sup>13</sup>

Between the Bosphorus and the Hellespont the shores of Europe and Asia, receding on either side, enclose the Sea of Marmara, which was known to the ancients by the denomination of Propontis. The navigation from the issue of the Bosphorus to the entrance of the Hellespont is about one hundred and twenty miles. Those who steer their westward course through the middle of the Propontis may at once descry the highlands of Thrace and Bithynia, and never lose sight of the lofty summit of Mount Olympus, covered with eternal snows.<sup>14</sup> They leave on the left a deep gulf, at the bottom of which Nicomedia was seated, the imperial residence of Diocletian; and they pass the small islands of Cyzicus and Proconnesus before they cast anchor at Gallipoli, where the sea which separates Asia from Europe is again contracted into a narrow channel.

The geographers who, with the most skilful accuracy, have surveyed the form and extent of the Hellespont, assign about sixty miles for the winding course, and about three miles for the ordinary breadth, of those celebrated straits.<sup>15</sup> But the narrowest part of the channel is found to the

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<sup>13</sup> See Ducange, C. P. l. i. part i. ch. 16, and his *Observations sur Villehardouin*, p. 289. The chain was drawn from the Acropolis near the modern Kiosk to the tower of Galata, and was supported at convenient distances by large wooden piles.

<sup>14</sup> Thévenot (*Voyages au Levant*, part i. l. i. ch. 14) contracts the measure to 125 small Greek miles. Belon (*Observations*, l. ii. ch. 1) gives a good description of the Propontis, but contents himself with the vague expression of one day and one night's sail. When Sandys (*Travels*, p. 21) talks of 150 furlongs in length as well as breadth, we can only suppose some mistake of the press in the text of that judicious traveller.

<sup>15</sup> See an admirable dissertation of M. d'Anville upon the Hellespont or Dardanelles in the *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, tom. xxviii. p. 318–346. Yet even that ingenious geographer is too fond of supposing new, and perhaps imaginary, *measures* for the purpose of rendering ancient writers as accurate as himself. The stadia employed by Herodotus in the description of the Euxine, the Bosphorus, etc. (l. iv. c. 85), must undoubtedly be all of the same species, but it seems impossible to reconcile them either with truth or with each other.

northward of the old Turkish castles, between the cities of Sestus and Abydus. It was here that the adventurous Leander braved the passage of the flood for the possession of his mistress.<sup>16</sup> It was here, likewise, in a place where the distance between the opposite banks cannot exceed five hundred paces, that Xerxes imposed a stupendous bridge of boats for the purpose of transporting into Europe a hundred and seventy myriads of barbarians.<sup>17</sup> A sea contracted within such narrow limits may seem but ill to deserve the singular epithet of *broad* which Homer, as well as Orpheus, has frequently bestowed on the Hellespont.<sup>a</sup> But our ideas of greatness are of a relative nature: the traveller, and especially the poet, who sailed along the Hellespont, who pursued the windings of the stream and contemplated the rural scenery which appeared on every side to terminate the prospect, insensibly lost the remembrance of the sea; and his fancy painted those celebrated straits with all the attributes of a mighty river flowing with a swift current in the midst of a woody and inland country, and at length,

<sup>16</sup> The oblique distance between Sestus and Abydus was thirty stadia. The improbable tale of Hero and Leander is exposed by M. Mahudel, but is defended on the authority of poets and medals by M. de la Nauze. See the Académie des Inscriptions, tom. vii. Hist. p. 74, Mém. p. 240.<sup>b</sup>

<sup>17</sup> See the seventh book of Herodotus, who has erected an elegant trophy to his own fame and to that of his country. The review appears to have been made with tolerable accuracy; but the vanity, first of the Persians and afterwards of the Greeks, was interested to magnify the armament and the victory. I should much doubt whether the *invaders* have ever outnumbered the *men* of any country which they attacked.

<sup>a</sup> Gibbon does not allow greater width between the two nearest points of the shores of the Hellespont than between those of the Bosphorus, yet all the ancient writers speak of the Hellespontic strait as broader than the other; they agree in giving it seven stadia in its narrowest width (Herod. iv. c. 85, vii. c. 34; Strabo, p. 591; Plin. iv. c. 12), which make 875 paces. It is singular that Gibbon, who in the fifteenth note of this chapter reproaches D'Anville with being fond of supposing new and perhaps imaginary measures, has here adopted the peculiar measurement which D'Anville has assigned to the stadium. This great geographer believes that the ancients had a stadium of fifty-one toises, and it is that which he applies to the walls of Babylon. Now seven of these stadia are equal to about 500 paces: 7 stadia=2142 feet; 500 paces=2135 feet 5 inches.—G. See Rennell, Geog. of Herod. p. 121; Ukert, Geographie der Griechen und Römer, vol. i. p. 2, 71.—M.

<sup>b</sup> The practical illustration of the possibility of Leander's feat by Lord Byron and other English swimmers is too well known to need particular reference.—M.



through a wide mouth, discharging itself into the Ægean or Archipelago.<sup>18</sup> Ancient Troy,<sup>19</sup> seated on an eminence at the foot of Mount Ida, overlooked the mouth of the Hellespont, which scarcely received an accession of waters from the tribute of those immortal rivulets the Simois and Scamander. The Grecian camp had stretched twelve miles along the shore, from the Sigean to the Rhœtean promontory; and the flanks of the army were guarded by the bravest chiefs who fought under the banners of Agamemnon. The first of those promontories was occupied by Achilles with his invincible myrmidons, and the dauntless Ajax pitched his tents on the other. After Ajax had fallen a sacrifice to his disappointed pride and to the ingratitude of the Greeks, his sepulchre was erected on the ground where he had defended the navy against the rage of Jove and of Hector; and the citizens of the rising town of Rhœteum celebrated his memory with divine honors.<sup>20</sup> Before Constantine gave a just preference to the situation of Byzantium, he had conceived the design of erecting the seat of empire on this celebrated spot from whence the Romans derived their fabulous origin. The extensive plain which lies below ancient Troy, towards the Rhœtean promontory and the tomb of Ajax, was first chosen for his new capital; and though the undertaking was soon relinquished, the stately remains of unfin-

<sup>18</sup> See Wood's Observations on Homer, p. 320. I have with pleasure selected this remark from an author who in general seems to have disappointed the expectation of the public as a critic, and still more as a traveller. He had visited the banks of the Hellespont, he had read Strabo; he ought to have consulted the Roman itineraries. How was it possible for him to confound Ilium and Alexandria Troas (Observations, p. 340, 341), two cities which were sixteen miles distant from each other?<sup>a</sup>

<sup>19</sup> Demetrius of Scepsis wrote sixty books on thirty lines of Homer's catalogue. The thirteenth book of Strabo is sufficient for *our* curiosity.

<sup>20</sup> Strabo, l. xiii. p. 595. The disposition of the ships which were drawn up on dry land, and the posts of Ajax and Achilles, are very clearly described by Homer. See Iliad, vii. 220.

<sup>a</sup> Compare Walpole's Memoirs on Turkey, vol. i. p. 101. Dr. Clarke adopted Mr. Walpole's interpretation of *πλάτυς ἑλλησποντος*, the salt Hellespont. But the old interpretation is more graphic and Homeric. Clarke's Travels, ii. 70.—M.

ished walls and towers attracted the notice of all who sailed through the straits of the Hellespont.<sup>21</sup>

We are at present qualified to view the advantageous position of Constantinople, which appears to have been formed by nature for the centre and capital of a great monarchy. Situated in the forty-first degree of latitude, the imperial city commanded from her seven hills<sup>22</sup> the opposite shores of Europe and Asia; the climate was healthy and temperate, the soil fertile, the harbor secure and capacious, and the approach on the side of the continent was of small extent and easy defence. The Bosphorus and the Hellespont may be considered as the two gates of Constantinople, and the prince who possessed those important passages could always shut them against a naval enemy and open them to the fleets of commerce. The preservation of the eastern provinces may in some degree be ascribed to the policy of Constantine, as the barbarians of the Euxine, who in the preceding age had poured their armaments into the heart of the Mediterranean, soon desisted from the exercise of piracy, and despaired of forcing this insurmountable barrier. When the gates of the Hellespont and Bosphorus were shut, the capital still enjoyed within their spacious enclosure every production which could supply the wants or gratify the luxury of its numerous inhabitants. The sea-coasts of Thrace and Bithynia, which languish under the weight of Turkish oppression, still exhibit a rich prospect of vineyards, of gardens, and of plentiful harvests; and the Propontis has ever been renowned for an inexhaustible store of the most exquisite fish, that are taken

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<sup>21</sup> Zosimus, l. ii. [c. 30] p. 105. Sozomen, l. ii. c. 3. Theophanes, p. 18 [p. 14, edit. Ven.; vol. i. p. 34, edit. Bonn]. Nicephorus Callistus, l. vii. p. 48. Zonaras, tom. ii. l. xiii. [c. 3] p. 6. Zosimus places the new city between Ilium and Alexandria, but this apparent difference may be reconciled by the large extent of its circumference. Before the foundation of Constantinople, Thessalonica is mentioned by Cedrenus (p. 283 [vol. i. p. 496, edit. Bonn]), and Sardica by Zonaras, as the intended capital. They both suppose, with very little probability, that the emperor, if he had not been prevented by a prodigy, would have repeated the mistake of the *blind* Chalcedonians.

<sup>22</sup> Pocock's Description of the East, vol. ii. part ii. p. 127. His plan of the seven hills is clear and accurate. That traveller is seldom so satisfactory.

in their stated seasons without skill, and almost without labor.<sup>23</sup> But when the passages of the straits were thrown open for trade, they alternately admitted the natural and artificial riches of the north and south, of the Euxine and of the Mediterranean. Whatever rude commodities were collected in the forests of Germany and Scythia, as far as the sources of the Tanais and the Borysthenes; whatsoever was manufactured by the skill of Europe or Asia, the corn of Egypt, and the gems and spices of the farthest India, were brought by the varying winds into the port of Constantinople, which for many ages attracted the commerce of the ancient world.<sup>24</sup>

The prospect of beauty, of safety, and of wealth, united in a single spot, was sufficient to justify the choice of Constantine.

But as some decent mixture of prodigy and fable Foundation of the city. has in every age been supposed to reflect a becoming majesty on the origin of great cities,<sup>25</sup> the emperor was desirous of ascribing his resolution not so much to the uncertain counsels of human policy as to the infallible and eternal decrees of divine wisdom. In one of his laws he has been careful to instruct posterity that in obedience to the commands of God he laid the everlasting foundations of Constantinople;<sup>26</sup> and though he has not condescended to relate in what manner the celestial inspiration was communicated to his mind, the defect of his modest silence has been liberally supplied by the ingenuity of succeeding writers, who describe the nocturnal vision which appeared to the fancy of Constantine as he slept within the walls of Byzantium. The tutelar genius of the

<sup>23</sup> See Belon, *Observations*, ch. 72-76. Among a variety of different species the Palamides, a sort of thunnies, were the most celebrated. We may learn from Polybius, Strabo, and Tacitus that the profits of the fishery constituted the principal revenue of Byzantium.

<sup>24</sup> See the eloquent description of Busbequius, *Epistol.* i. p. 64. *Est in Europa; habet in conspectu Asiam, Egyptum, Africamque à dextrâ: quæ tametsi contiguæ non sunt, maris tamen navigandique commoditate veluti junguntur. A sinistrâ vero Pontus est Euxinus, etc.*

<sup>25</sup> *Datur hæc venia antiquitati, ut miscendo humana divinis, primordia urbium augustiora faciat.*—T. Liv. in *proœm.*

<sup>26</sup> He says in one of his laws: *Pro commoditate Urbis quam æterno nomine, jubente Deo, donavimus.*—Cod. Theodos. l. xiii. tit. v. leg. 7.

city, a venerable matron sinking under the weight of years and infirmities, was suddenly transformed into a blooming maid whom his own hands adorned with all the symbols of imperial greatness.<sup>27</sup> The monarch awoke, interpreted the auspicious omen, and obeyed without hesitation the will of Heaven. The day which gave birth to a city or colony was celebrated by the Romans with such ceremonies as had been ordained by a generous superstition;<sup>28</sup> and though Constantine might omit some rites which savored too strongly of their pagan origin, yet he was anxious to leave a deep impression of hope and respect on the minds of the spectators. On foot, with a lance in his hand, the emperor himself led the solemn procession, and directed the line which was traced as the boundary of the destined capital, till the growing circumference was observed with astonishment by the assistants, who at length ventured to observe that he had already exceeded the most ample measure of a great city. "I shall still advance," replied Constantine, "till  $\kappa\epsilon$ , the invisible guide who marches before me, thinks proper to stop."<sup>29</sup> Without presuming to investigate the nature or motives of this extraordinary conductor, we shall content ourselves with the more humble task of describing the extent and limits of Constantinople.<sup>30</sup>

In the actual state of the city, the palace and gardens of the Seraglio occupy the eastern promontory, the first of the seven

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<sup>27</sup> The Greeks, Theophanes, Cedrenus, and the author of the Alexandrian Chronicle confine themselves to vague and general expressions. For a more particular account of the vision we are obliged to have recourse to such Latin writers as William of Malmesbury. See Ducange, C. P. l. i. p. 24, 25.

<sup>28</sup> See Plutarch. in Romul. [c. 11] tom. i. p. 49, edit. Bryan. Among other ceremonies, a large hole which had been dug for that purpose was filled up with handfuls of earth which each of the settlers brought from the place of his birth, and thus adopted his new country.

<sup>29</sup> Philostorgius, l. ii. c. 9. This incident, though borrowed from a suspected writer, is characteristic and probable.

<sup>30</sup> See in the *Mémoires de l'Académie*, tom. xxxv. p. 747-758, a dissertation of M. D'Anville on the extent of Constantinople. He takes the plan inserted in the *Imperium Orientale* of Banduri as the most complete; but by a series of very nice observations he reduces the extravagant proportion of the scale, and, instead of 9500, determines the circumference of the city as consisting of about 7800 French toises.



hills, and cover about one hundred and fifty acres of our own measure. The seat of Turkish jealousy and despotism  
**Extent.** is erected on the foundations of a Grecian republic; but it may be supposed that the Byzantines were tempted by the conveniency of the harbor to extend their habitations on that side beyond the modern limits of the Seraglio. The new walls of Constantine stretched from the port to the Propontis across the enlarged breadth of the triangle, at the distance of fifteen stadia from the ancient fortification, and with the city of Byzantium they enclosed five of the seven hills which, to the eyes of those who approach Constantinople, appear to rise above each other in beautiful order.<sup>31</sup> About a century after the death of the founder, the new buildings, extending on one side up the harbor, and on the other along the Propontis, already covered the narrow ridge of the sixth and the broad summit of the seventh hill. The necessity of protecting those suburbs from the incessant inroads of the barbarians engaged the younger Theodosius to surround his capital with an adequate and permanent enclosure of walls.<sup>32</sup> From the eastern promontory to the Golden Gate the extreme length of Constantinople was about three Roman miles;<sup>33</sup> the circumference measured between ten and eleven, and the surface might be computed as equal to about two thousand English acres. It is impossible to justify the vain and credulous exaggerations of modern travellers, who have sometimes stretched the limits of Constantinople over the adjacent villages of the European and

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<sup>31</sup> Codinus, *Antiquitat. Const.* p. 12 [p. 25, edit. Bonn]. He assigns the Church of St. Anthony as the boundary on the side of the harbor. It is mentioned in Ducange, l. iv. ch. 6; but I have tried without success to discover the exact place where it was situated.

<sup>32</sup> The new wall of Theodosius was constructed in the year 413. In 447 it was thrown down by an earthquake, and rebuilt in three months by the diligence of the præfect Cyrus. The suburb of the Blachernæ was first taken into the city in the reign of Heraclius. Ducange. *Const.* l. i. ch. 10, 11.

<sup>33</sup> The measurement is expressed in the *Notitia* by 14,075 feet. It is reasonable to suppose that these were Greek feet, the proportion of which has been ingeniously determined by M. d'Anville. He compares the 180 feet with 78 Hashemite cubits, which in different writers are assigned for the heights of St. Sophia. Each of these cubits was equal to 27 French inches.

even of the Asiatic coast.<sup>34</sup> But the suburbs of Pera and Galata, though situate beyond the harbor, may deserve to be considered as a part of the city;<sup>35</sup> and this addition may perhaps authorize the measure of a Byzantine historian who assigns sixteen Greek (about fourteen Roman) miles for the circumference of his native city.<sup>36</sup> Such an extent may seem not unworthy of an imperial residence. Yet Constantinople must yield to Babylon and Thebes,<sup>37</sup> to ancient Rome, to London, and even to Paris.<sup>38</sup>

The master of the Roman world who aspired to erect an eternal monument of the glories of his reign could employ, in the prosecution of that great work, the wealth, the labor, and all that yet remained of the genius of obedient millions. Some estimate may be formed of the expense bestowed with imperial liberality on the foundation of Constantinople by the allowance of about two million five hundred thousand pounds for the construction of the walls, the porticoes, and the aqueducts.<sup>39</sup> The forests that overshadowed the work.

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<sup>34</sup> The accurate Thévenot (l. i. ch. 15) walked in one hour and three quarters round two of the sides of the triangle, from the Kiosk of the Seraglio to the seven towers. D'Anville examines with care and receives with confidence this decisive testimony, which gives a circumference of ten or twelve miles. The extravagant computation of Tournefort (Lettre XI.) of thirty-four or thirty miles, without including Scutari, is a strange departure from his usual character.

<sup>35</sup> The sycæ, or fig-trees, formed the thirteenth region, and were very much embellished by Justinian. It has since borne the names of Pera and Galata. The etymology of the former is obvious, that of the latter is unknown. See Ducange, Const. l. i. ch. 22, and Gyllius de Byzant. l. iv. c. 10.

<sup>36</sup> One hundred and eleven stadia, which may be translated into modern Greek miles each of seven stadia, or 660, sometimes only 600, French toises. See D'Anville, Mesures Itinéraires, p. 53.

<sup>37</sup> When the ancient texts which describe the size of Babylon and Thebes are settled, the exaggerations reduced, and the measures ascertained, we find that those famous cities filled the great but not incredible circumference of about twenty-five or thirty miles. Compare D'Anville, Mém. de l'Académie, tom. xxviii. p. 235, with his Description de l'Égypte, p. 201, 202.

<sup>38</sup> If we divide Constantinople and Paris into equal squares of 50 French toises, the former contains 850 and the latter 1160 of those divisions.

<sup>39</sup> Six hundred centenaries, or sixty thousand pounds' weight of gold. This sum is taken from Codinus, Antiquitat. Const. p. 11 [p. 23, edit. Bonn]; but unless that contemptible author had derived his information from some purer sources, he would probably have been unacquainted with so obsolete a mode of reckoning.

owed the shores of the Euxine, and the celebrated quarries of white marble in the little island of Proconnesus, supplied an inexhaustible stock of materials, ready to be conveyed, by the convenience of a short water-carriage, to the harbor of Byzantium.<sup>40</sup> A multitude of laborers and artificers urged the conclusion of the work with incessant toil; but the impatience of Constantine soon discovered that, in the decline of the arts, the skill as well as numbers of his architects bore a very unequal proportion to the greatness of his designs. The magistrates of the most distant provinces were therefore directed to institute schools, to appoint professors, and, by the hopes of rewards and privileges, to engage in the study and practice of architecture a sufficient number of ingenious youths who had received a liberal education.<sup>41</sup> The buildings of the new city were executed by such artificers as the reign of Constantine could afford; but they were decorated by the hands of the most celebrated masters of the age of Pericles and Alexander. To revive the genius of Phidias and Lysippus surpassed, indeed, the power of a Roman emperor; but the immortal productions which they had bequeathed to posterity were exposed without defence to the rapacious vanity of a despot. By his commands the cities of Greece and Asia were despoiled of their most valuable ornaments.<sup>42</sup> The trophies of memorable wars, the objects of religious veneration, the most finished statues of the gods and heroes, of the sages and poets of ancient times, contributed to the splendid triumph of Constantinople; and gave occasion to the remark of the his-

<sup>40</sup> For the forests of the Black Sea, consult Tournefort, *Lettre XVI.*; for the marble quarries of Proconnesus, see Strabo, l. xiii. p. 588. The latter had already furnished the materials of the stately buildings of Cyzicus.

<sup>41</sup> See the *Codex Theodos.* l. xiii. tit. iv. leg. 1. This law is dated in the year 334, and was addressed to the Præfect of Italy, whose jurisdiction extended over Africa. The commentary of Godefroy on the whole title well deserves to be consulted.

<sup>42</sup> *Constantinopolis dedicatur pœne omnium urbium nuditate.*—Hieronym. *Chron.* p. 181. See Codinus, p. 8, 9 [p. 16 seq. edit. Bonn]. The author of the *Antiquitat. Const.* l. iii. (apud Banduri *Imp. Orient. tom. i.* p. 41) enumerates Rome, Sicily, Antioch, Athens, and a long list of other cities. The provinces of Greece and Asia Minor may be supposed to have yielded the richest booty.

torian Cedrenus,<sup>43</sup> who observes, with some enthusiasm, that nothing seemed wanting except the souls of the illustrious men whom those admirable monuments were intended to represent. But it is not in the city of Constantine, nor in the declining period of an empire, when the human mind was depressed by civil and religious slavery, that we should seek for the souls of Homer and Demosthenes.

During the siege of Byzantium the conqueror had pitched his tent on the commanding eminence of the second hill. To perpetuate the memory of his success, he chose the same advantageous position for the principal Forum,<sup>44</sup> which appears to have been of a circular, or rather elliptical, form. The two opposite entrances formed triumphal arches; the porticoes, which enclosed it on every side, were filled with statues, and the centre of the Forum was occupied by a lofty column, of which a mutilated fragment is now degraded by the appellation of the *burnt pillar*. This column was erected on a pedestal of white marble twenty feet high, and was composed of ten pieces of porphyry, each of which measured about ten feet in height and about thirty-three in circumference.<sup>45</sup> On the summit of the pillar, above one hundred and twenty feet from the ground, stood the colossal statue of Apollo. It was of bronze, had been transported either from Athens or from a town of Phrygia, and was supposed to be the work of Phidias. The artist had represented the god of day, or, as it was afterwards interpreted, the Emperor Constantine himself, with a sceptre in his right hand, the globe of the world in his left, and a crown of rays glittering on his

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<sup>43</sup> Hist. Compend. p. 369 [vol. i. p. 648, edit. Bonn]. He describes the statue, or rather bust, of Homer with a degree of taste which plainly indicates that Cedrenus copied the style of a more fortunate age.

<sup>44</sup> Zosimus, l. ii. [c. 30] p. 106. Chron. Alexandrin. vel Paschal. p. 284. Ducange, Const. l. i. ch. 24. Even the last of those writers seems to confound the Forum of Constantine with the Augusteum, or court of the palace. I am not satisfied whether I have properly distinguished what belongs to the one and the other.

<sup>45</sup> The most tolerable account of this column is given by Pocock, Description of the East, vol. ii. part ii. p. 131. But it is still in many instances perplexed and unsatisfactory.



head.<sup>46</sup> The Circus, or Hippodrome, was a stately building about four hundred paces in length and one hundred in breadth.<sup>47</sup> The space between the two *metae*, or goals, was filled with statues and obelisks; and we may still remark a very singular fragment of antiquity, the bodies of three serpents twisted into one pillar of brass. Their triple heads had once supported the golden tripod which, after the defeat of Xerxes, was consecrated in the Temple of Delphi by the victorious Greeks.<sup>48</sup> The beauty of the Hippodrome has been long since defaced by the rude hands of the Turkish conquerors,<sup>a</sup> but,

<sup>46</sup> Ducange, *Const.* l. i. ch. 24, p. 76, and his notes ad *Alexiad.* p. 382. The statue of Constantine or Apollo was thrown down under the reign of Alexius Comnenus.<sup>b</sup>

<sup>47</sup> Tournefort (*Lettre XII.*) computes the Atmeidan at four hundred paces. If he means geometrical paces of five feet each, it was three hundred toises in length, about forty more than the great circus of Rome. See D'Anville, *Mesures Itinéraires*, p. 73.

<sup>48</sup> The guardians of the most holy relics would rejoice if they were able to produce such a chain of evidence as may be alleged on this occasion. See Banduri ad *Antiquitat. Const.* p. 668. Gyllius de Byzant. l. ii. c. 13. 1. The original consecration of the tripod and pillar in the Temple of Delphi may be proved from Herodotus and Pausanias. 2. The pagan Zosimus agrees with the three ecclesiastical historians, Eusebius, Socrates, and Sozomen, that the sacred ornaments of the Temple of Delphi were removed to Constantinople by the order of Constantine; and among these the serpentine pillar of the Hippodrome is particularly mentioned. 3. All the European travellers who have visited Constantinople, from Buondelmonte to Pocock, describe it in the same place, and almost in the same manner; the differences between them are occasioned only by the injuries which it has sustained from the Turks. Mahomet the Second broke the under-jaw of one of the serpents with a stroke of his battle-axe. Thévenot, l. i. ch. 17.<sup>c</sup>

<sup>a</sup> In 1808 the Janissaries revolted against the vizier Mustapha Baisactar, who wished to introduce a new system of military organization, besieged the quarter of the Hippodrome, in which stood the palace of the viziers, and the Hippodrome was consumed in the conflagration.—G.

<sup>b</sup> On this column (says M. von Hammer), Constantine, with singular shamelessness, placed his own statue with the attributes of Apollo and Christ. He substituted the nails of the Passion for the rays of the sun. Such is the direct testimony of the author of the *Antiquit. Constantinop.* apud Banduri. Constantine was replaced by the "great and religious" Julian; Julian, by Theodosius. A.D. 1412, the key-stone was loosened by an earthquake. The statue fell in the reign of Alexius Comnenus, and was replaced by the cross. The Palladium was said to be buried under the pillar. Von Hammer, *Constantinopolis und der Bosphoros*, i. 162.—M.

<sup>c</sup> See note 75, ch. lxxviii., for Dr. Clarke's rejection of Thévenot's authority. Von Hammer, however, repeats the story of Thévenot without questioning its authenticity.—M.

under the similar appellation of Atmeidan, it still serves as a place of exercise for their horses. From the throne, whence the emperor viewed the Circensian games, a winding staircase<sup>49</sup> descended to the palace—a magnificent edifice, which scarcely yielded to the residence of Rome itself, and which, together with the dependent courts, gardens, and porticoes, covered a considerable extent of ground upon the banks of the Propontis, between the Hippodrome and the Church of St. Sophia.<sup>50</sup> We might likewise celebrate the baths, which still retained the name of Zeuxippus, after they had been enriched, by the munificence of Constantine, with lofty columns, various marbles, and above threescore statues of bronze.<sup>51</sup> But we should deviate from the design of this history if we attempted minutely to describe the different buildings or quarters of the city. It may be sufficient to observe that whatever could adorn the dignity of a great capital, or contribute to the benefit or pleasure of its numerous inhabitants, was contained within the walls of Constantinople. A particular description, composed about a century after its foundation, enumerates a capitol or school of learning, a circus, two theatres, eight public and one hundred and fifty-three private baths, fifty-two porticoes, five granaries, eight aqueducts or reservoirs

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<sup>49</sup> The Latin name *Cochlea* was adopted by the Greeks, and very frequently occurs in the Byzantine history. Ducange, *Const.* l. ii. ch. 1, p. 104.

<sup>50</sup> There are three topographical points which indicate the situation of the palace: 1. The staircase which connected it with the Hippodrome or Atmeidan. 2. A small artificial port on the Propontis, from whence there was an easy ascent, by a flight of marble steps, to the gardens of the palace. 3. The Augusteum was a spacious court, one side of which was occupied by the front of the palace, and another by the Church of St. Sophia.

<sup>51</sup> Zeuxippus was an epithet of Jupiter, and the baths were a part of old Byzantium. The difficulty of assigning their true situation has not been felt by Ducange. History seems to connect them with St. Sophia and the palace; but the original plan inserted in Banduri places them on the other side of the city, near the harbor. For their beauties see Chron. Paschal. p. 285, and Gyllius de Byzant. l. ii. c. 7. Christodorus (see *Antiquitat. Const.* l. vii.) composed inscriptions in verse for each of the statues. He was a Theban poet in genius as well as in birth.

Bœotum in crasso jurares aëre natum.\*

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\* Yet, for his age, the description of the statues of Hecuba and of Homer is by no means without merit. See *Antholog. Palat.* (edit. Jacobs) i. 37.—M.

of water, four spacious halls for the meetings of the senate or courts of justice, fourteen churches, fourteen palaces, and four thousand three hundred and eighty-eight houses which, for their size or beauty, deserved to be distinguished from the multitude of plebeian habitations.<sup>52</sup>

The populousness of his favored city was the next and most serious object of the attention of its founder. In the dark  
 Population. ages which succeeded the translation of the empire, the remote and the immediate consequences of that memorable event were strangely confounded by the vanity of the Greeks and the credulity of the Latins.<sup>53</sup> It was asserted and believed that all the noble families of Rome, the senate, and the equestrian order, with their innumerable attendants, had followed their emperor to the banks of the Propontis; that a spurious race of strangers and plebeians was left to possess the solitude of the ancient capital; and that the lands of Italy, long since converted into gardens, were at once deprived of cultivation and inhabitants.<sup>54</sup> In the course of this history such exaggerations will be reduced to their just value; yet, since the growth of Constantinople cannot be ascribed to the general increase of mankind and of industry, it must be admitted that this artificial colony was raised at the expense of the ancient cities of the empire. Many opulent senators of Rome and of the Eastern provinces were probably invited by Constantine to adopt for their country the fortunate spot which he had chosen for his own residence. The invitations

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<sup>52</sup> See the Notitia. Rome only reckoned 1780 large houses, *domus*; but the word must have had a more dignified signification. No *insulæ* are mentioned at Constantinople. The old capital consisted of 424 streets, the new of 322.

<sup>53</sup> Liutprand, *Legatio ad Imp. Nicephorum*, p. 153. The modern Greeks have strangely disfigured the antiquities of Constantinople. We might excuse the errors of the Turkish or Arabian writers; but it is somewhat astonishing that the Greeks, who had access to the authentic materials preserved in their own language, should prefer fiction to truth, and loose tradition to genuine history. In a single page of Codinus we may detect twelve unpardonable mistakes: the reconciliation of Severus and Niger, the marriage of their son and daughter, the siege of Byzantium by the Macedonians, the invasion of the Gauls which recalled Severus to Rome, the *sixty* years which elapsed from his death to the foundation of Constantinople, etc.

<sup>54</sup> Montesquieu, *Grandeur et Décadence des Romains*, ch. 17.

of a master are scarcely to be distinguished from commands, and the liberality of the emperor obtained a ready and cheerful obedience. He bestowed on his favorites the palaces which he had built in the several quarters of the city, assigned them lands and pensions for the support of their dignity,<sup>56</sup> and alienated the demesnes of Pontus and Asia to grant hereditary estates by the easy tenure of maintaining a house in the capital.<sup>56</sup> But these encouragements and obligations soon became superfluous, and were gradually abolished. Wherever the seat of government is fixed, a considerable part of the public revenue will be expended by the prince himself, by his ministers, by the officers of justice, and by the domestics of the palace. The most wealthy of the provincials will be attracted by the powerful motives of interest and duty, of amusement and curiosity. A third and more numerous class of inhabitants will insensibly be formed, of servants, of artificers, and of merchants, who derive their subsistence from their own labor, and from the wants or luxury of the superior ranks. In less than a century Constantinople disputed with Rome itself the pre-eminence of riches and numbers. New piles of buildings, crowded together with too little regard to health or convenience, scarcely allowed the intervals of narrow streets for the perpetual throng of men, of horses, and of carriages. The allotted space of ground was insufficient to contain the increasing people, and the additional foundations, which on either side were advanced into the sea, might alone have composed a very considerable city.<sup>57</sup>

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<sup>56</sup> Themist. Orat. iii. p. 48, edit. Hardouin. Sozomen, l. ii. c. 3. Zosimus, l. ii. [c. 31] p. 107. Anonym. Valesian. p. 715. If we could credit Codinus (p. 10) [p. 20 seq., edit. Bonn], Constantine built houses for the senators on the exact model of their Roman palaces, and gratified them as well as himself with the pleasure of an agreeable surprise; but the whole story is full of fictions and inconsistencies.

<sup>56</sup> The law by which the younger Theodosius, in the year 438, abolished this tenure may be found among the *Novellæ* of that emperor at the end of the Theodosian Code, tom. vi. nov. 12. M. de Tillemont (*Hist. des Empereurs*, tom. iv. p. 371) has evidently mistaken the nature of these estates. With a grant from the imperial demesnes, the same condition was accepted as a favor which would justly have been deemed a hardship if it had been imposed upon private property.

<sup>57</sup> The passages of Zosimus, of Eunapius, of Sozomen, and of Agathias which



The frequent and regular distributions of wine and oil, of corn or bread, of money or provisions, had almost exempted

the poorer citizens of Rome from the necessity of

Privileges. labor. The magnificence of the first Cæsars was in some measure imitated by the founder of Constantinople;<sup>88</sup> but his liberality, however it might excite the applause of the people, has incurred the censure of posterity. A nation of legislators and conquerors might assert their claim to the harvests of Africa, which had been purchased with their blood; and it was artfully contrived by Augustus that, in the enjoyment of plenty, the Romans should lose the memory of freedom. But the prodigality of Constantine could not be excused by any consideration either of public or private interest; and the annual tribute of corn imposed upon Egypt for the benefit of his new capital was applied to feed a lazy and insolent populace, at the expense of the husbandmen of an indus-

relate to the increase of buildings and inhabitants of Constantinople are collected and connected by Gyllius de Byzant. l. i. c. 3. Sidonius Apollinaris (in Panegy. Anthem. 56, p. 279, edit. Sirmond) describes the moles that were pushed forward into the sea: they consisted of the famous Puzzolan sand, which hardens in the water.

<sup>88</sup> Sozomen, l. ii. c. 3. Philostorg. l. ii. c. 9. Codin. Antiquitat. Const. p. 8 [p. 16, edit. Bonn]. It appears by Socrates, l. ii. c. 13, that the daily allowance of the city consisted of eight myriads of *σίτρον*, which we may either translate, with Valesius, by the words “modii of corn,” or consider as expressive of the number of loaves of bread.<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Naudet supposes that 80,000 medimni of corn were intended, as a Greek writer would be more likely to mean the Greek measure medimnus than the Roman measure modius; and his opinion has been adopted by Mr. Finlay (Naudet, *Des Secours Publics chez les Romains*, in the *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, vol. xiii. p. 48; Finlay, *Greece under the Romans*, p. 136). But Socrates says that the *daily* allowance of the city was 80,000 *σίτρον*, and it is impossible to believe that 80,000 medimni were daily distributed at Constantinople.\* Indeed, the smaller quantity of 80,000 modii appears incredible; and it is therefore more probable that 80,000 loaves of bread were intended. This is expressly stated by the author of the *Life of Paul*, Bishop of Constantinople (Phot. Bibl. No. 257, p. 475, a, edit. Bekker); and it is confirmed by the fact that from the time of Aurelian, and even earlier, bread was daily distributed to the people at Rome, instead of corn every month, as had formerly been the case. See Walter, *Geschichte des römischen Rechts*, § 361, 2d edit.; Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiq.*, p. 550, 2d edit.—S.

\* The medimnus equalled twelve imperial gallons, and was equivalent to six modii,

trious province.<sup>59</sup> Some other regulations of this emperor are less liable to blame, but they are less deserving of notice. He divided Constantinople into fourteen regions or quarters,<sup>60</sup> dignified the public council with the appellation of senate,<sup>61</sup> communicated to the citizens the privileges of Italy,<sup>62</sup> and bestowed on the rising city the title of Colony, the first and most favored daughter of ancient Rome. The venerable parent still maintained the legal and acknowledged supremacy which was

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<sup>59</sup> See Cod. Theodos. l. xiii. and xiv. and Cod. Justinian. Edict. xii. tom. ii. p. 648, edit. Genev. See the beautiful complaint of Rome in the poem of Claudian de Bell. Gildonico, ver. 60–62:

Cum subiit par Roma mihi, divisaque sumsit  
Æquales Aurora togas; Ægyptia rura  
In partem cessere novam.

<sup>60</sup> The regions of Constantinople are mentioned in the Code of Justinian, and particularly described in the Notitia of the younger Theodosius; but as the four last of them are not included within the wall of Constantine, it may be doubted whether this division of the city should be referred to the founder.

<sup>61</sup> *Senatum constituit secundi ordinis; Claros vocavit.*—Anonym. Valesian. p. 715. The senators of old Rome were styled *Clarissimi*. See a curious note of Valesius ad Ammian. Marcellin. xxii. 9. From the eleventh epistle of Julian it should seem that the place of senator was considered as a burden rather than as an honor; but the Abbé de la Bletterie (Vie de Jovien, tom. ii. 371) has shown that this epistle could not relate to Constantinople. Might we not read, instead of the celebrated name of Βυζαντίου, the obscure but more probable word Βισανθίων? Bisanthe or Rhœdestus, now Rhodosto, was a small maritime city of Thrace. See Stephan. Byz. de Urbibus, p. 225 [edit. Lugd. B. 1694], and Cellar. Geograph. tom. i. p. 849.

<sup>62</sup> Cod. Theodos. l. xiv. 13. [Add Cod. Just. xi. 20.—S.] The commentary of Godefroy (tom. v. p. 220) is long, but perplexed; nor, indeed, is it easy to ascertain in what the *jus Italicum* could consist after the freedom of the city had been communicated to the whole empire.<sup>a</sup>

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<sup>a</sup> Savigny has shown that the substance of the *Jus Italicum* consisted in, first, the right of having a free constitution; secondly, the exemption from taxes; and, thirdly, the title of the land to be regarded as Quiritarian property. Down to the time of Diocletian Italy was free from both the land-tax and poll-tax; but it has been stated in a previous note (vol. ii. p. 114) that even when Italy lost this exemption, the privilege was still retained by many of the provincial towns, and continued to bear the name of *jus Italicum*, though no longer appropriate. This is the only thing that accounts for mention being made of a *jus Italicum* in the Code of Justinian, at a time when the free constitution of the towns and the institution of Quiritarian property had been put an end to. Hence the difficulty of Gibbon disappears, as the *jus Italicum* continued to confer the privilege of exemption from taxation. Savigny, Ueber das *Jus Italicum* in Vermischte Schriften, vol. i. p. 29 seq., and Geschichte des römischen Rechts, vol. i. p. 74 seq. 2d edit.—S.

due to her age, to her dignity, and to the remembrance of her former greatness.<sup>53</sup>

As Constantine urged the progress of the work with the impatience of a lover, the walls, the porticoes, and the principal edifices were completed in a few years, or, according to another account, in a few months;<sup>54</sup> but this extraordinary diligence should excite the less admiration, since many of the buildings were finished in so hasty and imperfect a manner that, under the succeeding reign, they were preserved with difficulty from impending ruin.<sup>55</sup> But while they displayed the vigor and freshness of youth, the founder prepared to celebrate the dedication of his city.<sup>56</sup> The games and largesses which crowned the pomp of this memorable festival may easily be supposed; but there is one circumstance of a more singular and permanent nature, which ought not entirely to be overlooked. As often as the birthday of the city returned, the statue of Constantine, framed by his

Dedication.  
A.D. 330 or  
334.

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<sup>53</sup> Julian (Orat. i. p. 8) celebrates Constantinople as not less superior to all other cities than she was inferior to Rome itself. His learned commentator (Spanheim, p. 75, 76) justifies this language by several parallel and contemporary instances: Zosimus, as well as Socrates and Sozomen, flourished after the division of the empire between the two sons of Theodosius, which established a perfect equality between the old and the new capital.

<sup>54</sup> Codinus (Antiquitat. p. 8 [p. 17, edit. Bonn]) affirms that the foundations of Constantinople were laid in the year of the world 5837 (A.D. 329), on the 26th of September, and that the city was dedicated the 11th of May, 5838 (A.D. 330). He connects these dates with several characteristic epochs, but they contradict each other; the authority of Codinus is of little weight, and the space which he assigns must appear insufficient. The term of ten years is given us by Julian (Orat. i. p. 8); and Spanheim labors to establish the truth of it (p. 69-75), by the help of two passages from Themistius (Orat. iv. p. 58) and of Philostorgius (l. ii. c. 9), which form a period from the year 324 to the year 334. Modern critics are divided concerning this point of chronology, and their different sentiments are very accurately described by Tillemont, Hist. des Empereurs, tom. iv. p. 619-625.<sup>a</sup>

<sup>55</sup> Themistius, Orat. iii. p. 47. Zosim. l. ii. [c. 32] p. 108. Constantine himself, in one of his laws (Cod. Theod. l. xv. tit. i. [leg. 23?]), betrays his impatience.

<sup>56</sup> Cedrenus and Zonaras, faithful to the mode of superstition which prevailed in their own times, assure us that Constantinople was consecrated to the virgin Mother of God.

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<sup>a</sup> The city was dedicated on the 11th of May, A.D. 330 (see the authorities in Clinton, Fasti Rom. vol. i. p. 384), but we need not therefore conclude that its buildings were all finished by that time.—S.

order, of gilt wood, and bearing in its right hand a small image of the genius of the place, was erected on a triumphal car. The guards, carrying white tapers, and clothed in their richest apparel, accompanied the solemn procession as it moved through the Hippodrome. When it was opposite to the throne of the reigning emperor, he rose from his seat, and with grateful reverence adored the memory of his predecessor.<sup>67</sup> At the festival of the dedication, an edict, engraved on a column of marble, bestowed the title of SECOND or NEW ROME on the city of Constantine.<sup>68</sup> But the name of Constantinople<sup>69</sup> has prevailed over that honorable epithet, and, after the revolution of fourteen centuries, still perpetuates the fame of its author.<sup>70</sup>

The foundation of a new capital is naturally connected with the establishment of a new form of civil and military administration. The distinct view of the complicated system of policy introduced by Diocletian, improved by Constantine, and completed by his immediate successors, may not only amuse the fancy by the singular picture of a great empire, but will tend to illustrate the secret and internal causes of its rapid decay. In the pursuit of any remarkable institution, we may be frequently led into the more early or the more recent times of the Roman history ; but the proper lim-

<sup>67</sup> The earliest and most complete account of this extraordinary ceremony may be found in the Alexandrian Chronicle, p. 285. Tillemont, and the other friends of Constantine, who are offended with the air of paganism, which seems unworthy of a Christian prince, had a right to consider it as doubtful, but they were not authorized to omit the mention of it.

<sup>68</sup> Sozomen, l. ii. c. 3. Ducange, C. P. l. i. ch. 6. "Velut ipsius Romæ filiam" is the expression of Augustin. de Civitat. Dei, l. v. c. 25.

<sup>69</sup> Eutropius, l. x. c. 8. Julian. Orat. i. p. 8. Ducange, C. P. l. i. c. 5. The name of Constantinople is extant on the medals of Constantine.

<sup>70</sup> The lively Fontenelle (Dialogues des Morts, xii.) affects to deride the vanity of human ambition, and seems to triumph in the disappointment of Constantine, whose immortal name is now lost in the vulgar appellation of Istambol, a Turkish corruption of *εἰς τὴν πόλιν*. Yet the original name is still preserved : 1. By the nations of Europe. 2. By the modern Greeks. 3. By the Arabs, whose writings are diffused over the wide extent of their conquests in Asia and Africa (see D'Herbelot, Bibliothèque Orientale, p. 275). 4. By the more learned Turks, and by the emperor himself in his public mandates. Cantemir's History of the Othman Empire, p. 51.



its of this inquiry will be included within a period of about one hundred and thirty years, from the accession of Constantine to the publication of the Theodosian Code;<sup>71</sup> from which, as well as from the *Notitia* of the East and West,<sup>72</sup> we derive the most copious and authentic information of the state of the empire. This variety of objects will suspend, for some time, the course of the narrative; but the interruption will be censured only by those readers who are insensible to the importance of laws and manners, while they peruse with eager curiosity the transient intrigues of a court or the accidental event of a battle.

The manly pride of the Romans, content with substantial power, had left to the vanity of the East the forms and ceremonies of ostentatious greatness.<sup>73</sup> But when they lost even the semblance of those virtues which were derived from their ancient freedom, the simplicity of Roman manners was insensibly corrupted by the stately affectation of the courts of Asia. The distinctions of personal merit and influence, so conspicuous in a republic, so feeble and obscure under a monarchy, were abolished by the despotism of the emperors, who substituted in their room a severe subordination of rank and office, from the titled slaves who were seated on the steps of the throne, to the meanest instruments of arbitrary power. This multitude of abject dependents was interested in the support of the actual government, from the dread

<sup>71</sup> The Theodosian Code was promulgated A.D. 438. See the Prolegomena of Godefroy, c. i. p. 185.

<sup>72</sup> Pancirolus, in his elaborate Commentary, assigns to the *Notitia* a date almost similar to that of the Theodosian Code; but his proofs, or rather conjectures, are extremely feeble. I should be rather inclined to place this useful work between the final division of the empire (A.D. 395) and the successful invasion of Gaul by the barbarians (A.D. 407). See *Histoire des Anciens Peuples de l'Europe*, tom. vii. p. 40.<sup>a</sup>

<sup>73</sup> Scilicet externæ superbiæ sueto, non inerat notitia nostri (perhaps *nostræ*);<sup>b</sup> apud quos vis Imperii valet, inania transmittuntur.—Tacit. *Annal.* xv. 31. The gradation from the style of freedom and simplicity to that of form and servitude may be traced in the Epistles of Cicero, of Pliny, and of Symmachus.

<sup>a</sup> The reader may consult with advantage the valuable Commentary of Böcking on the last edition of the *Notitia*, Bonn, 1839-1853.—S.

<sup>b</sup> *Nostræ* is an unhappy specimen of emendation.—S.

of a revolution which might at once confound their hopes and intercept the reward of their services. In this divine hierarchy (for such it is frequently styled) every rank was marked with the most scrupulous exactness, and its dignity was displayed in a variety of trifling and solemn ceremonies, which it was a study to learn and a sacrilege to neglect.<sup>74</sup> The purity of the Latin language was debased by adopting, in the intercourse of pride and flattery, a profusion of epithets which Tully would scarcely have understood, and which Augustus would have rejected with indignation. The principal officers of the empire were saluted, even by the sovereign himself, with the deceitful titles of your *Sincerity*, your *Gravity*, your *Excellency*, your *Eminence*, your *sublime and wonderful Magnitude*, your *illustrious and magnificent Highness*.<sup>75</sup> The codicils or patents of their office were curiously emblazoned with such emblems as were best adapted to explain its nature and high dignity—the image or portrait of the reigning emperors; a triumphal car; the book of mandates placed on a table, covered with a rich carpet, and illuminated by four tapers; the allegorical figures of the provinces which they governed; or the appellations and standards of the troops whom they commanded. Some of these official ensigns were really exhibited in their hall of audience; others preceded their pompous march whenever they appeared in public; and every circumstance of their demeanor, their dress, their ornaments, and their train was calculated to inspire a deep reverence for the representatives of supreme majesty. By a philosophic observer the system of the Roman government might have been mis-

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<sup>74</sup> The Emperor Gratian, after confirming a law of precedence published by Valentinian, the father of his *Divinity*, thus continues: *Siquis igitur indebitum sibi locum usurpaverit, nullâ se ignoratione defendat; sitque plane sacrilegii reus, qui divina præcepta neglexerit.*—Cod. Theod. l. vi. tit. v. leg. 2.

<sup>75</sup> Consult the *Notitia Dignitatum* at the end of the Theodosian Code, tom. vi. p. 316.<sup>a</sup>

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<sup>a</sup> Constantin, qui remplaça le grand Patriciat par une noblesse titrée, et qui changea avec d'autres institutions la nature de la société Latine, est le véritable fondateur de la royauté moderne, dans ce qu'elle conserva de Romain.—Chateaubriand, *Étud. Histor.* Preface, i. 151. Manso (*Leben Constantins des Grossen*, p. 153, etc.) has given a lucid view of the dignities and duties of the officers in the imperial court.—M.

taken for a splendid theatre, filled with players of every character and degree, who repeated the language and imitated the passions of their original model.<sup>76</sup>

All the magistrates of sufficient importance to find a place in the general state of the empire were accurately divided into three ranks of honor. three classes—1. The *Illustrious*; 2. The *Spectabiles*, or *Respectable*; and, 3. The *Clarissimi*, whom we may translate by the word *Honorable*. In the times of Roman simplicity, the last-mentioned epithet was used only as a vague expression of deference, till it became at length the peculiar and appropriated title of all who were members of the senate,<sup>77</sup> and consequently of all who, from that venerable body, were selected to govern the provinces. The vanity of those who, from their rank and office, might claim a superior distinction above the rest of the senatorial order, was long afterwards indulged with the new appellation of *Respectable*; but the title of *Illustrious* was always reserved to some eminent personages who were obeyed or revered by the two subordinate classes. It was communicated only, I. To the consuls and patricians; II. To the Prætorian præfects, with the præfects of Rome and Constantinople; III. To the masters-general of the cavalry and the infantry; and, IV. To the seven ministers of the palace, who exercised their *sacred* functions about the person of the emperor.<sup>78</sup> Among those illustrious magistrates who were esteemed co-ordinate with each other, the seniority of appointment gave place to the union of dignities.<sup>79</sup> By the expedient of honorary codicils, the emperors, who were fond of multiplying their favors, might some-

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<sup>76</sup> Pancirolus ad Notitiam utriusque Imperii, p. 39. But his explanations are obscure, and he does not sufficiently distinguish the painted emblems from the effective ensigns of office.

<sup>77</sup> In the Pandects, which may be referred to the reigns of the Antonines, *Clarissimus* is the ordinary and legal title of a senator.

<sup>78</sup> Pancirol. p. 12-17. I have not taken any notice of the two inferior ranks, *Perfectissimus* and *Egregius*, which were given to many persons who were not raised to the senatorial dignity.

<sup>79</sup> Cod. Theodos. l. vi. tit. vi. The rules of precedency are ascertained with the most minute accuracy by the emperors, and illustrated with equal prolixity by their learned interpreter.

times gratify the vanity, though not the ambition, of impatient courtiers.<sup>80</sup>

I. As long as the Roman consuls were the first magistrates of a free state, they derived their right to power from the choice of the people. As long as the emperors con-  
The consuls. descended to disguise the servitude which they imposed, the consuls were still elected by the real or apparent suffrage of the senate. From the reign of Diocletian even these vestiges of liberty were abolished, and the successful candidates, who were invested with the annual honors of the consulship, affected to deplore the humiliating condition of their predecessors. The Scipios and the Catos had been reduced to solicit the votes of plebeians, to pass through the tedious and expensive forms of a popular election, and to expose their dignity to the shame of a public refusal; while their own happier fate had reserved them for an age and government in which the rewards of virtue were assigned by the unerring wisdom of a gracious sovereign.<sup>81</sup> In the epistles which the emperor addressed to the two consuls elect, it was declared that they were created by his sole authority.<sup>82</sup> Their names and portraits, engraved on gilt tablets of ivory, were dispersed over the empire as presents to the provinces, the cities, the magistrates, the senate, and the people.<sup>83</sup> Their solemn inau-

<sup>80</sup> Cod. Theodos. l. vi. tit. xxii.

<sup>81</sup> Ausonius (in *Gratiarum Actione*) basely expatiates on this unworthy topic, which is managed by Mamertinus (*Panegy. Vet. xi. [x.] 16, 19*) with somewhat more freedom and ingenuity.

<sup>82</sup> *Cum de Consulibus in annum creandis, solus mecum volutarem . . . te Consulem et designavi, et declaravi, et priorem nuncupavi*, are some of the expressions employed by the Emperor Gratian to his preceptor, the poet Ausonius.<sup>a</sup>

<sup>83</sup>

Immanesque . . . dentes  
 Qui secti ferro in tabulas auroque micantes,  
 Inscripti rutilum cælato Consule nomen  
 Per proceres et vulgus eant.

Claud. de Cons. Stilichon. iii. 346.

Montfaucon has represented some of these tablets or dypticks [*diptychs, διπτυχα*.—S.]; see *Supplément à l'Antiquité expliquée*, tom. iii. p. 220.

<sup>a</sup> It appears, however, from other authorities, that the appointment of the consuls was, at least nominally, made by the senate and ratified by the emperor. See Symmach. *Ep. v. 15, x. 66*. *Laudes in Patr. p. 39, Pro Patre, p. 42*, ed. Mai, Frank, 1816: from Marquardt in Becker's *Römisch. Alterth. vol. ii. pt. iii. p. 242*.—S.



guration was performed at the place of the imperial residence ; and during a period of one hundred and twenty years Rome was constantly deprived of the presence of her ancient magistrates.<sup>54</sup> On the morning of the first of January the consuls assumed the ensigns of their dignity. Their dress was a robe of purple, embroidered in silk and gold, and sometimes ornamented with costly gems.<sup>55</sup> On this solemn occasion they were attended by the most eminent officers of the state and army in the habit of senators ; and the useless fasces, armed with the once formidable axes, were borne before them by the lictors.<sup>56</sup> The procession moved from the palace<sup>57</sup> to the Forum or principal square of the city, where the consuls ascended their tribunal, and seated themselves in the curule chairs, which were framed after the fashion of ancient times. They immediately exercised an act of jurisdiction by the manumission of a slave who was brought before them for that purpose ; and the ceremony was intended to represent the celebrated action of the elder Brutus, the author of liberty and

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<sup>54</sup> Consule lætatur post plurima sæcula viso  
Pallanteus apex : agnoscunt rostra curules  
Auditas quondam proavis : desuetaque cingit  
Regius auratis fora fascibus Ulpia lictor.

Claud. in vi. Cons. Honorii, 643.

From the reign of Carus to the sixth consulship of Honorius there was an interval of one hundred and twenty years, during which the emperors were always absent from Rome on the first day of January. See the *Chronologie de Tillemont*, tom. iii. iv. and v.

<sup>55</sup> See Claudian in Cons. Prob. et Olybrii, 178, etc. ; and in iv. Cons. Honorii, 585, etc. ; though in the latter it is not easy to separate the ornaments of the emperor from those of the consul. Ausonius received from the liberality of Gratian a *vestis palmata*, or robe of state, in which the figure of the Emperor Constantius was embroidered.

<sup>56</sup> Cernis ut armorum procures legumque potentes  
Patricios sumunt habitus, et more Gabino  
Discolor incedit legio, positisque parumper  
Bellorum signis, sequitur vexilla Quirini ?  
Lictori cedunt aquilæ, ridetque togatus  
Miles, et in mediis effulget curia castris ?

Claud. in iv. Cons. Honorii, 5.

— *strictasque procul radiare secures.*

In Cons. Prob. 231.

<sup>57</sup> See Valesius ad Ammian. Marcellin. l. xxii. c. 7.

of the consulship, when he admitted among his fellow-citizens the faithful Vindex, who had revealed the conspiracy of the Tarquins.<sup>88</sup> The public festival was continued during several days in all the principal cities; in Rome, from custom; in Constantinople, from imitation; in Carthage, Antioch, and Alexandria, from the love of pleasure and the superfluity of wealth.<sup>89</sup> In the two capitals of the empire the annual games of the theatre, the circus, and the amphitheatre<sup>90</sup> cost four thousand pounds of gold,\* (about) one hundred and sixty thousand pounds sterling; and if so heavy an expense surpassed the faculties or the inclination of the magistrates themselves, the sum was supplied from the imperial treasury.<sup>91</sup> As soon as the consuls had discharged these customary duties, they were at liberty to retire into the shade of private life, and to enjoy during the remainder of the year the undisturbed contemplation of their own greatness. They no longer presided in the national councils; they no longer executed the resolutions of peace or war. Their abilities (unless they were employed in more effective offices, were of little moment, and their names served only as the legal date of the year in which

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88

Auspice mox lætum sonuit clamore tribunal,  
Te fastos ineunte quater; solemnna ludit.  
Omina Libertas: deductum Vindice morem  
Lex servat, famulusque jugo laxatus herili  
Ducitur, et grato remeant securior ictu.

Claud. in iv. Cons. Honorii, 611.

<sup>89</sup> Celebrant quidem solemnnes istos dies omnes ubique urbes quæ sub legibus agunt; et Roma de more, et Constantinopolis de imitatione, et Antiochia pro luxu, et discincta Carthago, et domus fluminis Alexandria, sed Treviri Principis beneficio.—Ausonius in Grat. Actione [p. 715, edit. Amst. 1671].

<sup>90</sup> Claudian (in Cons. Mall. Theodori, 279–331) describes, in a lively and fanciful manner, the various games of the circus, the theatre, and the amphitheatre, exhibited by the new consul. The sanguinary combats of gladiators had already been prohibited.

<sup>91</sup> Procopius in Hist. Arcana, c. 26.

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\* Not 4000 pounds of gold, but 2000. Procopius says 20 centenaria, which are equal to 144,000 solidi; and from the time of Constantine there were 72 solidi to the pound. Supposing the solidus to be worth 10s. English (see note on p. 313), the sum expended on this occasion would have been £72,000. The Emperor Justinian curtailed this prodigious expense. See Novell. cv. As the exhibition of these games was the sole duty of the consuls, the words *ὑπαρτία* and *consulatus* came to signify the money expended upon these occasions. See Marquardt, ut supra, vol. ii. part iii. p. 245.—S.

they had filled the chair of Marius and of Cicero. Yet it was still felt and acknowledged, in the last period of Roman servitude, that this empty name might be compared, and even preferred, to the possession of substantial power. The title of consul was still the most splendid object of ambition, the noblest reward of virtue and loyalty. The emperors themselves, who disdained the faint shadow of the republic, were conscious that they acquired an additional splendor and majesty as often as they assumed the annual honors of the consular dignity.<sup>92</sup>

The proudest and most perfect separation which can be found in any age or country between the nobles and the people is perhaps that of the Patricians and the Plebeians as it was established in the first age of the Roman republic. Wealth and honors, the offices of the State, and the ceremonies of religion were almost exclusively possessed by the former, who, preserving the purity of their blood with the most insulting jealousy,<sup>93</sup> held their clients in a condition of specious vassalage. But these distinctions, so incompatible with the spirit of a free people, were removed, after a long struggle, by the persevering efforts of the tribunes. The most active and successful of the Plebeians accumulated wealth, aspired to honors, deserved triumphs, contracted alliances, and, after some generations, assumed the pride of ancient nobility.<sup>94</sup> The Patrician families, on the other hand,

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<sup>92</sup> In Consulatu honos sine labore suscipitur (Mamertin. in Panegy. Vet. xi. [x.] 2).<sup>a</sup> This exalted idea of the consulship is borrowed from an Oration (iii. p. 107) pronounced by Julian in the servile court of Constantius. See the Abbé de la Bletterie (*Mémoires de l'Académie*, tom. xxiv. p. 289), who delights to pursue the vestiges of the old constitution, and who sometimes finds them in his copious fancy.

<sup>93</sup> Intermarriages between the Patricians and Plebeians were prohibited by the laws of the XII. Tables; and the uniform operations of human nature may attest that the custom survived the law. See in Livy (iv. 1-6) the pride of family urged by the consul, and the rights of mankind asserted by the tribune Canuleius.

<sup>94</sup> See the animated picture drawn by Sallust, in the Jugurthine War, of the pride of the nobles, and even of the virtuous Metellus, who was unable to brook the idea that the honor of the consulship should be bestowed on the obscure merit of his

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<sup>a</sup> At a still later time it is said of Theodoric, "factus est consul ordinarius, quod summum bonum primumque in mundo decus edicetur." Jornandes de Reb. Get. c. 57.—S.

whose original number was never recruited till the end of the commonwealth, either failed in the ordinary course of nature, or were extinguished in so many foreign and domestic wars, or, through a want of merit or fortune, insensibly mingled with the mass of the people.<sup>95</sup> Very few remained who could derive their pure and genuine origin from the infancy of the city, or even from that of the republic, when Cæsar and Augustus, Claudius and Vespasian, created from the body of the senate a competent number of new Patrician families, in the hope of perpetuating an order which was still considered as honorable and sacred.<sup>96</sup> But these artificial supplies (in which the reigning house was always included) were rapidly swept away by the rage of tyrants, by frequent revolutions, by the change of manners, and by the intermixture of nations.<sup>97</sup> Little more was left when Constantine ascended the throne than a vague and imperfect tradition that the Patricians had once been the first of the Romans. To form a body of nobles whose influence may restrain, while it secures, the authority of the monarch would have been very inconsistent with the character and policy of Constantine; but, had he seriously en-

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lieutenant Marius (c. 64). Two hundred years before, the race of the Metelli themselves were confounded among the Plebeians of Rome; and from the etymology of their name of *Cæcilius*, there is reason to believe that those haughty nobles derived their origin from a sutler.

<sup>95</sup> In the year of Rome 800 very few remained, not only of the old Patrician families, but even of those which had been created by Cæsar and Augustus (Tacit. Annal. xi. 25). The family of Scaurus (a branch of the Patrician *Æmilii*) was degraded so low that his father, who exercised the trade of a charcoal merchant, left him only ten slaves and somewhat less than three hundred pounds sterling (Valerius Maximus, l. iv. c. 4, n. 11. Aurel. Victor in Scauro [De Viris Ill. 72]). The family was saved from oblivion by the merit of the son.

<sup>96</sup> Tacit. Annal. xi. 25. Dion Cassius, l. lii. [c. 42] p. 693. The virtues of Agricola, who was created a Patrician by the Emperor Vespasian, reflected honor on that ancient order; but his ancestors had not any claim beyond an Equestrian nobility.

<sup>97</sup> This failure would have been almost impossible if it were true, as Casaubon compels Aurelius Victor to affirm (ad Sueton. in Cæsar. c. 42; see Hist. August. p. 203 [Trebell. Poll. Claud. c. 3], and Casaubon Comment. p. 220), that Vespasian created at once a thousand Patrician families. But this extravagant number is too much even for the whole Senatorial order, unless we should include all the Roman knights who were distinguished by the permission of wearing the *laticlave*.



tertained such a design, it might have exceeded the measure of his power to ratify by an arbitrary edict an institution which must expect the sanction of time and of opinion. He revived, indeed, the title of PATRICIANS; but he revived it as a personal, not as an hereditary, distinction. They yielded only to the transient superiority of the annual consuls; but they enjoyed the pre-eminence over all the great officers of State, with the most familiar access to the person of the prince. This honorable rank was bestowed on them for life; and, as they were usually favorites and ministers who had grown old in the imperial court, the true etymology of the word was perverted by ignorance and flattery; and the Patricians of Constantine were revered as the adopted *Fathers* of the emperor and the republic.<sup>98</sup>

II. The fortunes of the Prætorian præfects were essentially different from those of the consuls and Patricians. The latter

The Prætorian præfects.

saw their ancient greatness evaporate in a vain title. The former, rising by degrees from the most humble condition, were invested with the civil and military administration of the Roman world. From the reign of Severus to that of Diocletian, the guards and the palace, the laws and the finances, the armies and the provinces, were intrusted to their superintending care; and, like the viziers of the East, they held with one hand the seal, and with the other the standard, of the empire. The ambition of the præfects, always formidable and sometimes fatal to the masters whom they served, was supported by the strength of the Prætorian bands; but, after those haughty troops had been weakened by Diocletian and finally suppressed by Constantine, the præfects, who survived their fall, were reduced without difficulty to the station of useful and obedient ministers. When they were no longer responsible for the safety of the emperor's person, they resigned the jurisdiction which they had hitherto claimed and exercised over all the departments of the palace. They were deprived by Constantine of all military command as soon as they had ceased to lead into the field, under their immediate orders, the

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<sup>98</sup> Zosimus, l. ii. [c. 40] p. 118; and Godefroy ad Cod. Theodos. l. vi. tit. vi.

flower of the Roman troops ; and, at length, by a singular revolution, the captains of the guards were transformed into the civil magistrates of the provinces. According to the plan of government instituted by Diocletian, the four princes had each their Prætorian præfect ; and after the monarchy was once more united in the person of Constantine, he still continued to create the same number of FOUR PRÆFECTS, and intrusted to their care the same provinces which they already administered.

1. The Præfect of the East stretched his ample jurisdiction into the three parts of the globe which were subject to the Romans—from the cataracts of the Nile to the banks of the Phasis, and from the mountains of Thrace to the frontiers of Persia.
2. The important provinces of Pannonia, Dacia, Macedonia, and Greece once acknowledged the authority of the Præfect of Illyricum.
3. The power of the Præfect of Italy was not confined to the country from whence he derived his title ; it extended over the additional territory of Rhætia as far as the banks of the Danube, over the dependent islands of the Mediterranean, and over that part of the continent of Africa which lies between the confines of Cyrene and those of Tingitania.
4. The Præfect of the Gauls comprehended under that plural denomination the kindred provinces of Britain and Spain, and his authority was obeyed from the wall of Antoninus to the foot of Mount Atlas.<sup>99</sup>

After the Prætorian præfects had been dismissed from all military command, the civil functions which they were ordained to exercise over so many subject nations were adequate to the ambition and abilities of the most consummate ministers. To their wisdom was committed the supreme administration of justice and of the finances, the two objects which, in a state of peace, comprehend almost all the respective duties of the sovereign and of the people—of the former, to protect the citizens who are obedient to the laws ; of the latter, to contribute the share of their property which is required for the expenses

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<sup>99</sup> Zosimus, l. ii. [c. 33] p. 109, 110. If we had not fortunately possessed this satisfactory account of the division of the power and provinces of the Prætorian præfects, we should frequently have been perplexed amidst the copious details of the Code and the circumstantial minuteness of the Notitia.

of the State. The coin, the highways, the posts, the granaries, the manufactures, whatever could interest the public prosperity, was moderated by the authority of the Prætorian præfects. As the immediate representatives of the imperial majesty, they were empowered to explain, to enforce, and, on some occasions, to modify, the general edicts by their discretionary proclamations. They watched over the conduct of the provincial governors, removed the negligent, and inflicted punishments on the guilty. From all the inferior jurisdictions an appeal in every matter of importance, either civil or criminal, might be brought before the tribunal of the præfect; but *his* sentence was final and absolute, and the emperors themselves refused to admit any complaints against the judgment or the integrity of a magistrate whom they honored with such unbounded confidence.<sup>100</sup> His appointments were suitable to his dignity;<sup>101</sup> and, if avarice was his ruling passion, he enjoyed frequent opportunities of collecting a rich harvest of fees, of presents, and of perquisites. Though the emperors no longer dreaded the ambition of their præfects, they were attentive to counterbalance the power of this great office by the uncertainty and shortness of its duration.<sup>102</sup>

From their superior importance and dignity, Rome and Constantinople were alone excepted from the jurisdiction of the Prætorian præfects. The immense size of the city, and the experience of the tardy, ineffectual operation of the laws, had furnished the policy of Augustus with a specious pretence for introducing a new magis-

The præfects of Rome and Constantinople.

<sup>100</sup> See a law of Constantine himself. A præfectis autem prætorio provocare, non sinimus.—Cod. Justinian. l. vii. tit. lxii. leg. 19. Charisius, a lawyer of the time of Constantine (Heinec. Hist. Juris Romani, p. 349), who admits this law as a fundamental principle of jurisprudence, compares the Prætorian præfects to the masters of the horse of the ancient dictators.—Pandect. l. i. tit. xi.

<sup>101</sup> When Justinian, in the exhausted condition of the empire, instituted a Prætorian præfect for Africa, he allowed him a salary of one hundred pounds of gold. Cod. Justinian. l. i. tit. xxvii. leg. i.

<sup>102</sup> For this and the other dignities of the empire it may be sufficient to refer to the ample commentaries of Pancirolus and Godefroy, who have diligently collected and accurately digested in their proper order all the legal and historical materials. From those authors Dr. Howell (History of the World, vol. ii. p. 24-77) has deduced a very distinct abridgment of the state of the Roman empire.

trate, who alone could restrain a servile and turbulent populace by the strong arm of arbitrary power.<sup>103</sup> Valerius Messalla was appointed the first præfect of Rome, that his reputation might countenance so invidious a measure; but at the end of a few days that accomplished citizen<sup>104</sup> resigned his office, declaring, with a spirit worthy of the friend of Brutus, that he found himself incapable of exercising a power incompatible with public freedom.<sup>105</sup> As the sense of liberty became less exquisite, the advantages of order were more clearly understood; and the præfect, who seemed to have been designed as a terror only to slaves and vagrants, was permitted to extend his civil and criminal jurisdiction over the equestrian and noble families of Rome. The prætors, annually created as the judges of law and equity, could not long dispute the possession of the Forum with a vigorous and permanent magistrate who was usually admitted into the confidence of the prince. Their courts were deserted; their number, which had once fluctuated between twelve and eighteen,<sup>106</sup> was gradually reduced to two or three; and their important functions were confined to the expensive obligation<sup>107</sup> of exhibiting games for the amusement

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<sup>103</sup> Tacit. *Annal.* vi. 11. Euseb. in *Chron.* p. 155. Dion Cassius, in the oration of Mæcenas (l. lii. [c. 21] p. 675), describes the prerogatives of the præfect of the city as they were established in his own time.

<sup>104</sup> The fame of Messalla has been scarcely equal to his merit. In the earliest youth he was recommended by Cicero to the friendship of Brutus. He followed the standard of the republic till it was broken in the fields of Philippi; he then accepted and deserved the favor of the most moderate of the conquerors, and uniformly asserted his freedom and dignity in the court of Augustus. The triumph of Messalla was justified by the conquest of Aquitaine. As an orator he disputed the palm of eloquence with Cicero himself. Messalla cultivated every muse, and was the patron of every man of genius. He spent his evenings in philosophic conversation with Horace; assumed his place at table between Delia and Tibullus; and amused his leisure by encouraging the poetical talents of young Ovid.

<sup>105</sup> "Incivilem esse potestatem contestans," says the translator of Eusebius. Tacitus expresses the same idea in other words: "quasi nescius exercendi."

<sup>106</sup> See Lipsius, *Excursus D. ad 1 lib. Tacit. Annal.*

<sup>107</sup> Heineccii *Element. Juris Civilis secund. Ordinem Pandect.* tom. i. p. 70. See likewise Spanheim, *De Usu Numismatum*, tom. ii. dissertat. x. p. 119. In the year 450, Marcian published a law that *three* citizens should be annually created prætors of Constantinople by the choice of the senate, but with their own consent. *Cod. Justinian.* l. i. tit. xxxix, leg. 2.



of the people. After the office of Roman consuls had been changed into a vain pageant, which was rarely displayed in the capital, the præfects assumed their vacant place in the senate, and were soon acknowledged as the ordinary presidents of that venerable assembly. They received appeals from the distance of one hundred miles; and it was allowed as a principle of jurisprudence that all municipal authority was derived from them alone.<sup>108</sup> In the discharge of his laborious employment, the Governor of Rome was assisted by fifteen officers, some of whom had been originally his equals, or even his superiors. The principal departments were relative to the command of a numerous watch, established as a safeguard against fires, robberies, and nocturnal disorders; the custody and distribution of the public allowance of corn and provisions; the care of the port, of the aqueducts, of the common sewers, and of the navigation and bed of the Tiber; the inspection of the markets, the theatres, and of the private as well as public works. Their vigilance insured the three principal objects of a regular police—safety, plenty, and cleanliness; and, as a proof of the attention of government to preserve the splendor and ornaments of the capital, a particular inspector was appointed for the statues—the guardian, as it were, of that inanimate people, which, according to the extravagant computation of an old writer, was scarcely inferior in number to the living inhabitants of Rome. About thirty years after the foundation of Constantinople a similar magistrate was created in that rising metropolis, for the same uses and with the same powers. A perfect equality was established between the dignity of the *two* municipal and that of the *four* Prætorian præfects.<sup>109</sup>

Those who in the imperial hierarchy were distinguished by

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<sup>108</sup> Quidquid igitur intra urbem admittitur, ad P. U. videtur pertinere; sed et siquid intra centesimum milliariū.—Ulpian. in Pandect. l. i. tit. xii. n. 1. He proceeds to enumerate the various offices of the præfect, who, in the Code of Justinian (l. i. tit. xxxix. leg. 3), is declared to precede and command all city magistrates “sine injuriâ ac detrimento honoris alieni.”

<sup>109</sup> Besides our usual guides, we may observe that Felix Cantelorius has written a separate treatise, *De Præfecto Urbis*; and that many curious details concerning the police of Rome and Constantinople are contained in the fourteenth book of the Theodosian Code.

the title of *Respectable* formed an intermediate class between the *Illustrious* præfects and the *Honorable* magistrates of the provinces. In this class the proconsuls of Asia, Achaia, and Africa claimed a pre-eminence, which was yielded to the remembrance of their ancient dignity; and the appeal from their tribunal to that of the præfects was almost the only mark of their dependence.<sup>110</sup> But the civil government of the empire was distributed into thirteen great *DIOCESES*, each of which equalled the just measure of a powerful kingdom. The first of these dioceses was subject to the jurisdiction of the *Count* of the East; and we may convey some idea of the importance and variety of his functions by observing that six hundred apparitors, who would be styled at present either secretaries or clerks, or ushers or messengers, were employed in his immediate office.<sup>111</sup> The place of *Augustal Præfect* of Egypt was no longer filled by a Roman knight, but the name was retained; and the extraordinary powers which the situation of the country and the temper of the inhabitants had once made indispensable were still continued to the governor. The eleven remaining dioceses—of Asiana, Pontica, and Thrace; of Macedonia, Dacia, and Pannonia, or Western Illyricum; of Italy and Africa; of Gaul, Spain, and Britain—were governed by twelve *vicars* or *vice-præfects*,<sup>112</sup>

<sup>110</sup> Eunapius affirms that the Proconsul of Asia was independent of the præfect, which must, however, be understood with some allowance. The jurisdiction of the vice-præfect he most assuredly disclaimed. Pancirolus, p. 161.

<sup>111</sup> The Proconsul of Africa had four hundred apparitors, and they all received large salaries, either from the treasury or the province. See Pancirol. p. 26, and Cod. Justinian. l. xii. tit. lvi. lvii.

<sup>112</sup> In Italy there was likewise the *Vicar of Rome*. It has been much disputed whether his jurisdiction measured one hundred miles from the city, or whether it stretched over the ten southern provinces of Italy.<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup> It clearly appears from the Notitia that the ten southern provinces of Italy were under the "Vicarius Urbis Romæ," while the northern provinces were under the "Vicarius Italiæ" (see Table on opposite page). Thus the name of Italia, by a singular change, came to be specially applied (in official language at least) to these northern provinces, which in the time of the republic were excluded from Italia (being called Gallia Cisalpina); whereas the provinces to which the name of Italia was then confined were now excluded from it. The practice was confirmed for a time by the circumstance that the northern part of Italy became the seat of the Lombard monarchy, which assumed the title of the Kingdom of Italy (Regnum

The following Table, taken from Marguardt (Becker's Handbuch der römischen Alterthümer, vol. III, part I, p. 360), shows the division of the empire under the four *Prætorian prefects*:

I. <i>PRÆTORIUS PRÆTORIO GALLIARUM.</i>			
<p><b>A. <i>Vicarius Hispania.</i></b></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. <i>Consularis Baetica.</i></li> <li>2. " <i>Hispania.</i></li> <li>3. " <i>Julicæ.</i></li> <li>4. <i>Præses Tarraconensis.</i></li> <li>5. " <i>Carthaginensis.</i></li> <li>6. " <i> Tingitane.</i></li> <li>7. " <i>Iuslartum Balearum.</i></li> </ol> <p><b>B. <i>Vicarius Septem Provinciarum.</i></b></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. <i>Consularis Viennensis.</i></li> <li>2. " <i>Lugdunensis.</i></li> <li>3. " <i>Germanie I.</i></li> <li>4. " <i>Germanie II.</i></li> <li>5. " <i>Belgicæ I.</i></li> <li>6. " <i>Belgicæ II.</i></li> <li>7. <i>Præses Alpinum Maritimarum.</i></li> <li>8. " <i>Penninarum et Grænarum.</i></li> <li>9. " <i>Maxime Sequanorum.</i></li> <li>10. " <i>Aquitanie I.</i></li> <li>11. " <i>Aquitanie II.</i></li> <li>12. " <i>Novempopulæ.</i></li> <li>13. " <i>Narbonensis I.</i></li> <li>14. " <i>Narbonensis II.</i></li> <li>15. " <i>Lugdunensis II.</i></li> <li>16. " <i>Lugdunensis III.</i></li> <li>17. " <i>Lugdunensis Senonia.</i></li> </ol> <p><b>C. <i>Vicarius Britanniarum.</i></b></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. <i>Consularis Maxime Caesariensis.</i></li> <li>2. " <i>Maxime.</i></li> <li>3. <i>Præses Britanniæ I.</i></li> <li>4. " <i>Britanniæ II.</i></li> <li>5. " <i>Flavias Caesariensis.</i></li> </ol> <p>(Together 39.)</p>			
<p><b>II. <i>PRÆTORIUS PRÆTORIO ITALIAE.</i></b></p> <p><b>A. <i>Vicarius Urbis Romæ.</i></b></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. <i>Consularis Campanie.</i></li> <li>2. " <i>Tuscie et Umbrie.</i></li> <li>3. " <i>Piceni Suburbicarii.</i></li> <li>4. " <i>Scillia.</i></li> <li>5. <i>Corrector Apulie et Calabriae.</i></li> <li>6. " <i>Bruttiorum et Lucaniae.</i></li> <li>7. <i>Præses Samni.</i></li> <li>8. " <i>Sardinie.</i></li> <li>9. " <i>Corsicæ.</i></li> <li>10. " <i>Valerie.</i></li> </ol> <p><b>B. <i>Vicarius Italiae.</i></b></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. <i>Consularis Venetie et Histrie.</i></li> <li>2. " <i>Æmiliæ.</i></li> <li>3. " <i>Liguria.</i></li> <li>4. " <i>Flaminie et Piceni Annonarii.</i></li> <li>5. " <i>Flaminie et Piceni Annonarii.</i></li> <li>6. <i>Præses Alpinum Cottiarum.</i></li> <li>7. " <i>Ribeticæ I.</i></li> <li>8. " <i>Ribeticæ II.</i></li> <li>9. <i>Corrector Pannonie II.</i></li> <li>10. " <i>Corrector Savie.</i></li> <li>11. " <i>Dalmatie.</i></li> <li>12. " <i>Dalmatie.</i></li> <li>13. " <i>Noricum Mediterraneum.</i></li> <li>14. " <i>Noricum Ripense.</i></li> <li>15. " <i>Dux Valerie Rhenenæ.</i></li> </ol> <p><b>C. <i>Vicarius Africa.</i></b></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. <i>Consularis Byzacii.</i></li> <li>2. " <i>Numidie.</i></li> <li>3. <i>Præses Tripolitane.</i></li> <li>4. " <i>Sitifiensis.</i></li> <li>5. " <i>Mauritanie Caesariensis.</i></li> </ol> <p>The <i>Proconsul</i> of Africa was directly under the emperor, and not under the <i>Præfectus Præet. Ital.</i></p> <p>(Together 30.)</p>			
<p><b>III. <i>PRÆTORIUS PRÆTORIO ILLYRICI.</i></b></p> <p><b>A. <i>Directly under the Præfect.</i></b></p> <p>The <i>Diocese of Dacia.</i></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. <i>Consularis Dacie Mediterraneæ.</i></li> <li>2. <i>Præses Moesie I.</i></li> <li>3. " <i>Moensæ II.</i></li> <li>4. " <i>Dardanie.</i></li> <li>5. <i>Dux Dacie Ripensis.</i></li> </ol> <p><b>B. <i>Under a Proconsul.</i></b></p> <p><i>Achæia.</i></p> <p><b>C. <i>Under the Vicarius Macedoniae.</i></b></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. <i>Consularis Macedoniae.</i></li> <li>2. " <i>Crete.</i></li> <li>3. <i>Præses Thessalie.</i></li> <li>4. " <i>Epiri Votie.</i></li> <li>5. " <i>Epiri Votie.</i></li> <li>6. " <i>Macedonie Salutaris.</i></li> </ol> <p>A part of this last belonged to the <i>Diocæsis Dacia.</i></p> <p>(Together 12.)</p>			
<p><b>IV. <i>PRÆTORIUS PRÆTORIO ORIENTIS.</i></b></p> <p><b>A. <i>Comes Orientis.</i></b></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. <i>Consularis Palestine I.</i></li> <li>2. " <i>Palæstine II.</i></li> <li>3. " <i>Syrie.</i></li> <li>4. " <i>Chelice.</i></li> <li>5. " <i>Cypri.</i></li> <li>6. <i>Præses Palestine II.</i></li> <li>7. " <i>Palestine I.</i></li> <li>8. " <i>Ploenice Libani.</i></li> <li>9. " <i>Euphratensis.</i></li> <li>10. " <i>Syrie Salutaris.</i></li> <li>11. " <i>Syrie.</i></li> <li>12. " <i>Orontenis.</i></li> <li>13. " <i>Armenie.</i></li> <li>14. <i>Comes Rei Militaris Isaurie.</i></li> <li>15. <i>Dux Arabie.</i></li> </ol> <p><b>B. <i>Præfectus Augustallæ.</i></b></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. <i>Præses Libya Sup.</i></li> <li>2. " <i>Libye inf.</i></li> <li>3. " <i>Arabie inf.</i></li> <li>4. " <i>Arabie.</i></li> <li>5. " <i>Armenie.</i></li> <li>6. <i>Corrector Augustanienæ.</i></li> </ol> <p><b>C. <i>Vicarius Diocæsis Arisæ.</i></b></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. <i>Consularis Pamphylie.</i></li> <li>2. " <i>Lybie.</i></li> <li>3. " <i>Syrie.</i></li> <li>4. " <i>Lybie.</i></li> <li>5. " <i>Lyconie.</i></li> <li>6. " <i>Phrygie.</i></li> <li>7. " <i>Phrygie Paesiliane.</i></li> <li>8. " <i>Phrygie Salutaris.</i></li> <li>9. " <i>Phrygie Salutaris.</i></li> <li>10. " <i>Armenie I.</i></li> <li>11. " <i>Armenie II.</i></li> </ol> <p><b>D. <i>Vicarius Pontica.</i></b></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. <i>Consularis Bithynie.</i></li> <li>2. " <i>Gallie.</i></li> <li>3. <i>Corrector Paphlagonie.</i></li> <li>4. <i>Præses Honorificæ.</i></li> <li>5. " <i>Gallie Salutaris.</i></li> <li>6. " <i>Cappadocie I.</i></li> <li>7. " <i>Cappadocie II.</i></li> <li>8. " <i>Helienopoli.</i></li> <li>9. " <i>Pontu Polionniel.</i></li> <li>10. " <i>Armenie I.</i></li> <li>11. " <i>Armenie II.</i></li> </ol> <p><b>E. <i>Vicarius Thraciarum.</i></b></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. <i>Consularis Europe.</i></li> <li>2. " <i>Thracie.</i></li> <li>3. <i>Præses Hæmimonti.</i></li> <li>4. " <i>Thracie.</i></li> <li>5. " <i>Thracie.</i></li> <li>6. " <i>Thracie.</i></li> </ol> <p>Directly under the emperor, the <i>Proconsul</i> of Asia: under him,</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. <i>Consularis Hæliæpontii.</i></li> <li>2. <i>Præses Iasartiarum.</i></li> </ol> <p>(Together 69.)</p>			

whose name sufficiently explains the nature and dependence of their office. It may be added that the lieutenant-generals of the Roman armies, the military counts and dukes (who will be hereafter mentioned), were allowed the rank and title of *Respectable*.

As the spirit of jealousy and ostentation prevailed in the councils of the emperors, they proceeded with anxious diligence to divide the substance, and to multiply the titles, of power. The vast countries which the Roman conquerors had united under the same simple form of administration were imperceptibly crumbled into minute fragments, till at length the whole empire was distributed into one hundred and sixteen provinces, each of which supported an expensive and splendid establishment. Of these, three were governed by *proconsuls*, thirty-seven by *consulars*, five by *correctors*, and seventy-one by *presidents*. The appellations of these magistrates were different; they ranked in successive order, the ensigns of their dignity were curiously varied, and their situation, from accidental circumstances, might be more or less agreeable or advantageous. But they were all (excepting only the proconsuls) alike included in the class of *Honorable* persons; and they were alike intrusted, during the pleasure of the prince, and under the authority of the præfects or their deputies, with the administration of justice and the finances in their respective districts. The ponderous volumes of the Codes and Pandects<sup>113</sup> would furnish ample materials for a minute inquiry into the system of provincial government, as in the space of six centuries it was improved by the wisdom of the Roman statesmen and lawyers. It may be sufficient for the historian to select two singular and salutary provisions intended to restrain the abuse of authority.

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<sup>113</sup> Among the works of the celebrated Ulpian there was one, in ten books, concerning the office of a proconsul, whose duties in the most essential articles were the same as those of an ordinary governor of a province.

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Italia). See Böcking, ad Notit. Dignit. ii. 18; Gothofred, ad Cod. Theodos. xi. tit. 1, l. 6; Niebuhr, Hist. of Rome, vol. i. p. 21; Smith, Dict. of Greek and Roman Geography, art. Italia.—S.

<sup>\*</sup> See Table on preceding page.



1. For the preservation of peace and order, the governors of the provinces were armed with the sword of justice. They inflicted corporal punishments, and they exercised, in capital offences, the power of life and death. But they were not authorized to indulge the condemned criminal with the choice of his own execution, or to pronounce a sentence of the mildest and most honorable kind of exile. These prerogatives were reserved to the præfects, who alone could impose the heavy fine of fifty pounds of gold; their vicegerents were confined to the trifling weight of a few ounces.<sup>114</sup> This distinction, which seems to grant the larger while it denies the smaller degree of authority, was founded on a very rational motive. The smaller degree was infinitely more liable to abuse. The passions of a provincial magistrate might frequently provoke him into acts of oppression, which affected only the freedom or the fortunes of the subject; though, from a principle of prudence—perhaps of humanity—he might still be terrified by the guilt of innocent blood. It may likewise be considered that exile, considerable fines, or the choice of an easy death relate more particularly to the rich and the noble; and the persons the most exposed to the avarice or resentment of a provincial magistrate were thus removed from his obscure persecution to the more august and impartial tribunal of the Prætorian præfect. 2. As it was reasonably apprehended that the integrity of the judge might be biassed, if his interest was concerned or his affections were engaged, the strictest regulations were established to exclude any person, without the special dispensation of the emperor, from the government of the province where he was born;<sup>115</sup> and to prohibit the governor or his son from contracting marriage with a native or an inhabitant;<sup>116</sup> or from purchasing

<sup>114</sup> The presidents, or consulars, could impose only two ounces; the vice-præfects, three; the proconsuls, Count of the East, and Præfect of Egypt, six. See Heineccii Jur. Civil. tom. i. p. 75. Pandect. l. xlviii. tit. xix. n. 8. Cod. Justinian. l. i. tit. liv. leg. 4, 6.

<sup>115</sup> Ut nulli patriæ suæ administratio sine speciali principis permissu permittatur.—Cod. Justinian. l. i. tit. xli. This law was first enacted by the Emperor Marcus, after the rebellion of Cassius (Dion, l. lxxi. [c. 31, p. 1195]). The same regulation is observed in China with equal strictness and with equal effect.

<sup>116</sup> Pandect. l. xxiii. tit. ii. n. 38, 57, 63.

slaves, lands, or houses within the extent of his jurisdiction."<sup>117</sup> Notwithstanding these rigorous precautions, the Emperor Constantine, after a reign of twenty-five years, still deploras the venal and oppressive administration of justice, and expresses the warmest indignation that the audience of the judge, his despatch of business, his seasonable delays, and his final sentence were publicly sold, either by himself or by the officers of his court. The continuance, and perhaps the impunity, of these crimes is attested by the repetition of impotent laws and ineffectual menaces.<sup>118</sup>

All the civil magistrates were drawn from the profession of the law. The celebrated Institutes of Justinian are addressed to the youth of his dominions who had devoted themselves to the study of Roman jurisprudence; and the sovereign condescends to animate their diligence by the assurance that their skill and ability would in time be rewarded by an adequate share in the government of the republic.<sup>119</sup> The rudiments of this lucrative science were taught in all the considerable cities of the East and West; but the most famous school was that of Berytus,<sup>120</sup> on the coast of Phœnicia, which flourished about three centuries from the time of Alexander Severus, the author, perhaps, of an institu-

The profes-  
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law.

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<sup>117</sup> *In jure continetur, ne quis in administratione constitutus aliquid compararet*—Cod. Theod. l. viii. tit. xv. leg. 1. This maxim of common law was enforced by a series of edicts (see the remainder of the title) from Constantine to Justin. From this prohibition, which is extended to the meanest officers of the governor, they except only clothes and provisions. The purchase within five years may be recovered; after which, on information, it devolves to the treasury.

<sup>118</sup> *Cessent rapaces jam nunc officialium manus; cessent inquam; nam si moniti non cessaverint, gladiis præcidentur, etc.*—Cod. Theod. l. i. tit. vii. leg. 1. Zeno enacted that all governors should remain in the province, to answer any accusations, fifty days after the expiration of their power. Cod. Justinian. l. i. tit. xlix. leg. 1.

<sup>119</sup> *Summâ igitur ope, et alacri studio has leges nostras accipite; et vosmetipsos sic eruditos ostendite, ut spes vos pulcherrima foveat; toto legitimo opere perfecto, posse etiam nostram rempublicam in partibus ejus vobis credendis gubernari.*—Justinian. in præm. Institutionum.

<sup>120</sup> The splendor of the school of Berytus, which preserved in the East the language and jurisprudence of the Romans, may be computed to have lasted from the third to the middle of the sixth century. Heinecc. Jur. Rom. Hist. p. 351–356.

tion so advantageous to his native country. After a regular course of education which lasted five years, the students dispersed themselves through the provinces in search of fortune and honors; nor could they want an inexhaustible supply of business in a great empire already corrupted by the multiplicity of laws, of arts, and of vices. The court of the Prætorian Præfect of the East could alone furnish employment for one hundred and fifty advocates, sixty-four of whom were distinguished by peculiar privileges, and two were annually chosen with a salary of sixty pounds of gold to defend the causes of the treasury. The first experiment was made of their judicial talents by appointing them to act occasionally as assessors to the magistrates; from thence they were often raised to preside in the tribunals before which they had pleaded. They obtained the government of a province; and, by the aid of merit, of reputation, or of favor, they ascended by successive steps to the *illustrious* dignities of the State.<sup>121</sup> In the practice of the bar, these men had considered reason as the instrument of dispute; they interpreted the laws according to the dictates of private interest; and the same pernicious habits might still adhere to their characters in the public administration of the State. The honor of a liberal profession has indeed been vindicated by ancient and modern advocates who have filled the

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<sup>121</sup> As in a former period I have traced the civil and military promotion of Pertinax, I shall here insert the civil honors of Mallius Theodorus: 1. He was distinguished by his eloquence while he pleaded as an advocate in the court of the Prætorian præfect. 2. He governed one of the provinces of Africa, either as president or consular, and deserved, by his administration, the honor of a brass statue. 3. He was appointed vicar, or vice-præfect, of Macedonia. 4. Quæstor. 5. Count of the sacred largesses. 6. Prætorian præfect of the Gauls, whilst he might yet be represented as a young man. 7. After a retreat, perhaps a disgrace, of many years, which Mallius (confounded by some critics with the poet Manilius, see Fabricius, Bibliothec. Latin. edit. Ernest. tom. i. c. 18, p. 501) employed in the study of the Grecian philosophy, he was named Prætorian præfect of Italy in the year 397. 8. While he still exercised that great office, he was created, in the year 399, consul for the West; and his name, on account of the infamy of his colleague, the eunuch Eutropius, often stands alone in the Fasti. 9. In the year 408, Mallius was appointed a second time Prætorian præfect of Italy. Even in the venal panegyric of Claudian we may discover the merit of Mallius Theodorus, who by a rare felicity was the intimate friend both of Symmachus and of St. Augustine. See Tillemont, Hist. des Emp. tom. v. p. 1110-1114.

most important stations with pure integrity and consummate wisdom; but in the decline of Roman jurisprudence the ordinary promotion of lawyers was pregnant with mischief and disgrace. The noble art which had once been preserved as the sacred inheritance of the Patricians was fallen into the hands of freedmen and Plebeians,<sup>122</sup> who, with cunning rather than with skill, exercised a sordid and pernicious trade. Some of them procured admittance into families for the purpose of fomenting differences, of encouraging suits, and of preparing a harvest of gain for themselves or their brethren. Others, recluse in their chambers, maintained the gravity of legal professors by furnishing a rich client with subtleties to confound the plainest truth, and with arguments to color the most unjustifiable pretensions. The splendid and popular class was composed of the advocates, who filled the Forum with the sound of their turgid and loquacious rhetoric. Careless of fame and of justice, they are described, for the most part, as ignorant and rapacious guides, who conducted their clients through a maze of expense, of delay, and of disappointment, from whence, after a tedious series of years, they were at length dismissed when their patience and fortune were almost exhausted.<sup>123</sup>

III. In the system of policy introduced by Augustus, the governors—those, at least, of the imperial provinces—were invested with the full powers of the sovereign himself. Ministers of peace and war, the distribution of rewards and punishments depended on them alone, and they successively appeared on their tribunal in the robes of civil magistracy, and in complete armor at the head of the Roman legions.<sup>124</sup> The influence of the revenue, the authority of law,

The military  
officers.

<sup>122</sup> Mamertinus in Panegyr. Vet. xi. [x.] 20. Asterius apud Photium, p. 1500.

<sup>123</sup> The curious passage of Ammianus (l. xxx. c. 4) in which he paints the manners of contemporary lawyers, affords a strange mixture of sound sense, false rhetoric, and extravagant satire. Godefroy (Prolegom. ad Cod. Theod. c. i. p. 185) supports the historian by similar complaints and authentic facts. In the fourth century many camels might have been laden with law-books. Eunapius in Vit. Ædesii, p. 72.

<sup>124</sup> See a very splendid example in the Life of Agricola, particularly c. 20, 21. The lieutenant of Britain was intrusted with the same powers which Cicero, Proconsul of Cilicia, had exercised in the name of the senate and people.



and the command of a military force concurred to render their power supreme and absolute; and whenever they were tempted to violate their allegiance, the loyal province which they involved in their rebellion was scarcely sensible of any change in its political state. From the time of Commodus to the reign of Constantine near one hundred governors might be enumerated who with various success erected the standard of revolt; and though the innocent were too often sacrificed, the guilty might be sometimes prevented by the suspicious cruelty of their master.<sup>126</sup> To secure his throne and the public tranquillity from these formidable servants, Constantine resolved to divide the military from the civil administration, and to establish as a permanent and professional distinction a practice which had been adopted only as an occasional expedient. The supreme jurisdiction exercised by the Prætorian præfects over the armies of the empire was transferred to the two *masters-general* whom he instituted, the one for the *cavalry*, the other for the *infantry*; and though each of these *illustrious* officers was more peculiarly responsible for the discipline of those troops which were under his immediate inspection, they both indifferently commanded in the field the several bodies, whether of horse or foot, which were united in the same army.<sup>126</sup>

Their number was soon doubled by the division of the East and West; and as separate generals of the same rank and title were appointed on the four important frontiers of the Rhine, of the Upper and the Lower Danube, and of the Euphrates, the defence of the Roman empire was at length committed to eight masters-general of the cavalry and infantry. Under their orders thirty-five military commanders were stationed in the provinces—three in Britain, six in Gaul, one in Spain, one in Italy, five on the Upper and four on the Lower Danube, in

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<sup>126</sup> The Abbé Dubos, who has examined with accuracy (see *Hist. de la Monarchie Française*, tom. i. p. 41-100, edit. 1742) the institutions of Augustus and of Constantine, observes that if Otho had been put to death the day before he executed his conspiracy, Otho would now appear in history as innocent as Corbulo.

<sup>126</sup> Zosimus, l. ii. [c. 33] p. 110. Before the end of the reign of Constantius, the *magistri militum* were already increased to four. See Valesius ad Ammian. l. xvi. c. 7.

Asia eight, three in Egypt, and four in Africa. The titles of *counts* and *dukes*,<sup>127</sup> by which they were properly distinguished, have obtained in modern languages so very different a sense that the use of them may occasion some surprise. But it should be recollected that the second of those appellations is only a corruption of the Latin word which was indiscriminately applied to any military chief. All these provincial generals were therefore *dukes*; but no more than ten among them were dignified with the rank of *counts* or companions, a title of honor, or rather of favor, which had been recently invented in the court of Constantine. A gold belt was the ensign which distinguished the office of the counts and dukes; and besides their pay they received a liberal allowance sufficient to maintain one hundred and ninety servants and one hundred and fifty-eight horses. They were strictly prohibited from interfering in any matter which related to the administration of justice or the revenue; but the command which they exercised over the troops of their department was independent of the authority of the magistrates. About the same time that Constantine gave a legal sanction to the ecclesiastical order, he instituted in the Roman empire the nice balance of the civil and the military powers. The emulation, and sometimes the discord, which reigned between two professions of opposite interests and incompatible manners was productive of beneficial and of pernicious consequences. It was seldom to be expected that the general and the civil governor of a province should either conspire for the disturbance or should unite for the service of their country. While the one delayed to offer the assistance which the other disdained to solicit, the troops very frequently remained without orders or without supplies, the public safety was betrayed, and the defenceless subjects were left exposed to the fury of the barbarians. The divided administration which had been formed by Constantine relaxed the vigor of the State while it secured the tranquillity of the monarch.

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<sup>127</sup> Though the military counts and dukes are frequently mentioned both in history and the codes, we must have recourse to the *Notitia* for the exact knowledge of their number and stations. For the institution, rank, privileges, etc., of the counts in general, see *Cod. Theod.* l. vi. tit. xii. -xx. with the commentary of Godefroy.

The memory of Constantine has been deservedly censured for another innovation which corrupted military discipline and prepared the ruin of the empire. The nineteen years which preceded his final victory over Licinius had been a period of license and intestine war. The rivals who contended for the possession of the Roman world had withdrawn the greatest part of their forces from the guard of the general frontier; and the principal cities which formed the boundary of their respective dominions were filled with soldiers who considered their countrymen as their most implacable enemies. After the use of these internal garrisons had ceased with the civil war, the conqueror wanted either wisdom or firmness to revive the severe discipline of Diocletian, and to suppress a fatal indulgence which habit had endeared and almost confirmed to the military order. From the reign of Constantine a popular and even legal distinction was admitted between the *Palatines*<sup>128</sup> and the *Borderers*—the troops of the court, as they were improperly styled, and the troops of the frontier. The former, elevated by the superiority of their pay and privileges, were permitted, except in the extraordinary emergencies of war, to occupy their tranquil stations in the heart of the provinces. The most flourishing cities were oppressed by the intolerable weight of quarters. The soldiers insensibly forgot the virtues of their profession, and contracted only the vices of civil life. They were either degraded by the industry of mechanic trades, or enervated by the luxury of baths and theatres. They soon became careless of their martial exercises, curious in their diet and apparel; and, while they inspired terror to the subjects of the empire, they trembled at the hostile approach of the barbarians.<sup>129</sup> The chain of for-

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<sup>128</sup> Zosimus, l. ii. [c. 34] p. 111. The distinction between the two classes of Roman troops is very darkly expressed in the historians, the laws, and the Notitia. Consult, however, the copious *paratitlon*, or abstract, which Godefroy has drawn up of the seventh book, De Re Militari, of the Theodosian Code, l. vii. tit. i. leg. 18, l. viii. tit. i. leg. 10.

<sup>129</sup> *Ferox erat in suos miles et rapax, ignavus vero in hostes et fractus.*—Ammian. l. xxii. c. 4. He observes that they loved downy beds and houses of marble, and that their cups were heavier than their swords.

tifications which Diocletian and his colleagues had extended along the banks of the great rivers was no longer maintained with the same care or defended with the same vigilance. The numbers which still remained under the name of the troops of the frontier might be sufficient for the ordinary defence; but their spirit was degraded by the humiliating reflection that *they*, who were exposed to the hardships and dangers of a perpetual warfare, were rewarded only with about two thirds of the pay and emoluments which were lavished on the troops of the court. Even the bands or legions that were raised the nearest to the level of those unworthy favorites were in some measure disgraced by the title of honor which they were allowed to assume. It was in vain that Constantine repeated the most dreadful menaces of fire and sword against the Borderers who should dare to desert their colors, to connive at the inroads of the barbarians, or to participate in the spoil.<sup>130</sup> The mischiefs which flow from injudicious counsels are seldom removed by the application of partial severities; and though succeeding princes labored to restore the strength and numbers of the frontier garrisons, the empire, till the last moment of its dissolution, continued to languish under the mortal wound which had been so rashly or so weakly inflicted by the hand of Constantine.

The same timid policy of dividing whatever is united, of reducing whatever is eminent, of dreading every active power, and of expecting that the most feeble will prove the most obedient, seems to pervade the institutions of several princes, and particularly those of Constantine. The martial pride of the legions, whose victorious camps had so often been the scene of rebellion, was nourished by the memory of their past exploits and the consciousness of their actual strength. As long as they maintained their ancient establishment of six thousand men, they subsisted, under the reign of Diocletian, each of them singly, a visible and important object

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<sup>130</sup> Cod. Theod. l. vii. tit. i. leg. 1, tit. xii. leg. 1. See Howell's Hist. of the World, vol. ii. p. 19. That learned historian, who is not sufficiently known, labors to justify the character and policy of Constantine.



in the military history of the Roman empire. A few years afterwards these gigantic bodies were shrunk to a very diminutive size; and when *seven* legions, with some auxiliaries, defended the city of Amida against the Persians, the total garrison, with the inhabitants of both sexes and the peasants of the deserted country, did not exceed the number of twenty thousand persons.<sup>131</sup> From this fact and from similar examples, there is reason to believe that the constitution of the legionary troops, to which they partly owed their valor and discipline, was dissolved by Constantine; and that the bands of Roman infantry, which still assumed the same names and the same honors, consisted only of one thousand or fifteen hundred men.<sup>132</sup> The conspiracy of so many separate detachments, each of which was awed by the sense of its own weakness, could easily be checked; and the successors of Constantine might indulge their love of ostentation by issuing their orders to one hundred and thirty-two legions inscribed on the muster-roll of their numerous armies. The remainder of their troops was distributed into several hundred cohorts of infantry and squadrons of cavalry. Their arms and titles and ensigns were calculated to inspire terror, and to display the variety of nations who marched under the imperial standard. And not a vestige was left of that severe simplicity which in the ages of freedom and victory had distinguished the line of battle of a Roman army from the confused host of an Asiatic monarch.<sup>133</sup> A more particular enumeration, drawn from the *Notitia*, might exercise the diligence of an antiquary; but the historian will content himself with observing that the number of permanent stations or garrisons established on the frontiers of the empire

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<sup>131</sup> Ammian. l. xix. c. 2. He observes (c. 5) that the desperate sallies of two Gallic legions were like a handful of water thrown on a great conflagration.

<sup>132</sup> Pancirolus ad Notitiam, p. 96. Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions, tom. xxv. p. 491.

<sup>133</sup> Romana acies unius prope formæ erat et hominum et armorum genere.—Regia acies varia magis multis gentibus dissimilitudine armorum auxiliorumque erat.—T. Liv. l. xxxvii. c. 39, 40. Flaminus [Flamininus], even before the event, had compared the army of Antiochus to a supper in which the flesh of one vile animal was diversified by the skill of the cooks. See the Life of Flaminus [Flamininus] in Plutarch.

amounted to five hundred and eighty-three; and that under the successors of Constantine the complete force of the military establishment was computed at six hundred and forty-five thousand soldiers.<sup>134</sup> An effort so prodigious surpassed the wants of a more ancient and the faculties of a later period.

In the various states of society armies are recruited from very different motives. Barbarians are urged by the love of war; the citizens of a free republic may be prompted by a principle of duty; the subjects, or at least the nobles, of a monarchy are animated by a sentiment of honor; but the timid and luxurious inhabitants of a declining empire must be allured into the service by the hopes of profit, or compelled by the dread of punishment. The resources of the Roman treasury were exhausted by the increase of pay, by the repetition of donatives, and by the invention of new emoluments and indulgences, which, in the opinion of the provincial youth, might compensate the hardships and dangers of a military life. Yet, although the stature was lowered,<sup>135</sup> although slaves, at least by a tacit connivance, were indiscriminately received into the ranks, the insurmountable difficulty of procuring a regular and adequate supply of volunteers obliged the emperors to adopt more effectual and coercive methods. The lands bestowed on the veterans, as the free reward of their valor, were henceforward granted under a condition which contains the first rudiments of the feudal tenures—that their sons, who succeeded to the inheritance, should devote themselves to the profession of arms as soon as they attained the age of manhood; and their cowardly refusal was punished by the loss of honor, of fortune, or even of life.<sup>136</sup>

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<sup>134</sup> Agathias, l. v. p. 157, edit. Louvre [c. 13, p. 305, edit. Bonn].

<sup>135</sup> Valentinian (Cod. Theodos. l. vii. tit. xiii. leg. 3) fixes the standard at five feet seven inches, about five feet four inches and a half English measure. It had formerly been five feet ten inches, and in the best corps six Roman feet. *Sed tunc erat amplior multitudo, et plures militiam sequebantur armatam.*—Vegetius de Re Militari, l. i. c. 5.

<sup>136</sup> See the two titles *De Veteranis* and *De Filiis Veteranorum* [tit. xx. xxii.] in the seventh book of the Theodosian Code. The age at which their military service was required varied from twenty-five to sixteen. If the sons of the veter-

But as the annual growth of the sons of the veterans bore a very small proportion to the demands of the service, levies of men were frequently required from the provinces, and every proprietor was obliged either to take up arms, or to procure a substitute, or to purchase his exemption by the payment of a heavy fine.<sup>a</sup> The sum of forty-two pieces of gold, to which it was reduced, ascertains the exorbitant price of volunteers, and the reluctance with which the government admitted of this alternative.<sup>137</sup> Such was the horror for the profession of a soldier which had affected the minds of the degenerate Romans that many of the youth of Italy and the provinces chose to cut off the fingers of their right hand to escape from being pressed into the service; and this strange expedient was so commonly practised as to deserve the severe animadversion of the laws,<sup>138</sup> and a peculiar name in the Latin language.<sup>139</sup>

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ans appeared with a horse, they had a right to serve in the cavalry; two horses gave them some valuable privileges.

<sup>137</sup> Cod. Theod. l. vii. tit. xiii. leg. 7. According to the historian Socrates (see Godefroy ad loc.) the same Emperor Valens sometimes required eighty pieces of gold for a recruit. In the following law it is faintly expressed that slaves shall not be admitted "inter optimas lectissimorum militum turmas."

<sup>138</sup> The person and property of a Roman knight who had mutilated his two sons were sold at public auction by order of Augustus (Sueton. in August. c. 24). The moderation of that artful usurper proves that this example of severity was justified by the spirit of the times. Ammianus makes a distinction between the effeminate Italians and the hardy Gauls (l. xv. c. 12). Yet only fifteen years afterwards, Valentinian, in a law addressed to the Præfect of Gaul, is obliged to enact that these cowardly deserters shall be burned alive (Cod. Theod. l. vii. tit. xiii. leg. 5). Their numbers in Illyricum were so considerable that the province complained of a scarcity of recruits (id. leg. 10).

<sup>139</sup> They were called *Murci*. *Murcidus* is found in Plautus and Festus to denote a lazy and cowardly person who, according to Arnobius and Augustine, was

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<sup>a</sup> Mr. Finlay points out that these views of Gibbon require to be modified. "The necessity of preventing the possibility of a falling-off in the revenue was, in the eyes of the imperial court, of as much consequence as the maintenance of the efficiency of the army. Proprietors of land, and citizens of wealth, were not allowed to enrol themselves as soldiers, lest they should escape from paying their taxes; and only those plebeians and peasants who were not liable to the land-tax were received as warriors. It was the duty of the poor to serve in person, and of the rich to supply the revenues of the State. The effect of this was that the Roman forces were often recruited with slaves, in spite of the laws frequently passed to prohibit this abuse; and, not long after the time of Constantine, slaves were often admitted to enter the army on receiving their freedom."—Finlay, *Greece under the Romans*, p. 131; *History of the Byzantine Empire*, p. 33.—S.

The introduction of barbarians into the Roman armies became every day more universal, more necessary, and more fatal. The most daring of the Scythians, of the Goths, and of the Germans, who delighted in war, and who found it more profitable to defend than to ravage the provinces, were enrolled not only in the auxiliaries of their respective nations, but in the legions themselves, and among the most distinguished of the Palatine troops. As they freely mingled with the subjects of the empire, they gradually learned to despise their manners and to imitate their arts. They abjured the implicit reverence which the pride of Rome had exacted from their ignorance, while they acquired the knowledge and possession of those advantages by which alone she supported her declining greatness. The barbarian soldiers who displayed any military talents were advanced, without exception, to the most important commands; and the names of the tribunes, of the counts and dukes, and of the generals themselves, betray a foreign origin, which they no longer condescended to disguise. They were often intrusted with the conduct of a war against their countrymen; and though most of them preferred the ties of allegiance to those of blood, they did not always avoid the guilt, or at least the suspicion, of holding a treasonable correspondence with the enemy, of inviting his invasion, or of sparing his retreat. The camps and the palace of the son of Constantine were governed by the powerful faction of the Franks, who preserved the strictest connection with each other and with their country, and who resented every personal affront as a national indignity.<sup>140</sup> When the tyrant Caligula was suspected of an intention to invest a very extraordinary candidate with the consular robes, the sacrilegious profanation would have scarcely excited less astonishment if, instead of a horse, the noblest chieftain of Germany

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under the immediate protection of the goddess *Murcia*. From this particular instance of cowardice, *murcare* is used as synonymous to *mutilare* by the writers of the middle Latinity. See Lindenbrogius and Valesius ad Ammian. Marcellin. l. xv. c. 12.

<sup>140</sup> Malarichus—adhibitis Francis quorum ea tempestate in palatio multitudo florebat, erectius iam loquebatur tumultuabaturque.—Ammian. l. xv. c. 5.



or Britain had been the object of his choice. The revolution of three centuries had produced so remarkable a change in the prejudices of the people that, with the public approbation, Constantine showed his successors the example of bestowing the honors of the consulship on the barbarians who, by their merit and services, had deserved to be ranked among the first of the Romans.<sup>141</sup> But as these hardy veterans, who had been educated in the ignorance or contempt of the laws, were incapable of exercising any civil offices, the powers of the human mind were contracted by the irreconcilable separation of talents as well as of professions. The accomplished citizens of the Greek and Roman republics, whose characters could adapt themselves to the bar, the senate, the camp, or the schools, had learned to write, to speak, and to act with the same spirit and with equal abilities.

IV. Besides the magistrates and generals, who at a distance from the court diffused their delegated authority over the

Seven minis-  
ters of the  
palace.

provinces and armies, the emperor conferred the rank of *Illustrious* on seven of his more immediate servants, to whose fidelity he intrusted his safety,

or his counsels, or his treasures. 1. The private apartments of the palace were governed by a favorite eunuch, who, in the

The chamber-  
lain.

language of that age, was styled the *præpositus*, or præfect of the sacred bedchamber. His duty was to attend the emperor in his hours of state or in those of amusement, and to perform about his person all those menial services which can only derive their splendor from the influence of royalty. Under a prince who deserved to reign, the great chamberlain (for such we may call him) was a useful and humble domestic; but an artful domestic, who improves every occasion of unguarded confidence, will insensibly acquire over a feeble mind that ascendant which harsh wisdom and uncom-

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<sup>141</sup> *Barbaros omnium primus, ad usque fasces auxerat et trabeas consulares.*—*Ammian.* l. xxi. c. 10. Eusebius (in *Vit. Constantin.* l. iv. c. 7) and Aurelius Victor seem to confirm the truth of this assertion; yet in the thirty-two consular *Fasti* of the reign of Constantine I cannot discover the name of a single barbarian. I should therefore interpret the liberality of that prince as relative to the ornaments rather than to the office of the consulship.

plying virtue can seldom obtain. 'The degenerate grandsons of Theodosius, who were invisible to their subjects and contemptible to their enemies, exalted the præfects of their bed-chamber above the heads of all the ministers of the palace;<sup>142</sup> and even his deputy, the first of the splendid train of slaves who waited in the presence, was thought worthy to rank before the *respectable* proconsuls of Greece or Asia. The jurisdiction of the chamberlain was acknowledged by the *counts*, or superintendents, who regulated the two important provinces of the magnificence of the wardrobe and of the luxury of the imperial table.<sup>143</sup> 2. The principal administration of public

The master of the offices. affairs was committed to the diligence and abilities of the *master of the offices*.<sup>144</sup> He was the supreme magistrate of the palace, inspected the discipline of the civil and military *schools*, and received appeals from all parts of the empire, in the causes which related to that numerous army of privileged persons who, as the servants of the court, had obtained for themselves and families a right to decline the authority of the ordinary judges. The correspondence between the prince and his subjects was managed by the four *scrinia*, or offices of this minister of state. The first was appropriated to memorials, the second to epistles, the third to petitions, and the fourth to papers and orders of a miscellaneous kind. Each of these was directed by an inferior *master* of *respectable* dignity, and the whole business was despatched by a hundred and forty-eight secretaries, chosen, for the most part, from the profession of the law, on account of the variety of abstracts

<sup>142</sup> Cod. Theod. l. vi. tit. 8.

<sup>143</sup> By a very singular metaphor, borrowed from the military character of the first emperors, the steward of their household was styled the count of their camp (*comes castrensis*). Cassiodorus very seriously represents to him that his own fame and that of the empire must depend on the opinion which foreign ambassadors may conceive of the plenty and magnificence of the royal table (*Variar. l. vi. epistol. 9*).

<sup>144</sup> Gutherius (*de Officiis Domûs Augustæ*, l. ii. c. 20, l. iii.) has very accurately explained the functions of the master of the offices, and the constitution of the subordinate *scrinia*. But he vainly attempts, on the most doubtful authority, to deduce from the time of the Antonines, or even of Nero, the origin of a magistrate, who cannot be found in history before the reign of Constantine.

of reports and references which frequently occurred in the exercise of their several functions. From a condescension which in former ages would have been esteemed unworthy of the Roman majesty, a particular secretary was allowed for the Greek language; and interpreters were appointed to receive the ambassadors of the barbarians; but the department of foreign affairs, which constitutes so essential a part of modern policy, seldom diverted the attention of the master of the offices. His mind was more seriously engaged by the general direction of the posts and arsenals of the empire. There were thirty-four cities, fifteen in the East and nineteen in the West, in which regular companies of workmen were perpetually employed in fabricating defensive armor, offensive weapons of all sorts, and military engines, which were deposited in the arsenals, and occasionally delivered for the service of the

troops. 3. In the course of nine centuries the office  
The quæstor. of *quæstor* had experienced a very singular revolution. In the infancy of Rome, two inferior magistrates were annually elected by the people, to relieve the consuls from the invidious management of the public treasure;<sup>145</sup> a similar assistant was granted to every proconsul and to every prætor who exercised a military or provincial command. With the extent of conquest, the two quæstors were gradually multiplied to the number of four, of eight, of twenty, and for a short time, perhaps, of forty;<sup>146</sup> and the noblest citizens ambi-

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<sup>145</sup> Tacitus (Annal. xi. 22) says that the first quæstors were elected by the people sixty-four years after the foundation of the republic; but he is of opinion that they had, long before that period, been annually appointed by the consuls, and even by the kings. But this obscure point of antiquity is contested by other writers.<sup>a</sup>

<sup>146</sup> Tacitus (Annal. xi. 22) seems to consider twenty as the highest number of quæstors; and Dion (l. xliii. [c. 47] p. 374) insinuates that, if the dictator Cæsar once created forty, it was only to facilitate the payment of an immense debt of gratitude. Yet the augmentation which he made of prætors subsisted under the succeeding reigns.

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<sup>a</sup> Niebuhr and other writers have endeavored to reconcile these conflicting statements by showing that there were, in the early times of the republic, two different classes of officers bearing this name, one called *Quæstores parricidii*, who were public accusers, and the others called *Quæstores classici*, the financial officers, of whom the former existed at Rome during the kingly period, while the latter were not appointed till the time of the republic.—See Smith's Dict. of Greek and Rom. Antiq. p. 980, 2d edit.—S.

tiously solicited an office which gave them a seat in the senate and a just hope of obtaining the honors of the republic. Whilst Augustus affected to maintain the freedom of election, he consented to accept the annual privilege of recommending, or rather indeed of nominating, a certain proportion of candidates; and it was his custom to select one of these distinguished youths to read his orations or epistles in the assemblies of the senate.<sup>147</sup> The practice of Augustus was imitated by succeeding princes; the occasional commission was established as a permanent office; and the favored quæstor, assuming a new and more illustrious character, alone survived the suppression of his ancient and useless colleagues.<sup>148</sup> As the orations which he composed in the name of the emperor<sup>149</sup> acquired the force, and at length the form, of absolute edicts, he was considered as the representative of the legislative power, the oracle of the council, and the original source of the civil jurisprudence. He was sometimes invited to take his seat in the supreme judicature of the imperial consistory with the Prætorian præfects and the master of the offices, and he

<sup>147</sup> Sueton. in August. c. 65, and Torrent. ad. loc. Dion. Cas. p. 755.

<sup>148</sup> The youth and inexperience of the quæstors, who entered on that important office in their twenty-fifth year (Lips. Excurs. ad Tacit. l. iii. D.), engaged Augustus to remove them from the management of the treasury; and though they were restored by Claudius, they seem to have been finally dismissed by Nero. (Tacit. Annal. xiii. 29. Sueton. in Aug. c. 36, in Claud. c. 24. Dion, p. 696 [l. liii. c. 2], 961 [l. lx. c. 24], etc. Plin. Epistol. x. 20, et alibi.) In the provinces of the imperial division, the place of the quæstors was more ably supplied by the *procurators* (Dion. Cas. p. 707 [l. liii. c. 15]; Tacit. in Vit. Agric. c. 15); or, as they were afterwards called, *rationales*. (Hist. August. p. 130 [Lamprid. Alex. Sever. c. 45, 46]). But in the provinces of the senate we may still discover a series of quæstors till the reign of Marcus Antoninus. (See the Inscriptions of Gruter, the Epistles of Pliny, and a decisive fact in the Augustan History, p. 64 [Spartian. Sever. c. 2]). From Ulpian we may learn (Pandect. l. i. tit. 13) that, under the government of the house of Severus, their provincial administration was abolished, and in the subsequent troubles the annual or triennial elections of quæstors must have naturally ceased.

<sup>149</sup> Cum patris nomine et epistolas ipse dictaret, et edicta conscriberet, orationesque in senatu recitaret, etiam quæstoris vice. Sueton. in Tit. c. 6. The office must have acquired new dignity, which was occasionally executed by the heir apparent of the empire. Trajan intrusted the same care to Hadrian, his quæstor and cousin. See Dodwell, Prælection. Cambden. x. xi. p. 362-394.



was frequently requested to resolve the doubts of inferior judges; but as he was not oppressed with a variety of subordinate business, his leisure and talents were employed to cultivate that dignified style of eloquence which, in the corruption of taste and language, still preserves the majesty of the Roman laws.<sup>150</sup> In some respects the office of the imperial quæstor may be compared with that of a modern chancellor; but the use of a great seal, which seems to have been adopted by the illiterate barbarians, was never introduced to attest the

The public treasurer. public acts of the emperors.\* 4. The extraordinary title of *count of the sacred largesses* was bestowed on the treasurer-general of the revenue, with the intention perhaps of inculcating that every payment flowed from the voluntary bounty of the monarch. To conceive the almost infinite detail of the annual and daily expense of the civil and military administration in every part of a great empire would exceed the powers of the most vigorous imagination. The actual account employed several hundred persons, distributed into eleven different offices, which were artfully contrived to examine and control their respective operations. The multitude of these agents had a natural tendency to increase; and it was more than once thought expedient to dismiss to their native homes the useless supernumeraries who, deserting their honest labors, had pressed with too much eagerness into the lucrative profession of the finances.<sup>151</sup> Twenty-nine provincial receivers, of whom eighteen were honored with the title of count, corresponded with the treasurer; and he extended his jurisdiction over the mines from whence the precious metals were extracted, over the mints in which they were converted into

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——— Terris edicta daturus,  
Supplicibus responsa, venis. Oracula regis  
Eloquio crevere tuo; nec dignius unquam  
Majestas meminit sese Romana locutam.

Claudian. in Consulat. Mall. Theodor. 33. See likewise Symmachus (Epistol. i. 17), and Cassiodorus (Variar. vi. 5).

<sup>151</sup> Cod. Theod. l. vi. tit. 30. Cod. Justinian. l. xii. tit. 24.

\* The duties and functions of the imperial quæstor are fully described by Böcking, *Notitia Dignitatum*, vol. i. p. 247 seq. vol. ii. p. 324 seq.—S.

the current coin, and over the public treasuries of the most important cities, where they were deposited for the service of the State. The foreign trade of the empire was regulated by this minister, who directed likewise all the linen and woollen manufactures, in which the successive operations of spinning, weaving, and dyeing were executed, chiefly by women of a servile condition, for the use of the palace and army. Twenty-six of these institutions are enumerated in the West, where the arts had been more recently introduced, and a still larger proportion may be allowed for the industrious provinces of

the East.<sup>152</sup> 5. Besides the public revenue, which  
 The private treasurer. an absolute monarch might levy and expend according to his pleasure, the emperors, in the capacity of opulent citizens, possessed a very extensive property, which was administered by the *count* or treasurer of the *private estate*. Some part had perhaps been the ancient demesnes of kings and republics; some accessions might be derived from the families which were successively invested with the purple; but the most considerable portion flowed from the impure source of confiscations and forfeitures. The imperial estates were scattered through the provinces from Mauritania to Britain; but the rich and fertile soil of Cappadocia tempted the monarch to acquire in that country his fairest possessions,<sup>153</sup> and either Constantine or his successors embraced the occasion of justifying avarice by religious zeal. They suppressed the rich temple of Comana, where the high-priest of the goddess of war supported the dignity of a sovereign prince; and they applied to their private use the consecrated lands, which were inhabited by six thousand subjects or slaves of the deity and her ministers.<sup>154</sup> But these were not the valuable inhabitants:

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<sup>152</sup> In the departments of the two counts of the treasury the eastern part of the *Notitia* happens to be very defective. It may be observed that we had a treasury chest in London, and a gynæceum, or manufacture, at Winchester. But Britain was not thought worthy either of a mint or of an arsenal. Gaul alone possessed three of the former and eight of the latter.

<sup>153</sup> *Cod. Theod. l. vi. tit. xxx. leg. 2*; and Godefroy ad loc.

<sup>154</sup> Strabon. *Geograph. l. xii. p. 809* [p. 535, edit. Casaub.]. The other temple of Comana, in Pontus, was a colony from that of Cappadocia, *l. xii. p. 835* [p. 557, edit. Casaub.]. The President Des Brosses (see his *Salluste*, tom. ii. p. 21) con-

the plains that stretch from the foot of Mount Argæus to the banks of the Sarus bred a generous race of horses, renowned above all others in the ancient world for their majestic shape and incomparable swiftness. These *sacred* animals, destined for the service of the palace and the imperial games, were protected by the laws from the profanation of a vulgar master.<sup>155</sup> The demesnes of Cappadocia were important enough to require the inspection of a *count*;<sup>156</sup> officers of an inferior rank were stationed in the other parts of the empire; and the deputies of the private as well as those of the public treasurer were maintained in the exercise of their independent functions, and encouraged to control the authority of the provincial magistrates.<sup>157</sup> 6, 7. The chosen bands of cav-

The counts  
of the domes-  
tics.

alry and infantry which guarded the person of the emperor were under the immediate command of the *two counts of the domestics*. The whole number consisted of three thousand five hundred men, divided into seven *schools*, or troops, of five hundred each; and in the East this honorable service was almost entirely appropriated to the Armenians. Whenever, on public ceremonies, they were drawn up in the courts and porticoes of the palace, their lofty stature, silent order, and splendid arms of silver and gold displayed a martial pomp not unworthy of the Roman majesty.<sup>158</sup> From the seven schools two companies of horse and foot were selected, of the *protectors*, whose advantageous station was the hope and reward of the most deserving soldiers. They mounted guard

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lectures that the deity adored in both Comanas was Beltis, the Venus of the East, the goddess of generation—a very different being, indeed, from the goddess of war.

<sup>155</sup> Cod. Theod. l. x. tit. vi. De Grege Dominico. Godefroy has collected every circumstance of antiquity relative to the Cappadocian horses. One of the finest breeds, the Palmatian, was the forfeiture of a rebel whose estate lay about sixteen miles from Tyana, near the great road between Constantinople and Antioch.

<sup>156</sup> Justinian (Novell. 30) subjected the province of the Count of Cappadocia to the immediate authority of the favorite eunuch who presided over the sacred bed-chamber.

<sup>157</sup> Cod. Theod. l. vi. tit. xxx. leg. 4, etc.

<sup>158</sup> Pancirolus, p. 102, 136. The appearance of these military domestics is described in the Latin poem of Corippus, De Laudibus Justin. l. iii. 157-179, p. 419, 420 of the Appendix Hist. Byzantin. Rom. 1777.

in the interior apartments, and were occasionally despatched into the provinces to execute with celerity and vigor the orders of their master.<sup>159</sup> The counts of the domestics had succeeded to the office of the Prætorian præfects; like the præfects, they aspired from the service of the palace to the command of armies.

The perpetual intercourse between the court and the provinces was facilitated by the construction of roads and the institution of posts. But these beneficial establishments Agents or official spies. were accidentally connected with a pernicious and intolerable abuse. Two or three hundred *agents* or messengers were employed, under the jurisdiction of the master of the offices, to announce the names of the annual consuls and the edicts or victories of the emperors. They insensibly assumed the license of reporting whatever they could observe of the conduct either of magistrates or of private citizens, and were soon considered as the eyes of the monarch<sup>160</sup> and the scourge of the people. Under the warm influence of a feeble reign, they multiplied to the incredible number of ten thousand, disdained the mild though frequent admonitions of the laws, and exercised in the profitable management of the posts a rapacious and insolent oppression. These official spies, who regularly corresponded with the palace, were encouraged, by favor and reward, anxiously to watch the progress of every treasonable design, from the faint and latent symptoms of disaffection to the actual preparation of an open revolt. Their careless or criminal violation of truth and justice was covered by the consecrated mask of zeal; and they might securely aim their poisoned arrows at the breast either of the guilty or the innocent, who had provoked their resentment or refused to purchase their silence. A faithful subject of Syria, perhaps, or of Britain, was exposed to the danger, or at least to the dread, of being dragged in chains to the court of Milan or Constantinople, to defend his life and fortune against the ma-

<sup>159</sup> Ammianus Marcellinus, who served so many years, obtained only the rank of a protector. The first ten among these honorable soldiers were *Clarissimi*.

<sup>160</sup> Xenophon, *Cyropæd.* l. viii. [c. 2, § 10, 11]. Brisson, *De Regno Persico*, l. i. No. 190, p. 264. The emperors adopted with pleasure this Persian metaphor.



licious charge of these privileged informers. The ordinary administration was conducted by those methods which extreme necessity can alone palliate; and the defects of evidence were diligently supplied by the use of torture.<sup>161</sup>

The deceitful and dangerous experiment of the criminal *question*, as it is emphatically styled, was admitted, rather than approved, in the jurisprudence of the Romans.

*Use of torture.* They applied this sanguinary mode of examination only to servile bodies, whose sufferings were seldom weighed by those haughty republicans in the scale of justice or humanity; but they would never consent to violate the sacred person of a citizen till they possessed the clearest evidence of his guilt.<sup>162</sup> The annals of tyranny, from the reign of Tiberius to that of Domitian, circumstantially relate the executions of many innocent victims; but, as long as the faintest remembrance was kept alive of the national freedom and honor, the last hours of a Roman were secure from the danger of ignominious torture.<sup>163</sup> The conduct of the provincial magistrates was not, however, regulated by the practice of the city or the strict maxims of the civilians. They found the use of torture established, not only among the slaves of Oriental despotism, but among the Macedonians, who obeyed a limited monarch; among the Rhodians, who flourished by the liberty of commerce; and even among the sage Athenians, who had asserted and adorned the dignity of humankind.<sup>164</sup> The ac-

<sup>161</sup> For the *Agentes in Rebus*, see Ammian. l. xv. c. 3, l. xvi. c. 5, l. xxii. c. 7, with the curious annotations of Valesius. Cod. Theod. l. vi. tit. xxvii. xxviii. xxix. Among the passages collected in the Commentary of Godefroy, the most remarkable is one from Libanius, in his discourse concerning the death of Julian.

<sup>162</sup> The Pandects (l. xlviii. tit. xviii.) contain the sentiments of the most celebrated civilians on the subject of torture. They strictly confine it to slaves; and Ulpian himself is ready to acknowledge that “*Res est fragilis, et periculosa, et quæ veritatem fallat*” [§ 23].

<sup>163</sup> In the conspiracy of Piso against Nero, Epicharis (libertina mulier) was the only person tortured; the rest were *intacti tormentis*. It would be superfluous to add a weaker, and it would be difficult to find a stronger example. Tacit. Annal. xv. 57.

<sup>164</sup> Dicendum . . . de institutis Atheniensium, Rhodiorum, doctissimorum hominum, apud quos etiam (id quod acerbissimum est) liberi, civesque torquentur.—

quiescence of the provincials encouraged their governors to acquire, or perhaps to usurp, a discretionary power of employing the rack to extort from vagrants or Plebeian criminals the confession of their guilt, till they insensibly proceeded to confound the distinctions of rank and to disregard the privileges of Roman citizens. The apprehensions of the subjects urged them to solicit, and the interest of the sovereign engaged him to grant, a variety of special exemptions, which tacitly allowed, and even authorized, the general use of torture. They protected all persons of illustrious or honorable rank, bishops and their presbyters, professors of the liberal arts, soldiers and their families, municipal officers and their posterity to the third generation, and all children under the age of puberty.<sup>166</sup> But a fatal maxim was introduced into the new jurisprudence of the empire, that in the case of treason, which included every offence that the subtlety of lawyers could derive from a *hostile intention* towards the prince or republic,<sup>166</sup> all privileges were suspended, and all conditions were reduced to the same ignominious level. As the safety of the emperor was avowedly preferred to every consideration of justice or humanity, the dignity of age and the tenderness of youth were alike exposed to the most cruel tortures; and the terrors of a malicious information which might select them as the accomplices, or even as the witnesses perhaps, of an imaginary crime perpetually hung over the heads of the principal citizens of the Roman world.<sup>167</sup>

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Cicero, Partit. Orat. c. 34. We may learn from the trial of Philotas the practice of the Macedonians. (Diodor. Sicul. l. xvii. [c. 80] p. 604. Q. Curt. l. vi. c. 11.)<sup>a</sup>

<sup>166</sup> Heineccius (Element. Jur. Civil. part vii. p. 81) has collected these exemptions into one view.

<sup>166</sup> This definition of the sage Ulpian (Pandect. l. xlviii. tit. iv.) seems to have been adapted to the court of Caracalla rather than to that of Alexander Severus. See the Codes of Theodosius and Justinian ad leg. Juliam majestatis.

<sup>167</sup> Arcadius Charisius is the oldest lawyer quoted in the Pandects to justify the universal practice of torture in all cases of treason; but this maxim of tyranny,

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<sup>a</sup> Notwithstanding the express statement of Cicero, this is not true as far as regards the Athenians. There was a law at Athens ordaining that no free Athenian should be put to the torture. See Smith's Dict. of Greek and Roman Antiq. p. 1139.—S.

These evils, however terrible they may appear, were confined to the smaller number of Roman subjects whose dangerous situation was in some degree compensated by the enjoyment of those advantages, either of nature or of fortune, which exposed them to the jealousy of the monarch. The obscure millions of a great empire have much less to dread from the cruelty than from the avarice of their masters; and *their* humble happiness is principally affected by the grievance of excessive taxes, which, gently pressing on the wealthy, descend with accelerated weight on the meaner and more indigent classes of society. An ingenious philosopher<sup>168</sup> has calculated the universal measure of the public impositions by the degrees of freedom and servitude; and ventures to assert that, according to an invariable law of nature, it must always increase with the former and diminish in a just proportion to the latter. But this reflection, which would tend to alleviate the miseries of despotism, is contradicted at least by the history of the Roman empire, which accuses the same princes of despoiling the senate of its authority and the provinces of their wealth. Without abolishing all the various customs and duties on merchandises, which are imperceptibly discharged by the apparent choice of the purchaser, the policy of Constantine and his successors preferred a simple and direct mode of taxation, more congenial to the spirit of an arbitrary government.<sup>169</sup>

The name and use of the *indictions*,<sup>170</sup> which serve to ascer-

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which is admitted by Ammianus (lxix. c. 12) with the most respectful terror, is enforced by several laws of the successors of Constantine. See Cod. Theod. l. ix. tit. xxxv. : In majestatis crimine omnibus æqua est conditio [leg. 1].

<sup>168</sup> Montesquieu, *Esprit des Loix*, l. xii. c. 13.

<sup>169</sup> Mr. Hume (*Essays*, vol. i. p. 389) has seen this important truth with some degree of perplexity.

<sup>170</sup> The cycle of indictions, which may be traced as high as the reign of Constantius, or perhaps of his father Constantine, is still employed by the Papal court; but the commencement of the year has been very reasonably altered to the first of January. See *l'Art de vérifier les Dates*, p. xi., and *Dictionnaire Raison. de la Diplomatie*, tom. ii. p. 25—two accurate treatises, which come from the workshop of the Benedictines.<sup>a</sup>

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<sup>a</sup> The indictions as a chronological era begin September 1, A.D. 312. See Clin-

tain the chronology of the Middle Ages, was derived from the regular practice of the Roman tributes.<sup>171</sup> The emperor subscribed with his own hand, and in purple ink, the solemn edict, or indiction, which was fixed up in the principal city of each diocese during two months previous to the first day of September. And, by a very easy connection of ideas, the word *indiction* was transferred to the measure of tribute which it prescribed, and to the annual term which it allowed for the payment. This general estimate of the supplies was proportioned to the real and imaginary wants of the State; but as often as the expense exceeded the revenue, or the revenue fell short of the computation, an additional tax, under the name of *superindiction*, was imposed on the people, and the most valuable attribute of sovereignty was communicated to the Prætorian præfects, who, on some occasions, were permitted to provide for the unforeseen and extraordinary exigencies of the public service. The execution of these laws (which it would be tedious to pursue in their minute and intricate detail) consisted of two distinct operations—the resolving the general imposition into its constituent parts, which were assessed on the provinces, the cities, and the individuals of the Roman world; and the collecting the separate contributions of the individuals, the cities, and the

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<sup>171</sup> The first twenty-eight titles of the eleventh book of the Theodosian Code are filled with the circumstantial regulations on the important subject of tributes; but they suppose a clearer knowledge of fundamental principles than it is at present in our power to attain.

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ton, *Fasti Rom.* vol. i. p. 364. The way in which the indiction was used as a chronological era in the time of Constantine, and long afterwards, deserves notice. From September 1, A.D. 312, successive periods of fifteen years were reckoned. When an indiction is mentioned, it is quite uncertain which of these periods of fifteen years is meant, and it is only the number of a particular year occurring in the period that is expressed. This separate year, and not the period of fifteen years, is called an indiction. Thus, when the seventh indiction occurs in a document, this document belongs to the seventh year of one of those periods of fifteen years, but to which of them is uncertain. This continued to be the usage of the word till the twelfth century, when it became the practice to call the period of fifteen years the indiction, and to reckon from the birth of Christ the number of indictions—that is, periods of fifteen years. An event was then said to take place in a particular year of a particular indiction; for example, Indictionis LXXIX., anno V. Savigny, *Ueber die römische Steuerverfassung*, in *Vermischte Schriften*, vol. ii. p. 130.—S.



provinces, till the accumulated sums were poured into the imperial treasuries. But as the account between the monarch and the subject was perpetually open, and as the renewal of the demand anticipated the perfect discharge of the preceding obligation, the weighty machine of the finances was moved by the same hands round the circle of its yearly revolution. Whatever was honorable or important in the administration of the revenue was committed to the wisdom of the præfects and their provincial representatives. The lucrative functions were claimed by a crowd of subordinate officers, some of whom depended on the treasurer, others on the governor of the province; and who, in the inevitable conflicts of a perplexed jurisdiction, had frequent opportunities of disputing with each other the spoils of the people. The laborious offices, which could be productive only of envy and reproach, of expense and danger, were imposed on the *Decurions*, who formed the corporations of the cities, and whom the severity of the imperial laws had condemned to sustain the burdens of civil society.<sup>172</sup> The whole landed property of the empire (without excepting the patrimonial estates of the monarch) was the object of ordinary taxation; and every new purchaser contracted the obligations of the former proprietor. An accurate *cen-*

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<sup>172</sup> The title concerning the Decurions (l. xii. tit. i.) is the most ample in the whole Theodosian Code, since it contains not less than one hundred and ninety-two distinct laws to ascertain the duties and privileges of that useful order of citizens.<sup>a</sup>

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<sup>a</sup> The *Decuriones*, also called *Curiales*, were the members of the senate in the municipal towns. This senate was called *Ordo Decurionum*, subsequently *Ordo* simply, and sometimes also *Curia*. In the times of the republic admission into the *Ordo Decurionum* was considered an honor; but under the despotism of the empire the position of the Decurions was most lamentable, as we see from the Theodosian Code. The Plebeians carefully avoided this dangerous distinction, and the Decurions themselves sought to escape from it in every possible way. Many became soldiers and even slaves in order to conceal themselves, but they were sought after and dragged back to the *Curia*. Their miserable condition arose from the oppression of the government. For the Decurions had not simply to collect the taxes, but they were responsible for their colleagues; they had to take up the lands abandoned by the proprietors on account of the intolerable weight of taxes attached to them; and they had finally to make up all deficiencies in the taxes out of their own private resources. Savigny, *Geschichte des römischen Rechts*, vol. i. p. 40 seq., 2d edit.—S.

*sus*,<sup>173</sup> or survey, was the only equitable mode of ascertaining the proportion which every citizen should be obliged to contribute for the public service; and from the well-known period of the indictions, there is reason to believe that this difficult and expensive operation was repeated at the regular distance of fifteen years. The lands were measured by surveyors who were sent into the provinces; their nature, whether arable or pasture, or vineyards or woods, was distinctly reported; and an estimate was made of their common value from the average produce of five years. The numbers of slaves and of cattle constituted an essential part of the report; an oath was administered to the proprietors which bound them to disclose the true state of their affairs; and their attempts to prevaricate or elude the intention of the legislator were severely watched, and punished as a capital crime, which included the double guilt of treason and sacrilege.<sup>174</sup> A large portion of the tribute was paid in money; and of the current coin of the empire, gold alone could be legally accepted.<sup>175</sup> The remainder of the taxes, according to the proportions determined by the annual indiction, was furnished in a manner still more direct and still more oppressive. According to the different nature of lands, their real produce in the various articles of wine or oil, corn or barley, wood or iron, was transported by the labor or at the expense of the provincials to the imperial magazines, from whence they were occasionally distributed, for the use of the court, of the army, and of the two capitals, Rome and Constantinople. The commissioners of

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<sup>173</sup> *Habemus enim et hominum numerum qui delati sunt, et agrorum modum.*—Eumenius in Panegy. Vet. viii. [vii.] 6. See Cod. Theod. l. xiii. tit. x. xi. with Godefroy's Commentary.

<sup>174</sup> *Siquis sacrilegâ vitem falce succiderit; aut feracium ramorum fœtus hebetaverit, quo declinet fidem Censuum, et mentiatur callide paupertatis ingenium, mox detectus capitale subibit exitium, et bona ejus in Fisci jura migrabunt.*—Cod. Theod. l. xiii. tit. xi. leg. 1. Although this law is not without its studied obscurity, it is, however, clear enough to prove the minuteness of the inquisition and the disproportion of the penalty.

<sup>175</sup> The astonishment of Pliny would have ceased. *Equidem miror P. R. victis gentibus [in tributo] semper argentum imperitasse, non aurum.*—Hist. Natur. xxxiii. 15.

the revenue were so frequently obliged to make considerable purchases that they were strictly prohibited from allowing any compensation, or from receiving in money the value of those supplies which were exacted in kind. In the primitive simplicity of small communities, this method may be well adapted to collect the almost voluntary offerings of the people; but it is at once susceptible of the utmost latitude and of the utmost strictness, which in a corrupt and absolute monarchy must introduce a perpetual contest between the power of oppression and the arts of fraud.<sup>176</sup> The agriculture of the Roman provinces was insensibly ruined, and, in the progress of despotism, which tends to disappoint its own purpose, the emperors were obliged to derive some merit from the forgiveness of debts, or the remission of tributes, which their subjects were utterly incapable of paying. According to the new division of Italy, the fertile and happy province of Campania, the scene of the early victories and of the delicious retirements of the citizens of Rome, extended between the sea and the Apennine from the Tiber to the Silarus. Within sixty years after the death of Constantine, and on the evidence of an actual survey, an exemption was granted in favor of three hundred and thirty thousand English acres of desert and uncultivated land, which amounted to one eighth of the whole surface of the province. As the footsteps of the barbarians had not yet been seen in Italy, the cause of this amazing desolation, which is recorded in the laws, can be ascribed only to the administration of the Roman emperors.<sup>177</sup>

Either from design or from accident, the mode of assessment

<sup>176</sup> Some precautions were taken (see Cod. Theod. l. xi. tit. ii. and Cod. Justinian. l. x. tit. xxvii. leg. 1, 2, 3) to restrain the magistrates from the abuse of their authority, either in the exaction or in the purchase of corn; but those who had learning enough to read the orations of Cicero against Verres (iii. de Frumento) might instruct themselves in all the various arts of oppression with regard to the weight, the price, the quality, and the carriage. The avarice of an unlettered governor would supply the ignorance of precept or precedent.

<sup>177</sup> Cod. Theod. l. xi. tit. xxviii. leg. 2, published the 24th of March, A.D. 395, by the Emperor Honorius, only two months after the death of his father, Theodosius. He speaks of 528,042 Roman jugera, which I have reduced to the English measure. The jugerum contained 28,800 square Roman feet.

seemed to unite the substance of a land-tax with the forms of a capitation.<sup>178 a</sup> The returns which were sent of every province or district expressed the number of tributary subjects and the amount of the public im-

Assessed in  
the form of a  
capitation.

<sup>178</sup> Godefroy (Cod. Theod. tom. v. p. 116 [l. xiv. tit. x. leg. 2]) argues with weight and learning on the subject of the capitation; but while he explains the *caput* as a share or measure of property, he too absolutely excludes the idea of a personal assessment.

<sup>a</sup> Gibbon and most other writers have fallen into error respecting the finances of this period of the empire by supposing that the word *capitatio* had only one signification. Savigny, however, in his masterly dissertation on the finances of the empire, has shown that *capitatio* signified both a land-tax and a poll-tax, which were the two principal taxes at this period. I. *The Land-tax*.—For the purposes of the land-tax the whole land of the empire was measured and divided into a certain number of pieces, each of which had to pay the same sum of money as a tax. Such a piece of land was called *caput*, sometimes *jugum*, whence the tax was named *capitatio* and sometimes *jugatio*. Since each *caput* was of the same value and paid the same tax, its size must of course varied according to the nature of the land composing it. It appears from an edict of Majorian that the assessed value of the capital of each *caput* was 1000 solidi, or £500 (see note on p. 313, 314), but whether this was its real value or not may be doubted; probably its real value was greater than its assessed value. (Nov. Majoriani in the Berlin edit. of the Jus. Civ. Antejust. Nov. xcii. § 16). The nature of the census or general register of the land of the empire is described at length by Ulpian (Dig. 50, tit. 15, l. 4). In the Middle Ages the registers were called *capitastra*, because they contained lists of the *capita*. Hence the word *catastrum*, which continues in use on the Continent down to the present day. There was a periodical revision of the census, in the time of Ulpian, every ten years, and at a later period every fifteen years. For each financial year, which commenced on the 1st of September, the whole amount of the land-tax was fixed, and was then divided among the *capita*. The payment had to be made in three instalments—on the 1st of January, the 1st of May, and the 1st of September. The tribute appointed for each year was called *indictio*, a term which also came to be applied to the financial year (see preceding note, p. 307, 308).

II. *The Poll-tax*.—The poll-tax was called sometimes simply *capitatio*, sometimes *humana capitatio*, *capitaks illatio*, and *capitatio plebeia*. The amount of this tax is unknown. Every person in the empire was liable to pay it, with the exception of the following classes: 1. All persons who paid the land-tax were exempt from the poll-tax. Consequently the poll-tax was a kind of supplement to the land-tax, and was intended as a direct tax upon those persons who would otherwise have escaped direct taxation because they possessed no landed property. 2. All persons above the rank of Plebeians were also exempt. The expression *plebeia capitatio* shows that it was a peculiar burden of the Plebeians; but if the latter possessed property in land, it follows from the preceding exemption that they did not pay the poll-tax as well as the land-tax. Consequently, the classes from whom the poll-tax was chiefly levied were—1. The free inhabitants of towns, who possessed neither rank nor landed property; 2. The Coloni in the country; 3. The slaves. But by an edict of Diocletian, which, though repealed by Galerius, was renewed by Licinius, the *plebs urbana* and their slaves were exempt, so that the tax henceforth fell exclusively upon the Coloni and agricultural slaves. The proprietor of the land had to pay the tax for the Coloni upon his estate, from whom he recovered it. In like manner, the owners of slaves had to pay the tax upon their slaves; but as the latter had no property, the tax was in reality a tax upon the masters. Savigny, ut supra, vol. ii. p. 67 foll.—S.



positions. The latter of these sums was divided by the former; and the estimate that such a province contained so many *capita*, or heads of tribute, and that each *head* was rated at such a price, was universally received, not only in the popular, but even in the legal computation. The value of a tributary head must have varied, according to many accidental, or at least fluctuating circumstances; but some knowledge has been preserved of a very curious fact, the more important since it relates to one of the richest provinces of the Roman empire, and which now flourishes as the most splendid of the European kingdoms. The rapacious ministers of Constantius had exhausted the wealth of Gaul by exacting twenty-five pieces of gold for the annual tribute of every head. The humane policy of his successor reduced the capitation to seven pieces.<sup>179</sup> A moderate proportion between these opposite extremes of extraordinary oppression and of transient indulgence may therefore be fixed at sixteen pieces of gold, or about nine pounds sterling, the common standard, perhaps, of the impositions of Gaul.<sup>180</sup> But this calculation, or rather, indeed, the

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<sup>179</sup> Quid profuerit (*Julianus*) anhelantibus extremâ penuriâ Gallis, hinc maxime claret, quod primitus partes eas ingressus, pro *capitibus* singulis tributî nomine vicenos quinos aureos reperit flagitari. discedens vero septenos tantum, munera universa complentes.—*Ammian.* l. xvi. c. 5.

<sup>180</sup> In the calculation of any sum of money under Constantine and his successors, we need only refer to the excellent discourse of Mr. Greaves on the Denarius for the proof of the following principles: 1. That the ancient and modern Roman pound, containing 5256 grains of Troy weight, is about one twelfth lighter than the English pound, which is composed of 5760 of the same grains. 2. That the pound of gold, which had once been divided into forty-eight *aurei*, was at this time coined into seventy-two smaller pieces of the same denomination. 3. That five of these aurei were the legal tender of a pound of silver, and that consequently the pound of gold was exchanged for fourteen pounds eight ounces of silver, according to the Roman, or about thirteen pounds according to the English weight. 4. That the English pound of silver is coined into sixty-two shillings. From these elements we may compute the Roman pound of gold, the usual method of reckoning large sums, at forty pounds sterling, and we may fix the currency of the *aureus* at somewhat more than eleven shillings.<sup>a</sup>

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<sup>a</sup> According to Savigny's calculations, the aureus in the time of Constantine was equal to three thalers eight groschen (Saxon)—that is, ten shillings English. After the preceding note, it need hardly be observed that the *capita* in Gaul were not "heads of tribute," but pieces of land. Each piece of land had to pay before Ju-

facts from whence it is deduced, cannot fail of suggesting two difficulties to a thinking mind, who will be at once surprised by the *equality* and by the *enormity* of the capitation. An attempt to explain them may perhaps reflect some light on the interesting subject of the finances of the declining empire.

I. It is obvious that, as long as the immutable constitution of human nature produces and maintains so unequal a division of property, the most numerous part of the community would be deprived of their subsistence by the equal assessment of a tax from which the sovereign would derive a very trifling revenue. Such, indeed, might be the theory of the Roman capitation; but, in the practice, this unjust equality was no longer felt, as the tribute was collected on the principle of a *real*, not of a *personal* imposition. Several indigent citizens contributed to compose a single *head*, or share of taxation; while the wealthy provincial, in proportion to his fortune, alone represented several of those imaginary beings. In a poetical request addressed to one of the last and most deserving of the Roman princes who reigned in Gaul, Sidonius Apollinaris personifies his tribute under the figure of a triple monster—the Geryon of the Grecian fables—and entreats the new Hercules that he would most graciously be pleased to save his life by cutting off three of his heads.<sup>181</sup> The fortune of Sidonius far exceeded the customary wealth of a poet; but if he had pursued the allusion, he must have painted many of the Gallic nobles with the hundred heads of the deadly Hydra, spreading over the face of the country, and devouring the substance of a hundred families. II. The difficulty of allowing an annual

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<sup>181</sup> Geryones nos esse puta, monstrumque tributum,  
Hic capita ut vivam, tu mihi tolle tria.

Sidon. Apollinar. Carm. xiii. [v. 19].

The reputation of Father Sirmond led me to expect more satisfaction than I have found in his note (p. 144) on this remarkable passage. The words "*suo vel suorum nomine*" betray the perplexity of the commentator.

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lian's administration twenty-five aurei, or £12 10s., which he reduced to seven aurei, or £3 10s. Properly these sums should be somewhat less in English money, since the relation of silver to gold in Constantine's time was 1 to 14½, while the difference at present is somewhat greater. Savigny, *ut supra*, vol. ii. p. 144.—S.

sum of about nine pounds sterling, even for the average of the capitation of Gaul, may be rendered more evident by the comparison of the present state of the same country, as it is now governed by the absolute monarch of an industrious, wealthy, and affectionate people. The taxes of France cannot be magnified, either by fear or by flattery, beyond the annual amount of eighteen millions sterling, which ought, perhaps, to be shared among four-and-twenty millions of inhabitants.<sup>182</sup> Seven millions of these, in the capacity of fathers, or brothers, or husbands, may discharge the obligations of the remaining multitude of women and children; yet the equal proportion of each tributary subject will scarcely rise above fifty shillings of our money, instead of a proportion almost four times as considerable, which was regularly imposed on their Gallic ancestors. The reason of this difference may be found, not so much in the relative scarcity or plenty of gold and silver as in the different state of society in ancient Gaul and in modern France. In a country where personal freedom is the privilege of every subject, the whole mass of taxes, whether they are levied on property or on consumption, may be fairly divided among the whole body of the nation. But the far greater part of the lands of ancient Gaul, as well as of the other provinces of the Roman world, were cultivated by slaves or by peasants, whose

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<sup>182</sup> This assertion, however formidable it may seem, is founded on the original registers of births, deaths, and marriages, collected by public authority, and now deposited in the *Contrôle Général* at Paris. The annual average of births throughout the whole kingdom, taken in five years (from 1770 to 1774, both inclusive), is 479,649 boys and 449,269 girls—in all, 928,918 children. The province of French Hainault alone furnishes 9906 births; and we are assured, by an actual enumeration of the people, annually repeated from the year 1773 to the year 1776, that, upon an average, Hainault contains 257,097 inhabitants. By the rules of fair analogy, we might infer that the ordinary proportion of annual births to the whole people is about 1 to 26; and that the kingdom of France contains 24,151,868 persons of both sexes and of every age. If we content ourselves with the more moderate proportion of 1 to 25, the whole population will amount to 23,222,950. From the diligent researches of the French government (which are not unworthy of our own imitation), we may hope to obtain a still greater degree of certainty on this important subject.\*

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\* In 1851 the total population of France was 35,781,628.—S.

dependent condition was a less rigid servitude.<sup>183</sup> In such a state the poor were maintained at the expense of the masters who enjoyed the fruits of their labor; and as the rolls of tribute were filled only with the names of those citizens who possessed the means of an honorable, or at least of a decent subsistence, the comparative smallness of their numbers explains and justifies the high rate of their capitation. The truth of this assertion may be illustrated by the following example: The Ædui, one of the most powerful and civilized tribes or *cities* of Gaul, occupied an extent of territory which now contains above five hundred thousand inhabitants, in the two ecclesiastical dioceses of Autun and Nevers;<sup>184</sup> and with the probable accession of those of Châlons and Mâcon,<sup>185</sup> the population would amount to eight hundred thousand souls. In the time of Constantine the territory of the Ædui afforded no more than twenty-five thousand *heads* of capitation, of whom seven thousand were discharged by that prince from the intolerable weight of tribute.<sup>186</sup> A just analogy would seem to counte-

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<sup>183</sup> Cod. Theod. l. v. tit. ix. x. xi. Cod. Justinian. l. xi. tit. lxxiii. Coloni appellantur qui conditionem debent genitili solo, propter agriculturam sub dominio possessorum. Augustin. de Civitate Dei, l. x. c. i.

<sup>184</sup> The ancient jurisdiction of (*Augustodunum*) Autun, in Burgundy, the capital of the Ædui, comprehended the adjacent territory of (*Noviodunum*) Nevers. See d'Anville, Notice de l'Ancienne Gaule, p. 491. The two dioceses of Autun and Nevers are now composed—the former of 610 and the latter of 160 parishes. The registers of births, taken during eleven years, in 476 parishes of the same province of Burgundy, and multiplied by the moderate proportion of 25 (see Mesance, Recherches sur la Population, p. 142), may authorize us to assign an average number of 656 persons for each parish, which, being again multiplied by the 770 parishes of the dioceses of Nevers and Autun, will produce the sum of 505,120 persons for the extent of country which was once possessed by the Ædui.

<sup>185</sup> We might derive an additional supply of 301,750 inhabitants from the dioceses of Châlons (*Cabillonum*) and of Mâcon (*Matisco*), since they contain—the one 200 and the other 260 parishes. This accession of territory might be justified by very specious reasons. 1. Châlons and Mâcon were undoubtedly within the original jurisdiction of the Ædui. (See D'Anville, Notice, p. 187, 443.) 2. In the Notitia of Gaul they are enumerated not as *civitates*, but merely as *castra*. 3. They do not appear to have been episcopal seats before the fifth and sixth centuries. Yet there is a passage in Eumenius (Panegy. Vet. viii. [vii.] 7) which very forcibly deters me from extending the territory of the Ædui, in the reign of Constantine, along the beautiful banks of the navigable Saône.

<sup>186</sup> Eumenius in Panegy. Vet. viii. [vii.] 11.



nance the opinion of an ingenious historian,<sup>187</sup> that the free and tributary citizens did not surpass the number of half a million; and if, in the ordinary administration of government, their annual payments may be computed at about four millions and a half of our money, it would appear that, although the share of each individual was four times as considerable, a fourth part only of the modern taxes of France was levied on the imperial province of Gaul. The exactions of Constantius may be calculated at seven millions sterling, which were reduced to two millions by the humanity or the wisdom of Julian.\*

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<sup>187</sup> L'Abbé Dubos, Hist. Critique de la Mon. Fran. tom. i. p. 121.

\* The preceding account of the taxation of Gaul needs correction several points. The words of Eumenius, to which Gibbon refers in note 186, are, "Septem millia capitum remisisti, quintam amplius partem nostrorum censuum. . . . Remissione ista septem millium capitum, viginti quinque millibus dedisti vires, dedisti opem, dedisti salutem," etc. The word capita in this passage means pieces of land; and Gibbon supposes that there were 25,000 capita in the land of the Ædui, of which 7000 were exempted by Constantine from taxation, thus reducing the number to 18,000. This interpretation has been adopted by all subsequent writers down to Savigny, who, however, has shown that there were originally 32,000 capita, which were reduced to 25,000 by Constantine. The words "quintam amplius partem" would be inadmissible if Gibbon's interpretation were correct, since 7000 is even more than the fourth part of 25,000.

Adopting Gibbon's statistics, that the population of France in his time was, in round numbers, 24,000,000 (note 182), and that the ancient district of the Ædui contained, in round numbers, 500,000 inhabitants (note 184), it follows that this district was about a forty-eighth part of the territory of modern France. Consequently, as Constantine fixed 25,000 capita as the right proportion for the land of the Ædui, there were 1,200,000 capita in all France. This is very different from the calculation of Gibbon, who makes the capita only 500,000; but this erroneous calculation arises from two causes: 1. He makes the capita of the Ædui 18,000 instead of 25,000. 2. He supposes the territory of the Ædui to have contained in his time 800,000 inhabitants, a thirtieth part of the population of France (18,000 × 30 = 540,000), although he has himself considered this number as less probable than 500,000. (See notes 184, 185.)

Since each caput paid before Julian's administration £12 10s., and under his administration £3 10s. (see note, p. 313, 314), and supposing there were 1,200,000 capita in France, it follows that the taxation of the whole country amounted, according to the higher assessment, to £15,000,000; according to the lower, to £4,200,000. This calculation, however, is founded on the supposition that the reduction by Constantine of the capita of the Ædui to 25,000 only placed the Ædui on a level with their neighbors; but if this reduction was an act of favor, or rested on special circumstances, as Eumenius intimates, the capita of France would have to be calculated according to the 32,000 capita of the Ædui, and would in that case amount to 1,536,000. Hence the higher taxation would be £19,200,000; the lower, £5,376,000.

In France, in the year 1818, the land-tax proper (*contribution foncière en principal*) amounted to 172,703,000 francs, or very nearly seven millions sterling, being more than the smaller amount above mentioned, but considerably less than the larger. Gibbon calculates that the capita yielded four millions and a half ster-

But this tax or capitation on the proprietors of land would have suffered a rich and numerous class of free citizens to escape. With the view of sharing that species of wealth which is derived from art or labor, and which exists in money or in merchandise, the emperors imposed a distinct and personal tribute on the trading part of their subjects.<sup>188</sup> Some exemptions, very strictly confined both in time and place, were allowed to the proprietors who disposed of the produce of their own estates. Some indulgence was granted to the profession of the liberal arts; but every other branch of commercial industry was affected by the severity of the law. The honorable merchant of Alexandria who imported the gems and spices of India for the use of the Western world, the usurer who derived from the interest of money a silent and ignominious profit, the ingenious manufacturer, the diligent mechanic, and even the most obscure retailer of a sequestered village were obliged to admit the officers of the revenue into the partnership of their gain; and the sovereign of the Roman empire, who tolerated the profession, consented to share the infamous salary of public prostitutes.\* As this general tax upon industry was collected every fourth year, it was styled the *Lustral Contribution*; and the historian Zosimus<sup>189</sup> laments that the approach of the fatal period was announced by the tears and terrors of the citizens,

Capitation on  
trade and in-  
dustry.

<sup>188</sup> See Cod. Theod. l. xiii. tit. i. and iv.

<sup>189</sup> Zosimus, l. ii. [c. 38] p. 115. There is probably as much passion and prejudice in the attack of Zosimus as in the elaborate defence of the memory of Constantine by the zealous Dr. Howell. Hist. of the World, vol. ii. p. 20.

ling; and since the revenue of France was in his time eighteen millions, he concludes that "a fourth part only of the modern taxes of France was levied on the province of Imperial Gaul;" but in this calculation he makes the great error of comparing the whole taxes of modern France with a single tax in the Roman empire, since he omits not only the poll-tax, which he did not recognize, but also all indirect taxes. See Savigny, *ut supra*.—S.

\* The Emperor Theodosius put an end, by a law, to this disgraceful source of revenue. (Godeffroy ad Cod. Theod. xiii. tit. i. c. 1.) But before he deprived himself of it, he made sure of some way of replacing this deficit. A rich patrician, Florentius, indignant at this legalized licentiousness, had made representations on the subject to the emperor. To induce him to tolerate it no longer, he offered his own property to supply the diminution of the revenue. The emperor had the baseness to accept his offer.—G.

who were often compelled by the impending scourge to embrace the most abhorred and unnatural methods of procuring the sum at which their poverty had been assessed. The testimony of Zosimus cannot, indeed, be justified from the charge of passion and prejudice; but, from the nature of this tribute, it seems reasonable to conclude that it was arbitrary in the distribution, and extremely rigorous in the mode of collecting. The secret wealth of commerce, and the precarious profits of art or labor, are susceptible only of a discretionary valuation, which is seldom disadvantageous to the interest of the treasury; and as the person of the trader supplies the want of a visible and permanent security, the payment of the imposition which, in the case of a land-tax, may be obtained by the seizure of property, can rarely be extorted by any other means than those of corporal punishments. The cruel treatment of the insolvent debtors of the State is attested, and was perhaps mitigated, by a very humane edict of Constantine, who, disclaiming the use of racks and of scourges, allots a spacious and airy prison for the place of their confinement.<sup>190</sup>

These general taxes were imposed and levied by the absolute authority of the monarch; but the occasional offerings of the *coronary gold* still retained the name and semblance of popular consent. It was an ancient custom that the allies of the republic, who ascribed their safety or deliverance to the success of the Roman arms, and even the cities of Italy, who admired the virtues of their victorious general, adorned the pomp of his triumph by their voluntary gifts of crowns of gold, which, after the ceremony, were consecrated in the Temple of Jupiter, to remain a lasting monument of his glory to future ages. The progress of zeal and flattery soon multiplied the number and increased the size of these popular donations; and the triumph of Cæsar was enriched with two thousand eight hundred and twenty-two massy crowns, whose weight amounted to twenty thousand four hundred and fourteen pounds of gold. This treasure was immediately melted down by the prudent dictator, who

Free gifts.

<sup>190</sup> Cod. Theod. l. xi. tit. vii. leg. 3.

was satisfied that it would be more serviceable to his soldiers than to the gods : his example was imitated by his successors ; and the custom was introduced of exchanging these splendid ornaments for the more acceptable present of the current gold coin of the empire.<sup>191</sup> The spontaneous offering was at length exacted as the debt of duty ; and, instead of being confined to the occasion of a triumph, it was supposed to be granted by the several cities and provinces of the monarchy as often as the emperor condescended to announce his accession, his consulship, the birth of a son, the creation of a Cæsar, a victory over the barbarians, or any other real or imaginary event which graced the annals of his reign. The peculiar free gift of the senate of Rome was fixed by custom at sixteen hundred pounds of gold, or about sixty-four thousand pounds sterling. The oppressed subjects celebrated their own felicity that their sovereign should graciously consent to accept this feeble but voluntary testimony of their loyalty and gratitude.<sup>192</sup>

A people elated by pride or soured by discontent is seldom qualified to form a just estimate of their actual situation. The subjects of Constantine were incapable of discerning the decline of genius and manly virtue, which so far degraded them below the dignity of their ancestors ; but they could feel and lament the rage of tyranny, the relaxation of discipline, and the increase of taxes. The impartial historian who acknowledges the justice of their complaints will observe some favorable circumstances which tended to alleviate the misery of their condition. The threatening tempest of barbarians, which so soon subverted the foundations of Roman greatness, was still repelled, or suspended, on the frontiers. The arts of luxury and literature were cultivated, and the elegant pleasures of society were enjoyed, by the in-

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<sup>191</sup> See Lipsius de Magnitud. Romanâ, l. ii. c. 9. The Tarragonese Spain presented the Emperor Claudius with a crown of gold of seven, and Gaul with another of nine, *hundred* pounds weight. I have followed the rational emendation of Lipsius.

<sup>192</sup> Cod. Theod. l. xii. tit. xiii. The senators were supposed to be exempt from the *Aurum Coronarium* ; but the *Auri Oblatio*, which was required at their hands, was precisely of the same nature.



habitants of a considerable portion of the globe. The forms, the pomp, and the expense of the civil administration contributed to restrain the irregular license of the soldiers ; and although the laws were violated by power or perverted by subtlety, the sage principles of the Roman jurisprudence preserved a sense of order and equity unknown to the despotic governments of the East. The rights of mankind might derive some protection from religion and philosophy ; and the name of freedom, which could no longer alarm, might sometimes admonish, the successors of Augustus that they did not reign over a nation of slaves or barbarians.<sup>193</sup>

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<sup>193</sup> The great Theodosius, in his judicious advice to his son (Claudian. in iv. Consulat. Honorii, 214, etc.), distinguishes the station of a Roman prince from that of a Parthian monarch. Virtue was necessary for the one ; birth might suffice for the other.

## CHAPTER XVIII.

**Character of Constantine.**—Gothic War.—Death of Constantine.—Division of the Empire among his Three Sons.—Persian War.—Tragic Deaths of Constantine the Younger and Constans.—Usurpation of Magnentius.—Civil War.—Victory of Constantius.

THE character of the prince who removed the seat of empire, and introduced such important changes into the civil and religious constitution of his country, has fixed the attention and divided the opinions of mankind. By the grateful zeal of the Christians, the deliverer of the Church has been decorated with every attribute of a hero, and even of a saint; while the discontent of the vanquished party has compared Constantine to the most abhorred of those tyrants who, by their vice and weakness, dishonored the imperial purple. The same passions have, in some degree, been perpetuated to succeeding generations, and the character of Constantine is considered, even in the present age, as an object either of satire or of panegyric. By the impartial union of those defects which are confessed by his warmest admirers and of those virtues which are acknowledged by his most implacable enemies, we might hope to delineate a just portrait of that extraordinary man, which the truth and candor of history should adopt without a blush.<sup>1</sup> But it would soon appear that the vain attempt to blend such discordant colors and to reconcile such inconsistent qualities must produce a figure monstrous rather than human, unless it is viewed in its proper and distinct lights by a careful separation of the different periods of the reign of Constantine.

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<sup>1</sup> On ne se trompera point sur Constantin en croyant tout le mal qu'en dit Eusebe, et tout le bien qu'en dit Zosime.—Fleury, *Hist. Ecclésiastique*, tom. iii. p. 233. Eusebius and Zosimus form, indeed, the two extremes of flattery and invective. The intermediate shades are expressed by those writers whose character or situation variously tempered the influence of their religious zeal.

The person, as well as the mind, of Constantine had been enriched by nature with her choicest endowments. His stature was lofty, his countenance majestic, his deport-

His virtues.

ment graceful; his strength and activity were displayed in every manly exercise; and, from his earliest youth to a very advanced season of life, he preserved the vigor of his constitution by a strict adherence to the domestic virtues of chastity and temperance. He delighted in the social intercourse of familiar conversation; and though he might sometimes indulge his disposition to raillery with less reserve than was required by the severe dignity of his station, the courtesy and liberality of his manners gained the hearts of all who approached him. The sincerity of his friendship has been suspected; yet he showed, on some occasions, that he was not incapable of a warm and lasting attachment. The disadvantage of an illiterate education had not prevented him from forming a just estimate of the value of learning; and the arts and sciences derived some encouragement from the munificent protection of Constantine. In the despatch of business his diligence was indefatigable; and the active powers of his mind were almost continually exercised in reading, writing, or meditating, in giving audience to ambassadors, and in examining the complaints of his subjects. Even those who censured the propriety of his measures were compelled to acknowledge that he possessed magnanimity to conceive, and patience to execute, the most arduous designs, without being checked either by the prejudices of education or by the clamors of the multitude. In the field he infused his own intrepid spirit into the troops, whom he conducted with the talents of a consummate general; and to his abilities rather than to his fortune we may ascribe the signal victories which he obtained over the foreign and domestic foes of the republic. He loved glory as the reward, perhaps as the motive, of his labors. The boundless ambition which, from the moment of his accepting the purple at York, appears as the ruling passion of his soul, may be justified by the dangers of his own situation, by the character of his rivals, by the consciousness of superior merit, and by the prospect that his success would enable him to restore peace

and order to the distracted empire. In his civil wars against Maxentius and Licinius he had engaged on his side the inclinations of the people, who compared the undissembled vices of those tyrants with the spirit of wisdom and justice which seemed to direct the general tenor of the administration of Constantine.<sup>2</sup>

Had Constantine fallen on the banks of the Tiber, or even in the plains of Hadrianople, such is the character which, with

a few exceptions, he might have transmitted to posterity. But the conclusion of his reign (according to the moderate and indeed tender sentence of a writer of the same age) degraded him from the rank which he had acquired among the most deserving of the Roman princes.<sup>3</sup> In the life of Augustus we behold the tyrant of the republic converted almost by imperceptible degrees into the father of his country and of humankind. In that of Constantine we may contemplate a hero, who had so long inspired his subjects with love and his enemies with terror, degenerating into a cruel and dissolute monarch, corrupted by his fortune, or raised by conquest above the necessity of dissimulation. The gener-

al peace which he maintained during the last four-  
 teen years of his reign was a period of apparent splendor rather than of real prosperity; and the old age of Constantine was disgraced by the opposite yet reconcilable vices of rapaciousness and prodigality. The accumulated treasures found in the palaces of Maxentius and Licinius were lavishly consumed; the various innovations introduced by the conqueror were attended with an increasing expense; the cost

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<sup>2</sup> The virtues of Constantine are collected, for the most part, from Eutropius and the younger Victor, two sincere pagans, who wrote after the extinction of his family. Even Zosimus and the *Emperor* Julian acknowledge his personal courage and military achievements.

<sup>3</sup> See Eutropius, x. 6 [4]: *In primo Imperii tempore optimis principibus, ultimo mediis comparandus*. From the ancient Greek version of Pœanius (edit. Havercamp. p. 697), I am inclined to suspect that Eutropius had originally written "*vix mediis*," and that the offensive monosyllable was dropped by the wilful inadvertency of transcribers. Aurelius Victor expresses the general opinion by a vulgar and indeed obscure proverb: *Trachala decem annis præstantissimus; duodecim sequentibus latro; decem novissimis pupillus ob immodicas profusiones*. —[Epit. c. 41.]



of his buildings, his court, and his festivals required an immediate and plentiful supply ; and the oppression of the people was the only fund which could support the magnificence of the sovereign.<sup>4</sup> His unworthy favorites, enriched by the boundless liberality of their master, usurped with impunity the privilege of rapine and corruption.<sup>5</sup> A secret but universal decay was felt in every part of the public administration, and the emperor himself, though he still retained the obedience, gradually lost the esteem, of his subjects. The dress and manners which, towards the decline of life, he chose to affect, served only to degrade him in the eyes of mankind. The Asiatic pomp which had been adopted by the pride of Diocletian assumed an air of softness and effeminacy in the person of Constantine. He is represented with false hair of various colors, laboriously arranged by the skilful artists of the times ; a diadem of a new and more expensive fashion ; a profusion of gems and pearls, of collars and bracelets ; and a variegated flowing robe of silk, most curiously embroidered with flowers of gold. In such apparel, scarcely to be excused by the youth and folly of Elagabalus, we are at a loss to discover the wisdom of an aged monarch and the simplicity of a Roman veteran.<sup>6</sup> A mind thus relaxed by prosperity and indulgence was incapable of rising to that magnanimity which disdains suspicion and dares to forgive. The deaths of Maximian and Licinius may perhaps be justified by the maxims of policy as they are taught in the schools of tyrants ; but an impartial narrative of the executions, or rather murders, which sullied the declin-

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<sup>4</sup> Julian, *Orat. i.* p. 8, in a flattering discourse pronounced before the son of Constantine ; and Cæsares, p. 335. Zosimus [*l. ii. c. 38*], p. 114, 115. The stately buildings of Constantinople, etc., may be quoted as a lasting and unexceptionable proof of the profuseness of their founder.

<sup>5</sup> The impartial Ammianus deserves all our confidence : *Proximorum fauces aperuit primus omnium Constantinus* (*l. xvi. c. 8*). Eusebius himself confesses the abuse (*Vit. Constantin. l. iv. c. 29, 54*) ; and some of the imperial laws feebly point out the remedy. See above, p. 285, 286 of this volume.

<sup>6</sup> Julian, in the *Cæsars*, attempts to ridicule his uncle. His suspicious testimony is confirmed, however, by the learned Spanheim, with the authority of medals (see *Commentaire*, p. 156, 299, 397, 459). Eusebius (*Orat. c. 5*) alleges that Constantine dressed for the public, not for himself. Were this admitted, the vainest coxcomb could never want an excuse.

ing age of Constantine will suggest to our most candid thoughts the idea of a prince who could sacrifice, without reluctance, the laws of justice and the feelings of nature to the dictates either of his passions or of his interest.

The same fortune which so invariably followed the standard of Constantine seemed to secure the hopes and comforts of his domestic life. Those among his predecessors  
 His family. who had enjoyed the longest and most prosperous reigns—Augustus, Trajan, and Diocletian—had been disappointed of posterity; and the frequent revolutions had never allowed sufficient time for any imperial family to grow up and multiply under the shade of the purple. But the royalty of the Flavian line, which had been first ennobled by the Gothic Claudius, descended through several generations; and Constantine himself derived from his royal father the hereditary honors which he transmitted to his children. The emperor had been twice married. Minervina, the obscure but lawful object of his youthful attachment,<sup>7</sup> had left him only one son, who was called Crispus. By Fausta, the daughter of Maximian, he had three daughters, and three sons known by the kindred names of Constantine, Constantius, and Constans. The unambitious brothers of the great Constantine—Julius Constantius, Dalmatius, and Hannibalianus<sup>8</sup>—were permitted to enjoy the most honorable rank and the most affluent fortune that could be consistent with a private station. The youngest of the three lived without a name and died without posterity. His two elder brothers obtained in marriage the daughters of wealthy senators, and propagated new branches of the imperial race. Gallus and Julian afterwards became the most illustrious of the children of Julius Constantius, the *Patrician*. The two sons of Dalmatius, who had been deco-

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<sup>7</sup> Zosimus [l. ii. c. 20] and Zonaras agree in representing Minervina as the concubine of Constantine; but Ducange has very gallantly rescued her character by producing a decisive passage from one of the Panegyrics: “Ab ipso fine pueritiæ te matrimonii legibus dedisti.”

<sup>8</sup> Ducange (*Familiæ Byzantinæ*, p. 44) bestows on him, after Zonaras, the name of Constantine—a name somewhat unlikely, as it was already occupied by the elder brother. That of Hannibalianus is mentioned in the Paschal Chronicle and is approved by Tillemont, *Hist. des Empereurs*, tom. iv. p. 527.

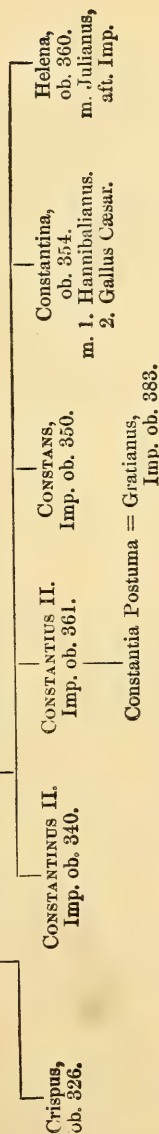
The following is the genealogical table of the family of Constantine:—

Crispus, brother of the emperor Claudius Gothicus.

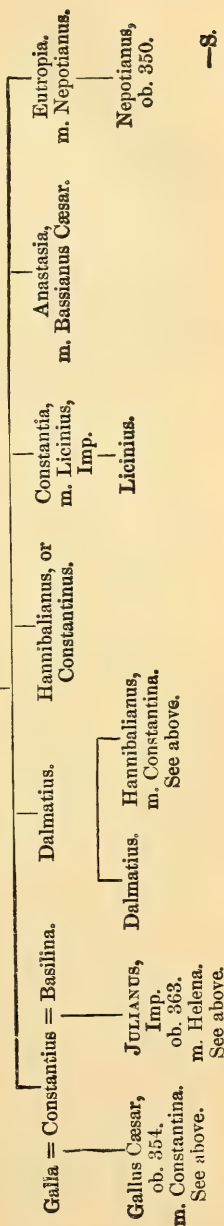
Claudia = Eutropius.

Helena = CONSTANTIUS I., CHLORUS = Theodora,  
daughter of Maximianus, Imp. For issue of Constantius  
Chlorus by Theodora, see below.

Minervina = CONSTANTINUS I. = Fausta,  
daughter of Maximianus.



#### Issue of CONSTANTIUS I. (CHLORUS) by Theodora.



rated with the vain title of *Censor*, were named Dalmatius and Hannibalianus. The two sisters of the great Constantine, Anastasia and Eutropia, were bestowed on Optatus and Nepotianus, two senators of noble birth and of consular dignity. His third sister, Constantia, was distinguished by her pre-eminence of greatness and of misery. She remained the widow of the vanquished Licinius; and it was by her entreaties that an innocent boy, the offspring of their marriage, preserved for some time his life, the title of Cæsar, and a precarious hope of the succession. Besides the females and the allies of the Flavian house, ten or twelve males, to whom the language of modern courts would apply the title of princes of the blood, seemed, according to the order of their birth, to be destined either to inherit or to support the throne of Constantine. But in less than thirty years this numerous and increasing family was reduced to the persons of Constantius and Julian, who alone had survived a series of crimes and calamities such as the tragic poets have deplored in the devoted lines of Pelops and of Cadmus.

Crispus, the eldest son of Constantine, and the presumptive heir of the empire, is represented by impartial historians as an amiable and accomplished youth. The care of his education, or at least of his studies, was intrusted to Lactantius, the most eloquent of the Christians—a preceptor admirably qualified to form the taste and to excite the virtues of his illustrious disciple.<sup>9</sup> At the age of seventeen Crispus was invested with the title of Cæsar and the administration of the Gallic provinces, where the inroads of the Germans gave him an early occasion of signalizing his military prowess. In the civil war which broke out soon afterwards, the father and son divided their powers; and this history has already celebrated the valor as well as conduct displayed by the latter in forcing the straits of the Hellespont, so obstinately defended by the

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<sup>9</sup> Jerom. in Chron. The poverty of Lactantius may be applied either to the praise of the disinterested philosopher or to the shame of the unfeeling patron. See Tillemont, *Mém. Ecclésiast.* tom. vi. part i. p. 345. Dupin, *Bibliothèque Ecclésiast.* tom. i. p. 205. Lardner's *Credibility of the Gospel History*, part ii. vol. vii. p. 66.



superior fleet of Licinius. This naval victory contributed to determine the event of the war, and the names of Constantine and of Crispus were united in the joyful acclamations of their Eastern subjects, who loudly proclaimed that the world had been subdued, and was now governed by an emperor endowed with every virtue, and by his illustrious son, a prince beloved of Heaven, and the lively image of his father's perfections. The public favor, which seldom accompanies old age, diffused its lustre over the youth of Crispus. He deserved the esteem and he engaged the affections of the court, the army, and the people. The experienced merit of a reigning monarch is acknowledged by his subjects with reluctance, and frequently denied with partial and discontented murmurs, while from the opening virtues of his successor they fondly conceive the most unbounded hopes of private as well as public felicity.<sup>10</sup>

This dangerous popularity soon excited the attention of Constantine, who, both as a father and as a king, was impatient of an equal. Instead of attempting to secure the allegiance of his son by the generous ties of confidence and gratitude, he resolved to prevent the mischiefs which might be apprehended from dissatisfied ambition. Crispus soon had reason to complain that while his infant brother Constantius was sent with the title of Cæsar to reign over his peculiar department of the Gallic provinces,<sup>11</sup> *he*, a prince of mature years, who had performed such recent and signal services, instead of being raised to the superior rank of Augustus, was confined almost a prisoner to his father's court, and exposed without power or defence to every calumny which the malice of his enemies could suggest. Under such painful circumstances, the royal youth might not always be able to

Jealousy of  
Constantine.  
A.D. 324.  
October 10.

<sup>10</sup> Euseb. Hist. Ecclesiast. l. x. c. 9. Eutropius (x. 4) styles him "egregium virum;" and Julian (Orat. i.) very plainly alludes to the exploits of Crispus in the civil war. See Spanheim, Comment. p. 92.

<sup>11</sup> Compare Idatius and the Paschal Chronicle with Ammianus (l. xiv. c. 5). The year in which Constantius was created Cæsar seems to be more accurately fixed by the two chronologists; but the historian who lived in his court could not be ignorant of the day of the anniversary. For the appointment of the new Cæsar to the provinces of Gaul, see Julian, Orat. i. p. 12; Godefroy, Chronol. Legum, p. 26; and Blondel, De la Primauté de l'Église, p. 1183.

compose his behavior or suppress his discontent; and we may be assured that he was encompassed by a train of indiscreet or perfidious followers, who assiduously studied to inflame, and who were perhaps instructed to betray, the unguarded warmth of his resentment. An edict of Constantine published about this time manifestly indicates his real or affected suspicions that a secret conspiracy had been formed against his person and government. By all the allurements of honors and rewards, he invites informers of every degree to accuse, without exception, his magistrates or ministers, his friends or his most intimate favorites, protesting with a solemn asseveration that he himself will listen to the charge, that he himself will revenge his injuries; and concluding with a prayer, which discovers some apprehension of danger, that the providence of the Supreme Being may still continue to protect the safety of the emperor and of the empire.<sup>12</sup>

The informers who complied with so liberal an invitation were sufficiently versed in the arts of courts to select the friends and adherents of Crispus as the guilty persons; nor is there any reason to distrust the veracity of the emperor, who had promised an ample measure of revenge and punishment. The policy of Constantine maintained, however, the same appearances of regard and confidence towards a son whom he began to consider as his most irreconcilable enemy. Medals were struck with the customary vows for the long and auspicious reign of the young Cæsar;<sup>13</sup> and as the people, who were not admitted into the secrets of the palace, still loved his virtues and respected his dignity, a poet who solicits his recall from exile adores with equal devotion the majesty of the father and that of the son.<sup>14</sup> The time was now arrived for celebrating the august ceremony of the twentieth year of the reign of Constantine; and the em-

Disgrace and  
death of Cris-  
pus.  
A.D. 326.  
July.

<sup>12</sup> Cod. Theod. l. ix. tit. iv. [tit. i. leg. 4]. Godefroy suspected the secret motives of this law. Comment. tom. iii. p. 9.

<sup>13</sup> Ducange, Fam. Byzant. p. 28. Tillemont, tom. iv. p. 610.

<sup>14</sup> His name was Porphyrius Optatianus. The date of his panegyric written, according to the taste of the age, in vile acrostics is settled by Scaliger ad Euseb. p. 250; Tillemont, tom. iv. p. 607; and Fabricius, Biblioth. Latin. l. iv. c. 1.

peror, for that purpose, removed his court from Nicomedia to Rome, where the most splendid preparations had been made for his reception. Every eye and every tongue affected to express their sense of the general happiness, and the veil of ceremony and dissimulation was drawn for a while over the darkest designs of revenge and murder.<sup>15</sup> In the midst of the festival, the unfortunate Crispus was apprehended by order of the emperor, who laid aside the tenderness of a father without assuming the equity of a judge. The examination was short and private;<sup>16</sup> and as it was thought decent to conceal the fate of the young prince from the eyes of the Roman people, he was sent, under a strong guard, to Pola, in Istria, where, soon afterwards, he was put to death either by the hand of the executioner or by the more gentle operation of poison.<sup>17</sup> The Cæsar Licinius, a youth of amiable manners, was involved in the ruin of Crispus,<sup>18</sup> and the stern jealousy of Constantine was unmoved by the prayers and tears of his favorite sister pleading for the life of a son whose rank was his only crime, and whose loss she did not long survive. The story of these

<sup>15</sup> Zosimus, l. ii. [c. 29] p. 103. Godefroy, Chronol. Legum, p. 28.

<sup>16</sup> Ἀκρίτως, *without a trial*, is the strong and most probably the just expression of Suidas. The elder Victor, who wrote under the next reign, speaks with becoming caution: "Natū grandior, incertum quā causā, patris judicio occidisset" [De Cæsar. c. 41]. If we consult the succeeding writers, Eutropius, the younger Victor, Orosius, Jerome, Zosimus, Philostorgius, and Gregory of Tours, their knowledge will appear gradually to increase as their means of information must have diminished—a circumstance which frequently occurs in historical disquisition.

<sup>17</sup> Ammianus (l. xiv. c. 11) uses the general expression of *peremptum*. Codinus (p. 34 [p. 63, edit. Bonn]) beheads the young prince; but Sidonius Apollinaris (Epistol. v. 8), for the sake, perhaps, of an antithesis to Fausta's *warm bath*, chooses to administer a draught of *cold poison*.

<sup>18</sup> Sororis filium, commodæ indolis juvenem.—Eutropius, x. 6 [4]. May I not be permitted to conjecture that Crispus had married Helena, the daughter of the Emperor Licinius, and that on the happy delivery of the princess, in the year 322, a general pardon was granted by Constantine? See Ducange, Fam. Byzant. p. 47, and the law (l. ix. tit. xxxvii.) of the Theodosian Code, which has so much embarrassed the interpreters. Godefroy, tom. iii. p. 267.<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup> This conjecture is very doubtful. The obscurity of the law quoted from the Theodosian Code scarcely allows any inference, and there is extant but one medal which can be attributed to a Helena, wife of Crispus. See Eckhel, Doct. Num. Vet. tom. viii. p. 102 and 145.—G.

unhappy princes, the nature and evidence of their guilt, the forms of their trial, and the circumstances of their death were buried in mysterious obscurity; and the courtly bishop who has celebrated in an elaborate work the virtues and piety of his hero observes a prudent silence on the subject of these tragic events.<sup>19</sup> Such haughty contempt for the opinion of mankind, whilst it imprints an indelible stain on the memory of Constantine, must remind us of the very different behavior of one of the greatest monarchs of the present age. The Czar Peter, in the full possession of despotic power, submitted to the judgment of Russia, of Europe, and of posterity the reasons which had compelled him to subscribe the condemnation of a criminal, or at least of a degenerate, son.<sup>20</sup>

The innocence of Crispus was so universally acknowledged that the modern Greeks, who adore the memory of their founder, are reduced to palliate the guilt of a parricide which the common feelings of human nature forbade them to justify. They pretend that as soon as the afflicted father discovered the falsehood of the accusation by which his credulity had been so fatally misled, he published to the world his repentance and remorse; that he mourned forty days, during which he abstained from the use of the bath and all the ordinary comforts of life; and that for the lasting instruction of posterity he erected a golden statue of Crispus with this memorable inscription: "TO MY SON, WHOM I UNJUSTLY CONDEMNED."<sup>21</sup> A tale so moral and so interesting would deserve to be supported by less exceptionable authority; but if we consult the more ancient and authentic writers, they will inform us that the repentance of Constantine was manifested only in acts of blood and revenge, and that he atoned for the murder of an innocent son by the execution,

<sup>19</sup> See the Life of Constantine, particularly [Euseb.] l. ii. c. 19, 20. Two hundred and fifty years afterwards, Evagrius (l. iii. c. 41) deduced from the silence of Eusebius a vain argument against the reality of the fact.

<sup>20</sup> Histoire de Pierre le Grand, par Voltaire, part ii. ch. 10.

<sup>21</sup> In order to prove that the statue was erected by Constantine and afterwards concealed by the malice of the Arians, Codinus very readily creates (p. 34 [p. 63, edit. Bonn]) two witnesses, Hippolytus and the younger Herodotus, to whose imaginary histories he appeals with unblushing confidence.



perhaps, of a guilty wife. They ascribe the misfortunes of Crispus to the arts of his stepmother, Fausta, whose implacable hatred or whose disappointed love renewed in the palace of Constantine the ancient tragedy of Hippolytus and of Phædra.<sup>22</sup> Like the daughter of Minos, the daughter of Maximian accused her son-in-law of an incestuous attempt on the chastity of his father's wife, and easily obtained from the jealousy of the emperor a sentence of death against a young prince whom she considered with reason as the most formidable rival of her own children. But Helena, the aged mother of Constantine, lamented and revenged the untimely fate of her grandson Crispus; nor was it long before a real or pretended discovery was made that Fausta herself entertained a criminal connection with a slave belonging to the imperial stables.<sup>23</sup> Her condemnation and punishment were the instant consequences of the charge, and the adulteress was suffocated by the steam of a bath which for that purpose had been heated to an extraordinary degree.<sup>24</sup> By some it will perhaps be thought that the remembrance of a conjugal union of twenty years and the honor of their common offspring, the destined heirs of the throne, might have softened the obdurate heart of Constantine, and persuaded him to suffer his wife, however guilty she might appear, to expiate her offences in a solitary prison. But it seems a superfluous labor to weigh the propriety unless we could ascertain the truth of this singular event, which is attended with some circumstances of doubt and perplexity. Those who have attacked and those who have defended the character of Con-

<sup>22</sup> Zosimus (l. ii. [c. 29] p. 103) may be considered as our original. The ingenuity of the moderns, assisted by a few hints from the ancients, has illustrated and improved his obscure and imperfect narrative.

<sup>23</sup> Philostorgius, l. ii. c. 4. Zosimus (l. ii. p. 104 [c. 29], 116 [c. 39]) imputes to Constantine the death of two wives—of the innocent Fausta, and of an adulteress who was the mother of his three successors. According to Jerome, three or four years elapsed between the death of Crispus and that of Fausta. The elder Victor is prudently silent.

<sup>24</sup> If Fausta was put to death, it is reasonable to believe that the private apartments of the palace were the scene of her execution. The orator Chrysostom indulges his fancy by exposing the naked empress on a desert mountain to be devoured by wild beasts.

stantine have alike disregarded two very remarkable passages of two orations pronounced under the succeeding reign. The former celebrates the virtues, the beauty, and the fortune of the Empress Fausta, the daughter, wife, sister, and mother of so many princes;<sup>25</sup> the latter asserts in explicit terms that the mother of the younger Constantine, who was slain three years after his father's death, survived to weep over the fate of her son.<sup>26</sup> Notwithstanding the positive testimony of several writers of the pagan as well as of the Christian religion, there may still remain some reason to believe, or at least to suspect, that Fausta escaped the blind and suspicious cruelty of her husband.<sup>a</sup> The deaths of a son and of a nephew, with the execution of a great number of respectable and perhaps innocent friends<sup>27</sup> who were involved in their fall, may be sufficient, however, to justify the discontent of the Roman people, and to explain the satirical verses affixed to the palace gate comparing the splendid and bloody reigns of Constantine and Nero.<sup>28</sup>

By the death of Crispus the inheritance of the empire seemed to devolve on the three sons of Fausta, who have

<sup>25</sup> Julian. Orat. i. [p. 9]. He seems to call her the mother of Crispus. She might assume that title by adoption. At least she was not considered as his mortal enemy. Julian compares the fortune of Fausta with that of Parysatis, the Persian queen. A Roman would have more naturally recollected the second Agrippina :

Et moi, qui sur le trône ai suivi mes ancêtres :  
Moi, fille, femme, sœur, et mère de vos maîtres.

<sup>26</sup> Monod. in Constantin. Jun. c. 4, ad Calcem Eutrop. edit. Havercamp. The orator styles her the most divine and pious of queens.

<sup>27</sup> Interfecit numerosos amicos. Eutrop. x. 6 [4].

<sup>28</sup> Saturni aurea sæcula quis requirat ?  
Sunt hæc gemmea, sed Neroniana.—Sidon. Apollinar. v. 8.

It is somewhat singular that these satirical lines should be attributed, not to an obscure libeller or a disappointed patriot, but to Ablavius, prime minister and favorite of the emperor. We may now perceive that the imprecations of the Roman people were dictated by humanity as well as by superstition. Zosimus, l. ii. [c. 30] p. 105.

<sup>a</sup> Manso (Leben Constantins, p. 65) treats this inference of Gibbon and the authorities to which he appeals with too much contempt, considering the general scantiness of proof on this curious question.—M.

been already mentioned under the names of Constantine, of Constantius, and of Constans. These young princes were successively invested with the title of Cæsar, and the dates of their promotion may be referred to the tenth, the twentieth, and the thirtieth years of the reign of their father.<sup>29</sup> This conduct, though it tended to multiply the future masters of the Roman world, might be excused by the partiality of paternal affection; but it is not so easy to understand the motives of the emperor, when he endangered the safety both of his family and of his people by the unnecessary elevation of his two nephews, Dalmatius and Hannibalianus. The former was raised, by the title of Cæsar, to an equality with his cousins. In favor of the latter, Constantine invented the new and singular appellation of *Nobilissimus*,<sup>30</sup> to which he annexed the flattering distinction of a robe of purple and gold. But of the whole series of Roman princes in any age of the empire, Hannibalianus alone was distinguished by the title of KING—a name which the subjects of Tiberius would have detested as the profane and cruel insult of capricious tyranny. The use of such a title, even as it appears under the reign of Constantine, is a strange and unconnected fact, which can scarcely be admitted on the joint authority of imperial medals and contemporary writers.<sup>31</sup>

The whole empire was deeply interested in the education of these five youths, the acknowledged successors of Constantine. The exercises of the body prepared them for the fatigues of war and the duties of active life.

Their education.

<sup>29</sup> Euseb. Orat. in Constantin. c. 3. These dates are sufficiently correct to justify the orator.

<sup>30</sup> Zosim. l. ii. [c. 39] p. 117. Under the predecessors of Constantine, *Nobilissimus* was a vague epithet rather than a legal and determined title.

<sup>31</sup> *Adstruunt nummi veteres ac singulares.*—Spanheim, *De Usu Numismat.* Dissertat. xii. vol. ii. p. 357. Ammianus speaks of this Roman king (l. xiv. c. 1, and Valesius ad loc.). The Valesian fragment styles him King of kings; and the Paschal Chronicle (p. 286 [p. 228, edit. Ven. ; vol. i. p. 532, edit. Bonn), by employing the word *Πῆγᾱ*, acquires the weight of Latin evidence.<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Hannibalianus is always designated in these authors by the title of king. There still exist medals struck to his honor, on which the same title is found.

Those who occasionally mention the education or talents of Constantius allow that he excelled in the gymnastic arts of leaping and running; that he was a dexterous archer, a skilful horseman, and a master of all the different weapons used in the service either of the cavalry or of the infantry.<sup>32</sup> The same assiduous cultivation was bestowed, though not perhaps with equal success, to improve the minds of the sons and nephews of Constantine.<sup>33</sup> The most celebrated professors of the Christian faith, of the Grecian philosophy, and of the Roman jurisprudence were invited by the liberality of the emperor, who reserved for himself the important task of instructing the royal youths in the science of government and the knowledge of mankind. But the genius of Constantine himself had been formed by adversity and experience. In the free intercourse of private life, and amidst the dangers of the court of Galerius, he had learned to command his own passions, to encounter those of his equals, and to depend for his present safety and future greatness on the prudence and firmness of his personal conduct. His destined successors had the misfortune of being born and educated in the imperial purple. Incessantly surrounded with a train of flatterers, they passed their youth in the enjoyment of luxury and the expectation of a throne; nor would the dignity of their rank permit them to descend from that elevated station from whence the various characters of human nature appear to wear a smooth and uniform aspect. The indulgence of Constantine admitted them, at a very ten-

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<sup>32</sup> His dexterity in martial exercises is celebrated by Julian (*Orat.* i. p. 11, *Orat.* ii. p. 53) and allowed by Ammianus (l. xxi. c. 16).

<sup>33</sup> Euseb. in *Vit. Constantin.* l. iv. c. 51. Julian, *Orat.* i. p. 11–16, with Spanheim's elaborate Commentary. Libanius, *Orat.* iii. p. 109 [ed. Paris, 1627]. Constantius studied with laudable diligence; but the dulness of his fancy prevented him from succeeding in the art of poetry, or even of rhetoric.

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**FL. HANNIBALIANO REGI.** See Eckhel, *Doct. Num.* t. viii. p. 104. "Armeniam nationesque circum socias habebat," says Aur. Victor, p. 225. The writer means the lesser Armenia. Though it is not possible to question a fact supported by such respectable authorities, Gibbon considers it inexplicable and incredible. It is a strange abuse of the privilege of doubting to refuse all belief in a fact of such little importance in itself, and attested thus formally by contemporary authors and public monuments. St. Martin, note to *Le Beau*, i. 341.—M.



der age, to share the administration of the empire ; and they studied the art of reigning, at the expense of the people intrusted to their care. The younger Constantine was appointed to hold his court in Gaul ; and his brother Constantius exchanged that department, the ancient patrimony of their father, for the more opulent but less martial countries of the East. Italy, the Western Illyricum, and Africa were accustomed to revere Constans, the third of his sons, as the representative of the great Constantine. He fixed Dalmatius on the Gothic frontier, to which he annexed the government of Thrace, Macedonia, and Greece. The city of Cæsarea was chosen for the residence of Hannibalianus ; and the provinces of Pontus, Cappadocia, and the lesser Armenia were designed to form the extent of his new kingdom. For each of these princes a suitable establishment was provided. A just proportion of guards, of legions, and of auxiliaries was allotted for their respective dignity and defence. The ministers and generals who were placed about their persons were such as Constantine could trust to assist, and even to control, these youthful sovereigns in the exercise of their delegated power. As they advanced in years and experience, the limits of their authority were insensibly enlarged : but the emperor always reserved for himself the title of Augustus ; and while he showed the *Cæsars* to the armies and provinces, he maintained every part of the empire in equal obedience to its supreme head.<sup>34</sup> The tranquillity of the last fourteen years of his reign was scarcely interrupted by the contemptible insurrection of a camel-driver in the island of Cyprus,<sup>35</sup> or by the active part which the policy of Constantine engaged him to assume in the wars of the Goths and Sarmatians.

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<sup>34</sup> Eusebius (l. iv. c. 51, 52), with a design of exalting the authority and glory of Constantine, affirms that he divided the Roman empire as a private citizen might have divided his patrimony. His distribution of the provinces may be collected from Eutropius, the two Victors, and the Valesian fragment.

<sup>35</sup> Calocerus, the obscure leader of this rebellion, or rather tumult, was apprehended, and burned alive in the market-place of Tarsus, by the vigilance of Dalmatius. See the elder Victor, the Chronicle of Jerome, and the doubtful traditions of Theophanes and Cedrenus.

Among the different branches of the human race, the Sarmatians form a very remarkable shade, as they seem to unite the manners of the Asiatic barbarians with the figure and complexion of the ancient inhabitants of Europe. According to the various accidents of peace and war, of alliance or conquest, the Sarmatians were sometimes confined to the banks of the Tanais, and they sometimes spread themselves over the immense plains which lie between the Vistula and the Volga.<sup>36</sup> The care of their numerous flocks and herds, the pursuit of game, and the exercise of war, or rather of rapine, directed the vagrant motions of the Sarmatians. The movable camps or cities, the ordinary residence of their wives and children, consisted only of large wagons drawn by oxen, and covered in the form of tents. The military strength of the nation was composed of cavalry; and the custom of their warriors to lead in their hand one or two spare horses enabled them to advance and to retreat with a rapid diligence, which surprised the security and eluded the pursuit of a distant enemy.<sup>37</sup> Their poverty of iron prompted their rude industry to invent a sort of cuirass which was capable of resisting a sword or javelin, though it was formed only of horses' hoofs, cut into thin and polished slices, carefully laid over each other in the manner of scales or feathers, and strongly sewed upon an under-garment of coarse linen.<sup>38</sup> The offensive arms of the Sarmatians were short daggers, long lances, and a weighty bow with a quiver of arrows. They were reduced to the necessity of employing fish-bones for the points of their weapons; but the custom of dipping them in a venomous liquor, that poisoned the wounds which they inflicted, is alone sufficient to prove the most savage manners;

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<sup>36</sup> Cellarius has collected the opinions of the ancients concerning the European and Asiatic Sarmatia; and M. d'Anville has applied them to modern geography with the skill and accuracy which always distinguish that excellent writer.

<sup>37</sup> Ammian. l. xvii. c. 12. The Sarmatian horses were castrated to prevent the mischievous accidents which might happen from the noisy and ungovernable passions of the males.

<sup>38</sup> Pausanias, l. i. [c. 21, § 5] p. 50, edit. Kuhn. That inquisitive traveller had carefully examined a Sarmatian cuirass which was preserved in the Temple of Æsculapius at Athens.

since a people impressed with a sense of humanity would have abhorred so cruel a practice, and a nation skilled in the arts of war would have disdained so impotent a resource.<sup>39</sup> Whenever these barbarians issued from their deserts in quest of prey, their shaggy beards, uncombed locks, the furs with which they were covered from head to foot, and their fierce countenances, which seemed to express the innate cruelty of their minds, inspired the more civilized provincials of Rome with horror and dismay.

The tender Ovid, after a youth spent in the enjoyment of fame and luxury, was condemned to a hopeless exile on the frozen banks of the Danube, where he was exposed, almost without defence, to the fury of these monsters of the desert, with whose stern spirits he feared that his gentle shade might hereafter be confounded. In his pathetic but sometimes unmanly lamentations,<sup>40</sup> he describes in the most lively colors the dress and manners, the arms and inroads, of the Getæ and Sarmatians, who were associated for the purposes of destruction; and from the accounts of history there is some reason to believe that these Sarmatians were the Jazygæ, one of the most numerous and warlike tribes of the nation. The allurements of plenty engaged them to seek a permanent establishment on the frontiers of the empire. Soon

Their settle-  
ment near the  
Danube.

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*Aspicis et mitti sub adunco toxica ferro,  
Et telum causas mortis habere duas.*

Ovid, ex Ponto, l. iv. ep. 7, ver. 11.

See in the *Recherches sur les Américains*, tom. ii. p. 236-271, a very curious dissertation on poisoned darts. The venom was commonly extracted from the vegetable reign; but that employed by the Scythians appears to have been drawn from the viper and a mixture of human blood. The use of poisoned arms, which has been spread over both worlds, never preserved a savage tribe from the arms of a disciplined enemy.

<sup>40</sup> The nine books of Poetical Epistles which Ovid composed during the seven first years of his melancholy exile possess, besides the merit of elegance, a double value. They exhibit a picture of the human mind under very singular circumstances; and they contain many curious observations, which no Roman except Ovid could have an opportunity of making. Every circumstance which tends to illustrate the history of the barbarians has been drawn together by the very accurate Count de Buat, *Hist. Ancienne des Peuples de l'Europe*, tom. iv. ch. xvi. p. 286-317.

after the reign of Augustus, they obliged the Dacians, who subsisted by fishing on the banks of the river Theiss or Tibiscus, to retire into the hilly country, and to abandon to the victorious Sarmatians the fertile plains of the Upper Hungary, which are bounded by the course of the Danube and the semi-circular enclosure of the Carpathian Mountains.<sup>41</sup> In this advantageous position, they watched or suspended the moment of attack, as they were provoked by injuries or appeased by presents; they gradually acquired the skill of using more dangerous weapons; and although the Sarmatians did not illustrate their name by any memorable exploits, they occasionally assisted their eastern and western neighbors, the Goths and the Germans, with a formidable body of cavalry. They lived under the irregular aristocracy of their chieftains;<sup>42</sup> but after they had received into their bosom the fugitive Vandals, who yielded to the pressure of the Gothic power, they seem to have chosen a king from that nation, and from the illustrious race of the Astingi, who had formerly dwelt on the shores of the northern ocean.<sup>43</sup>

This motive of enmity must have inflamed the subjects of

<sup>41</sup> The Sarmatian Jazygæ were settled on the banks of the Pathissus or Tibiscus when Pliny, in the year 79, published his Natural History. See l. iv. c. 25. In the time of Strabo and Ovid, sixty or seventy years before, they appear to have inhabited beyond the Getæ, along the coast of the Euxine.

<sup>42</sup> *Principes Sarmatarum Jazygum penes quos civitatis regimen . . . plebem quoque et vim equitum, quâ solâ valent, offerebant.*—Tacit. Hist. iii. 5. This offer was made in the civil war between Vitellus and Vespasian.

<sup>43</sup> This hypothesis of a Vandal king reigning over Sarmatian subjects seems necessary to reconcile the Goth Jornandes with the Greek and Latin historians of Constantine. It may be observed that Isidore, who lived in Spain under the dominion of the Goths, gives them for enemies, not the Vandals, but the Sarmatians. See his Chronicle in Grotius, p. 709.<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup> It is now generally admitted that the Sarmatians were Slavonians. They are first mentioned by Herodotus (iv. 21, 110 seq.) under the name of *Sauromatæ*, and their name is identified in the most ancient Slavic chronicles with *Srb*, *Sirb*, or *Servians*. Schafarik, it is true, denies that the Sarmathians were Slavonians, but, though an authority on the history and antiquities of his race, his views have been generally rejected. The two most powerful Sarmatian tribes were the *Roxolani* and *Jazyges*: the name of the latter is probably the Slavonian word *jazyk*, "speech, language." Niebuhr, *Kleine Schriften*, vol. i. p. 394; Neumann, *Die Völker des südlichen Russlands*, p. 13; Schafarik, *Slawische, Alterthümer*, vol. i. p. 368 seq.—S.



The Gothic  
war.  
A.D. 331.

contention which perpetually arise on the confines of warlike and independent nations. The Vandal princes were stimulated by fear and revenge; the Gothic kings aspired to extend their dominion from the Euxine to the frontiers of Germany; and the waters of the Maros, a small river which falls into the Theiss, were stained with the blood of the contending barbarians. After some experience of the superior strength and numbers of their adversaries, the Sarmatians implored the protection of the Roman monarch, who beheld with pleasure the discord of the nations, but who was justly alarmed by the progress of the Gothic arms. As soon as Constantine had declared himself in favor of the weaker party, the haughty Araric, king of the Goths, instead of expecting the attack of the legions, boldly passed the Danube, and spread terror and devastation through the province of Mæsia. To oppose the inroad of this destroying host, the aged emperor took the field in person; but on this occasion either his conduct or his fortune betrayed the glory which he had acquired in so many foreign and domestic wars. He had the mortification of seeing his troops fly before an inconsiderable detachment of the barbarians, who pursued them to the edge of their fortified camp, and obliged him to consult his safety by a precipitate and ignominious retreat.<sup>a</sup> The event of a second and more successful action retrieved the honor of the Roman name, and the powers of art and discipline prevailed, after an obstinate contest, over the efforts of irregular valor. The broken army of the Goths abandoned the field of battle, the wasted province, and the passage of the Danube; and although the eldest of the sons of Constantine was permitted to supply the place of his father, the merit of the victory, which diffused universal joy, was ascribed to the auspicious counsels of the emperor himself.

A.D. 332.  
April 20.

He contributed at least to improve this advantage by his negotiations with the free and warlike people of Chersonesus,<sup>44</sup>

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<sup>44</sup> I may stand in need of some apology for having used, without scruple, the

<sup>a</sup> Gibbon states that Constantine was defeated by the Goths in a first battle. No ancient author mentions such an event. It is, no doubt, a mistake in Gibbon. St. Martin, note to Le Beau, i. 324.—M.

whose capital, situate on the western coast of the Tauric or Crimæan peninsula, still retained some vestiges of a Grecian colony, and was governed by a perpetual magistrate, assisted by a council of senators, emphatically styled the Fathers of the City. The Chersonites were animated against the Goths by the memory of the wars which, in the preceding century, they had maintained with unequal forces against the invaders of their country. They were connected with the Romans by the mutual benefits of commerce; as they were supplied from the provinces of Asia with corn and manufactures, which they purchased with their only productions, salt, wax, and hides. Obedient to the requisition of Constantine, they prepared, under the conduct of their magistrate Diogenes, a considerable army, of which the principal strength consisted in cross-bows and military chariots. The speedy march and intrepid attack of the Chersonites, by diverting the attention of the Goths, assisted the operations of the imperial generals. The Goths, vanquished on every side, were driven into the mountains, where, in the course of a severe campaign, above one hundred thousand were computed to have perished by cold and hunger. Peace was at length granted to their humble supplications; the eldest son of Araric was accepted as the most valuable hostage, and Constantine endeavored to convince their chiefs,

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authority of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, in all that relates to the wars and negotiations of the Chersonites. I am aware that he was a Greek of the tenth century, and that his accounts of ancient history are frequently confused and fabulous. But on this occasion his narrative is, for the most part, consistent and probable; nor is there much difficulty in conceiving that an emperor might have access to some secret archives which had escaped the diligence of meaner historians. For the situation and history of Chersone, see Peyssonel, *Des Peuples Barbares qui ont habité les Bords du Danube*, ch. xvi. 84-90.<sup>a</sup>

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<sup>a</sup> Gibbon has confounded the inhabitants of the city of Cherson, the ancient Chersonesus, with the people of the Chersonesus Taurica. If he had read with more attention the chapter of Constantinus Porphyrogenitus, from which this narrative is derived, he would have seen that the author clearly distinguishes the republic of Cherson from the rest of the Tauric peninsula, then possessed by the kings of the Cimmerian Bosphorus, and that the city of Cherson alone furnished succors to the Romans. The English historian is also mistaken in saying that the Stephanephoros of the Chersonites was a perpetual magistrate, since it is easy to discover, from the great number of Stephanephoroi mentioned by Constantine Porphyrogenitus, that they were annual magistrates, like almost all those which governed the Grecian republics. St. Martin, note to Le Beau, i. 326.—M.

by a liberal distribution of honors and rewards, how far the friendship of the Romans was preferable to their enmity. In the expressions of his gratitude towards the faithful Chersonites, the emperor was still more magnificent. The pride of the nation was gratified by the splendid and almost royal decorations bestowed on their magistrate and his successors. A perpetual exemption from all duties was stipulated for their vessels which traded to the ports of the Black Sea. A regular subsidy was promised of iron, corn, oil, and of every supply which could be useful either in peace or war. But it was thought that the Sarmatians were sufficiently rewarded by their deliverance from impending ruin; and the emperor, perhaps with too strict an economy, deducted some part of the expenses of the war from the customary gratifications which were allowed to that turbulent nation.

Exasperated by this apparent neglect, the Sarmatians soon forgot, with the levity of barbarians, the services which they had so lately received, and the dangers which still threatened their safety. Their inroads on the territory of the empire provoked the indignation of Constantine to leave them to their fate; and he no longer opposed the ambition of Geberic, a renowned warrior, who had recently ascended the Gothic throne. Wisumar, the Vandal king, whilst, alone and unassisted, he defended his dominions with undaunted courage, was vanquished and slain in a decisive battle which swept away the flower of the Sarmatian youth.<sup>a</sup> The remainder of the nation embraced the desperate expedient of arming their slaves, a hardy race of hunters and herdsmen, by whose tumultuary aid they revenged their defeat and expelled the invader from their confines. But they soon discovered that they had exchanged a foreign for a domestic enemy, more dangerous and more implacable. Enraged by their former servitude, elated by their present glory,

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<sup>a</sup> Gibbon supposes that this war took place because Constantine had deducted a part of the customary gratifications granted by his predecessors to the Sarmatians. Nothing of this kind appears in the authors. We see, on the contrary, that after his victory, and to punish the Sarmatians for the ravages they had committed, he withheld the sums which it had been the custom to bestow. St. Martin, note to *Le Beau*, i. 327.—M.

the slaves, under the name of Limigantes, claimed and usurped the possession of the country which they had saved. Their masters, unable to withstand the ungoverned fury of the populace, preferred the hardships of exile to the tyranny of their servants. Some of the fugitive Sarmatians solicited a less ignominious dependence under the hostile standard of the Goths. A more numerous band retired beyond the Carpathian Mountains, among the Quadi, their German allies, and were easily admitted to share a superfluous waste of uncultivated land. But the far greater part of the distressed nation turned their eyes towards the fruitful provinces of Rome. Imploring the protection and forgiveness of the emperor, they solemnly promised, as subjects in peace and as soldiers in war, the most inviolable fidelity to the empire which should graciously receive them into its bosom. According to the maxims adopted by Probus and his successors, the offers of this barbarian colony were eagerly accepted; and a competent portion of lands in the provinces of Pannonia, Thrace, Macedonia, and Italy were immediately assigned for the habitation and subsistence of three hundred thousand Sarmatians.<sup>46</sup>

By chastising the pride of the Goths, and by accepting the homage of a suppliant nation, Constantine asserted the majesty of the Roman empire; and the ambassadors of Æthiopia, Persia, and the most remote countries of India congratulated the peace and prosperity of his government.<sup>46</sup> If he reckoned among the favors of

Death and  
funeral of  
Constantine.  
A. D. 335.  
July 25.

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<sup>46</sup> The Gothic and Sarmatian wars are related in so broken and imperfect a manner that I have been obliged to compare the following writers who mutually supply, correct, and illustrate each other. Those who will take the same trouble may acquire a right of criticising my narrative. Ammianus, l. xvii. c. 12. Anonym. Valesian. p. 715. Eutropius, x. 7 [4]. Sextus Rufus de Provinciis, c. 26. Julian, Orat. i. p. 9, and Spanheim, Comment. p. 94. Hieronym. in Chron. Euseb. in Vit. Constantin. l. iv. c. 6. Socrates, l. i. c. 18. Sozomen, l. i. c. 8. Zosimus, l. ii. [c. 21] p. 108. Jornandes de Reb. Geticis, c. 22. Isidorus in Chron. p. 709; in Hist. Gothorum Grotii. Constantin. Porphyrogenitus de Administrat. Imperii, c. 53, p. 208, edit. Meursii<sup>a</sup> [p. 144 seq. ed. Paris; vol. iii. p. 244 seq. ed. Bonn].

<sup>46</sup> Eusebius (in Vit. Const. l. iv. c. 50) remarks three circumstances relative to

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<sup>a</sup> Compare, on this very obscure but remarkable war, Manso, *Leben Constantins*, p. 195.—M.



fortune the death of his eldest son, of his nephew, and perhaps of his wife, he enjoyed an uninterrupted flow of private as well as public felicity till the thirtieth year of his reign, a period which none of his predecessors, since Augustus, had been permitted to celebrate. Constantine survived that solemn festival about ten months, and at the mature age of sixty-

four, after a short illness, he ended his memorable life at the palace of Aquyrion,<sup>a</sup> in the suburbs of Nicomedia, whither he had retired for the benefit of the air, and with the hope of recruiting his exhausted strength by the use of the warm baths. The excessive demonstrations of grief, or at least of mourning, surpassed whatever had been practised on any former occasion. Notwithstanding the claims of the senate and people of ancient Rome, the corpse of the deceased emperor, according to his last request, was transported to the city which was destined to preserve the name and memory of its founder. The body of Constantine, adorned with the vain symbols of greatness, the purple and diadem, was deposited on a golden bed in one of the apartments of the palace, which for that purpose had been splendidly furnished and illuminated. The forms of the court were strictly maintained. Every day, at the appointed hours, the principal officers of the state, the army, and the household, approaching the person of their sovereign with bended knees and a composed countenance, offered their respectful homage as seriously as if he had been still alive. From motives of policy, this theatrical representation was for some time continued, nor could flattery neglect the opportunity of remarking that Constantine alone, by the peculiar indulgence of Heaven, had reigned after his death.<sup>47</sup>

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these Indians. 1. They came from the shores of the eastern ocean—a description which might be applied to the coast of China or Coromandel. 2. They presented shining gems and unknown animals. 3. They protested their kings had erected statues to represent the supreme majesty of Constantine.

<sup>47</sup> *Funus relatum in urbem sui nominis, quod sane P. R. ægerrime tulit.*—Aurelius Victor [de Cæsar. c. 41]. Constantine prepared for himself a stately tomb in the Church of the Holy Apostles. Euseb. l. iv. c. 60. The best, and indeed almost the only, account of the sickness, death, and funeral of Constantine is contained in the fourth book of his Life by Eusebius.

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<sup>a</sup> Called Achyron by St. Jerome (Chron. anno 2353), and Achiron by Victor.—S.

But this reign could subsist only in empty pageantry ; and it was soon discovered that the will of the most absolute monarch is seldom obeyed when his subjects have no longer anything to hope from his favor or to dread from his resentment. The same ministers and generals who bowed with such reverential awe before the inanimate corpse of their deceased sovereign were engaged in secret consultations to exclude his two nephews, Dalmatius and Hannibalianus, from the share which he had assigned them in the succession of the empire. We are too imperfectly acquainted with the court of Constantine to form any judgment of the real motives which influenced the leaders of the conspiracy, unless we should suppose that they were actuated by a spirit of jealousy and revenge against the præfect Ablavius, a proud favorite who had long directed the counsels and abused the confidence of the late emperor. The arguments by which they solicited the concurrence of the soldiers and people are of a more obvious nature ; and they might, with decency as well as truth, insist on the superior rank of the children of Constantine, the danger of multiplying the number of sovereigns, and the impending mischiefs which threatened the republic from the discord of so many rival princes who were not connected by the tender sympathy of fraternal affection. The intrigue was conducted with zeal and secrecy, till a loud and unanimous declaration was procured from the troops that they would suffer none except the sons of their lamented monarch to reign over the Roman empire.<sup>48</sup> The younger Dalmatius, who was united with his collateral relations by the ties of friendship and interest, is allowed to have inherited a considerable share of the abilities of the great Constantine ; but on this occasion he does not appear to have concerted any measures for supporting by arms the just claims which himself and his royal brother derived from the liberality of their uncle. Astonished and overwhelmed by the tide of popular fury, they seem to have remained, without the power of flight or of resistance, in the

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<sup>48</sup> Eusebius (l. iv. c. 68) terminates his narrative by this loyal declaration of the troops, and avoids all the invidious circumstances of the subsequent massacre.

hands of their implacable enemies. Their fate was suspended till the arrival of Constantius, the second,<sup>49</sup> and perhaps the most favored, of the sons of Constantine.

The voice of the dying emperor had recommended the care of his funeral to the piety of Constantius; and that prince, by the vicinity of his Eastern station, could easily prevent the diligence of his brothers, who resided in their distant government of Italy and Gaul. As soon as he had taken possession of the palace of Constantinople, his first care was to remove the apprehensions of his kinsmen by a solemn oath which he pledged for their security. His next employment was to find some specious pretence which might release his conscience from the obligation of an imprudent promise. The arts of fraud were made subservient to the designs of cruelty, and a manifest forgery was attested by a person of the most sacred character. From the hands of the Bishop of Nicomedia, Constantius received a fatal scroll, affirmed to be the genuine testament of his father, in which the emperor expressed his suspicions that he had been poisoned by his brothers, and conjured his sons to revenge his death, and to consult their own safety by the punishment of the guilty.<sup>50</sup> Whatever reasons might have been alleged by these unfortunate princes to defend their life and honor against so incredible an accusation, they were silenced by the furious clamors of the

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<sup>49</sup> The character of Dalmatius is advantageously, though concisely, drawn by Eutropius (x. 9 [5]): Dalmatius Cæsar prosperrimâ indole, neque patruo absimilis, *haud multo* post oppressus est factione militari. As both Jerome and the Alexandrian Chronicle mention the third year of the Cæsar, which did not commence till the 18th or 24th of September, A.D. 337, it is certain that these military factions continued above four months.

<sup>50</sup> I have related this singular anecdote on the authority of Philostorgius, l. ii. c. 16. But if such a pretext was ever used by Constantius and his adherents, it was laid aside with contempt as soon as it served their immediate purpose. Athanasius (tom. i. p. 856) [ad Monach. c. 69, tom. i. p. 304, edit. Bened. Petav. 1777] mentions the oath which Constantius had taken for the security of his kinsmen.<sup>a</sup>

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<sup>a</sup> The authority of Philostorgius is so suspicious as not to be sufficient to establish this fact, which Gibbon has inserted in his history as certain, while in the note he appears to doubt it.—G.

soldiers, who declared themselves at once their enemies, their judges, and their executioners. The spirit, and even the forms, of legal proceedings were repeatedly violated in a promiscuous massacre, which involved the two uncles of Constantius, seven of his cousins, of whom Dalmatius and Hannibalianus were the most illustrious, the Patrician Optatus, who had married a sister of the late emperor, and the præfect Ablavius, whose power and riches had inspired him with some hopes of obtaining the purple. If it were necessary to aggravate the horrors of this bloody scene, we might add that Constantius himself had espoused the daughter of his uncle Julius, and that he had bestowed his sister in marriage on his cousin Hannibalianus. These alliances, which the policy of Constantine, regardless of the public prejudice,<sup>51</sup> had formed between the several branches of the imperial house, served only to convince mankind that these princes were as cold to the endearments of conjugal affection as they were insensible to the ties of consanguinity and the moving entreaties of youth and innocence. Of so numerous a family, Gallus and Julian alone, the two youngest children of Julius Constantius, were saved from the hands of the assassins till their rage, satiated with slaughter, had in some measure subsided. The Emperor Constantius, who, in the absence of his brothers, was the most obnoxious to guilt and reproach, discovered, on some future occasions, a faint and transient remorse for those cruelties which the perfidious counsels of his ministers and the irresistible

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<sup>51</sup> *Conjugia sobrinarum diu ignorata, tempore addito percrebuisse.*—Tacit. *Ann.* xii. 6, and Lipsius *ad loc.* The repeal of the ancient law and the practice of five hundred years were insufficient to eradicate the prejudices of the Romans, who still considered the marriages of cousins-german as a species of imperfect incest (*Augustin. de Civitate Dei*, xv. 6); and Julian, whose mind was biassed by superstition and resentment, stigmatizes these unnatural alliances between his own cousins with the opprobrious epithet of *γαμῶν τε οὐ γαμῶν* (*Orat.* vii. p. 228). The jurisprudence of the canons has since revived and enforced this prohibition, without being able to introduce it either into the civil or the common law of Europe. See, on the subject of these marriages, Taylor's *Civil Law*, p. 331; Brouer, *De Jure Connub.* l. ii. c. 12; Héricourt, *Des Loix Ecclésiastiques*, part iii. ch. 5; Fleury, *Institutions du Droit Canonique*, tom. i. p. 331, Paris, 1767; and Fra Paolo, *Istoria del Concilio Trident.* l. viii.



violence of the troops had extorted from his unexperienced youth.<sup>52</sup>

The massacre of the Flavian race was succeeded by a new division of the provinces, which was ratified in a personal interview of the three brothers. Constantine, the eldest of the Cæsars, obtained, with a certain pre-eminence of rank, the possession of the new capital, which bore his own name and that of his father. Thrace and the countries of the East were allotted for the patrimony of Constantius; and Constans was acknowledged as the lawful sovereign of Italy, Africa, and the Western Illyricum. The armies submitted to their hereditary right; and they condescended, after some delay, to accept from the Roman senate the title of *Augustus*. When they first assumed the reins of government, the eldest of these princes was twenty-one, the second twenty, and the third only seventeen years of age.<sup>53</sup>

While the martial nations of Europe followed the standards of his brothers, Constantius, at the head of the effeminate troops of Asia, was left to sustain the weight of the Persian war. At the decease of Constantine, the throne of the East was filled by Sapor, son of Hormouz, or Hormisdas, and grandson of Narses, who, after the victory of Galerius, had humbly confessed the superiority of the Roman power. Although Sapor was in the thirtieth year of his long reign, he was still in the vigor of youth, as the date of his accession, by a very strange fatality, had preceded that of his birth. The wife of Hormouz remained pregnant at the time

Sapor, King  
of Persia.  
A.D. 310.

<sup>52</sup> Julian (ad S. P. Q. Athen. p. 270) charges his cousin Constantius with the whole guilt of a massacre from which he himself so narrowly escaped. His assertion is confirmed by Athanasius, who, for reasons of a very different nature, was not less an enemy of Constantius (tom. i. p. 856 [tom. i. p. 304, edit. Bened.]). Zosimus [ii. 40] joins in the same accusation. But the three abbreviators, Eutropius and the Victors, use very qualifying expressions: "sinente potius quam jubente;" "incertum quo suasore;" "vi militum."

<sup>53</sup> Euseb. in Vit. Constantin. l. iv. c. 69. Zosimus, l. ii. [c. 39] p. 117. Idat. in Chron. See two notes of Tillemont, Hist. des Empereurs, tom. iv. p. 1086-1091. The reign of the eldest brother at Constantinople is noticed only in the *Alexandrian Chronicle*.

of her husband's death, and the uncertainty of the sex as well as of the event excited the ambitious hopes of the princes of the House of Sassan. The apprehensions of civil war were at length removed by the positive assurance of the Magi that the widow of Hormouz had conceived and would safely produce a son. Obedient to the voice of superstition, the Persians prepared, without delay, the ceremony of his coronation. A royal bed, on which the queen lay in state, was exhibited in the midst of the palace; the diadem was placed on the spot which might be supposed to conceal the future heir of Artaxerxes, and the prostrate satraps adored the majesty of their invisible and insensible sovereign.<sup>54</sup> If any credit can be given to this marvellous tale, which seems, however, to be countenanced by the manners of the people and by the extraordinary duration of his reign, we must admire not only the fortune, but the genius of Sapor. In the soft, sequestered education of a Persian harem the royal youth could discover the importance of exercising the vigor of his mind and body, and, by his personal merit, deserved a throne on which he had been seated while he was yet unconscious of the duties and temptations of absolute power. His minority was exposed to the almost inevitable calamities of domestic discord; his capital was surprised and plundered by Thair, a powerful king of Yemen, or Arabia; and the majesty of the royal family was degraded by the captivity of a princess, the sister of the deceased king. But as soon as Sapor attained the age of manhood, the presumptuous Thair, his nation, and his country fell beneath the first effort of the young warrior, who used his victory with so judicious a mixture of rigor and clemency that he obtained from the fears

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<sup>54</sup> Agathias, who lived in the sixth century, is the author of this story (l. iv. p. 135, edit. Louvre [c. 25, p. 262, edit. Bonn]). He derived his information from some extracts of the Persian Chronicles, obtained and translated by the interpreter Sergius during his embassy at that court. The coronation of the mother of Sapor is likewise mentioned by Schikard (*Tarikh*, p. 116) and D'Herbelot (*Bibliothèque Orientale*, p. 763).<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup> The author of the *Zenut-ul-Tarikh* states that the lady herself affirmed her belief of this from the extraordinary liveliness of the infant, and its lying on the right side. Those who are sage on such subjects must determine what right she had to be positive from these symptoms. Malcolm, *Hist. of Persia*, i. 83.—M.

and gratitude of the Arabs the title of *Dhoulacnaf*, or protector of the nation.<sup>55</sup>

The ambition of the Persian, to whom his enemies ascribe the virtues of a soldier and a statesman, was animated by the desire of revenging the disgrace of his fathers, and of wresting from the hands of the Romans the five provinces beyond the Tigris. The military fame of Constantine, and the real or apparent strength of his government, suspended the attack; and while the hostile conduct of Sapor provoked the resentment, his artful negotiations amused the patience, of the imperial court. The death of Constantine was the signal of war,<sup>56</sup> and the actual condition of the Syrian and Armenian frontier seemed to encourage the Persians by the prospect of a rich spoil and an easy conquest. The example of the massacres of the palace diffused a spirit of licentiousness and sedition among the troops of the East, who were no longer restrained by their habits of obedience to a veteran commander. By the prudence of Constantius, who, from the interview with his brothers in Pannonia, immediately hastened to the banks of the Euphrates, the legions were gradually restored to a sense of duty and discipline; but the season of anarchy had permitted Sapor to form the siege of Nisibis and to occupy several of the most important fortresses of Mesopotamia.<sup>57</sup> In Armenia the renowned Tiridates had long enjoyed the peace and glory which he deserved by his valor and fidelity

<sup>55</sup> D'Herbelot, *Bibliothèque Orientale*, p. 764.<sup>a</sup>

<sup>56</sup> Sextus Rufus (c. 26), who on this occasion is no contemptible authority, affirms that the Persians sued in vain for peace, and that Constantine was preparing to march against them; yet the superior weight of the testimony of Eusebius obliges us to admit the preliminaries, if not the ratification, of the treaty. See Tillemont, *Hist. des Empereurs*, tom. iv. p. 420.<sup>b</sup> <sup>57</sup> Julian. *Orat.* i. p. 20.

<sup>a</sup> Gibbon, according to Sir J. Malcolm, has greatly mistaken the derivation of this name; it means *Zoolaktaf*, the Lord of the Shoulders, from his directing the shoulders of his captives to be pierced and then dislocated by a string passed through them. Eastern authors are agreed with respect to the origin of this title. Malcolm, i. 84. Gibbon took his derivation from D'Herbelot, who gives both, the latter on the authority of the *Leb. Tarikh*.—M.

<sup>b</sup> Constantine had endeavored to allay the fury of the persecutions which, at the instigation of the Magi and the Jews, Sapor had commenced against the Christians, Euseb. *Vit. Hist.* Theod. i. 25. Sozom. ii. c. 8, 15.—M.

to the cause of Rome.\* The firm alliance which he maintained with Constantine was productive of spiritual as well as of temporal benefits. By the conversion of Tiridates the character of a saint was applied to that of a hero; the Christian faith was preached and established from the Euphrates to the shores of the Caspian; and Armenia was attached to the empire by the double ties of policy and of religion. But as many of the Armenian nobles still refused to abandon the plurality of their gods and of their wives, the public tranquillity was disturbed by a discontented faction, which insulted the feeble age of their sovereign and impatiently expected the hour of his death. He died at length, after a reign of fifty-six years, and the fortune of the Armenian monarchy expired with Tiridates. His lawful heir was driven into exile; the Christian priests were either murdered or expelled from their churches; the barbarous tribes of Albania were solicited to descend from their mountains; and two of the most powerful governors, usurping the ensigns or the powers of royalty, implored the assistance of Sapor, and opened the gates of their cities to the Persian garrisons. The Christian party, under the guidance of the Archbishop of Artaxata, the immediate successor of St. Gregory the Illuminator, had recourse to the piety of Constantius. After the troubles had continued about three years, Antiochus, one of the officers of the household, executed with success the imperial commission of restoring Chosroes, the son of Tiridates, to the throne of his fathers, of distributing honors and rewards among the faithful servants of the House of Arsaces, and of proclaiming a general amnesty, which was accepted by the greater part of the rebellious satraps. But the Romans derived more honor than advantage from this revolution. Chosroes was a prince of a puny stature and a pusillanimous spirit. Unequal to the fatigues of war, averse to the society of mankind, he withdrew

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\* Tiridates had sustained a war against Maximin, caused by the hatred of the latter against Christianity. Armenia was the first *nation* which embraced Christianity. About the year 276 it was the religion of the king, the nobles, and the people of Armenia. From St. Martin, supplement to Le Beau, vol. i. p. 78. Compare preface to *History of Vartan*, by Professor Neumann, p. ix.—M.



from his capital to a retired palace which he built on the banks of the river Eleutherus and in the centre of a shady grove, where he consumed his vacant hours in the rural sports of hunting and hawking. To secure this inglorious ease, he submitted to the conditions of peace which Sapor condescended to impose—the payment of an annual tribute and the restitution of the fertile province of Atropatene, which the courage of Tiridates and the victorious arms of Galerius had annexed to the Armenian monarchy.<sup>58</sup>

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<sup>58</sup> Julian. Orat. i. p. 20, 21. Moses of Chorene, l. ii. c. 89, l. iii. c. 1–9, p. 226–240. The perfect agreement between the vague hints of the contemporary orator and the circumstantial narrative of the national historian gives light to the former and weight to the latter. For the credit of Moses it may be likewise observed that the name of Antiochus is found a few years before in a civil office of inferior dignity. See Godefroy, *Cod. Theod.* tom. vi. p. 350.<sup>a</sup>

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<sup>a</sup> “Gibbon has endeavored in his History to make use of the information furnished by Moses of Chorene, the only Armenian historian then translated into Latin. Gibbon has not perceived all the chronological difficulties which occur in the narrative of that writer. He has not thought of all the critical discussions which his text ought to undergo before it can be combined with the relations of the Western writers. From want of this attention, Gibbon has made the facts which he has drawn from this source more erroneous than they are in the original. This judgment applies to all which the English historian has derived from the Armenian author. I have made the History of Moses a subject of particular attention; and it is with confidence that I offer the results, which I insert here, and which will appear in the course of my notes. In order to form a judgment of the difference which exists between me and Gibbon, I will content myself with remarking that throughout he has committed an anachronism of thirty years, from whence it follows that he assigns to the reign of Constantius many events which took place during that of Constantine. He could not, therefore, discern the true connection which exists between the Roman history and that of Armenia, or form a correct notion of the reasons which induced Constantine, at the close of his life, to make war upon the Persians, or of the motives which detained Constantius so long in the East; he does not even mention them.”—St. Martin, note on *Le Beau*, vol. i. p. 406.

The following is St. Martin's account of this period of Armenian history: Tiridates, the first Christian king of Armenia, died in A.D. 314, and his son Chosroes II. was placed on the throne by a Roman army commanded by Antiochus. This was during the reign of Licinius in the East. Chosroes was succeeded in 322 by his son Diran. Diran was a weak prince, and in the sixteenth year of his reign, A.D. 337, was betrayed into the power of Sapor, the Persian king, by the treachery of his chamberlain and the Persian governor of Atropatene or Aderbaidjan. He was blinded; his wife and his son Arsaces shared his captivity, but the princes and nobles of Armenia claimed the protection of Rome. Constantine espoused their cause and declared war against the Persians, but he died almost immediately afterwards. The war, however, was carried on by his son Constantius. The King of Persia attempted to make himself master of Armenia; but the brave resistance of the people, the advance of Constantius, and a defeat which his army suffered at Oskha, in Armenia, and the failure before Nisibis, forced Shahpour to

During the long period of the reign of Constantius the provinces of the East were afflicted by the calamities of the Persian war.<sup>a</sup> The irregular incursions of the light troops alternately spread terror and devastation beyond the Tigris and beyond the Euphrates, from the gates of Ctesiphon to those of Antioch; and this active service was performed by the Arabs of the desert, who were divided in their interest and affections, some of their independent chiefs being enlisted in the party of Sapor, whilst others had engaged their doubtful fidelity to the emperor.<sup>59</sup> The more grave and important operations of the war were conducted with equal vigor; and the armies of Rome and Persia encountered each other in nine bloody fields, in two of which Constantius himself commanded in person.<sup>60</sup> The event of the day was most commonly adverse to the Romans, but in the

The Persian  
war.  
A.D. 337-360.

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<sup>59</sup> Ammianus (xiv. 4) gives a lively description of the wandering and predatory life of the Saracens, who stretched from the confines of Assyria to the cataracts of the Nile. It appears from the adventures of Malchus, which Jerome has related in so entertaining a manner, that the high-road between Beræa and Edessa was infested by these robbers. See Hieronym. tom. i. p. 256.

<sup>60</sup> We shall take from Eutropius the general idea of the war (x. 10 [6]). "A Persis enim multa et gravia perpeussus, sæpe captis oppidis, obsessis urbibus, cæsis exercitibus, nullumque ei contra Saporem prosperum prælium fuit, nisi quod apud Singaram," etc. This honest account is confirmed by the hints of Ammianus, Rufus, and Jerome. The two first orations of Julian, and the third oration of Libanius, exhibit a more flattering picture; but the recantation of both those orators after the death of Constantius, while it restores us to the possession of the truth, degrades their own character and that of the emperor. The commentary of Spanheim on the first oration of Julian is profusely learned. See likewise the judicious observations of Tillemont, Hist. des Empereurs, tom. iv. p. 656.

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submit to terms of peace. Diran and his son were released from captivity; but Diran refused to ascend the throne, and retired to an obscure retreat, and his son Arsaces was crowned King of Armenia. Arsaces pursued a vacillating policy between the influence of Rome and Persia, and the war recommenced in the year 345—at least, that was the period of the expedition of Constantius to the East. See St. Martin, additions to Le Beau, vol. i. p. 406 seq., 442 seq.—Abridged from M.

<sup>a</sup> It was during this war that a bold flatterer (whose name is unknown) published the Itineraries of Alexander and Trajan, in order to direct the *victorious* Constantius in the footsteps of those great conquerors of the East. The former of these has been published, for the first time, by M. Angelo Mai (Milan, 1817, reprinted at Frankfurt 1818). It adds so little to our knowledge of Alexander's campaigns that it only excites our regret that it is not the Itinerary of Trajan, of whose Eastern victories we have no distinct record.—M.

battle of Singara their imprudent valor had almost achieved a signal and decisive victory. The stationary troops of Singara<sup>a</sup> retired on the approach of Sapor, who passed the Tigris over three bridges, and occupied near the village of Hilleh an advantageous camp, which, by the labor of his numerous pioneers, he surrounded in one day with a deep ditch and a lofty rampart. His formidable host, when it was drawn out in order of battle, covered the banks of the river, the adjacent heights, and the whole extent of a plain of above twelve miles which separated the two armies. Both were alike impatient to engage; but the barbarians, after a slight resistance, fled in disorder, unable to resist, or desirous to weary, the strength of the heavy legions who, fainting with heat and thirst, pursued them across the plain and cut in pieces a line of cavalry clothed in complete armor, which had been posted before the gates of the camp to protect their retreat. Constantius, who was hurried along in the pursuit, attempted, without effect, to restrain the ardor of his troops by representing to them the dangers of the approaching night and the certainty of completing their success with the return of day. As they depended much more on their own valor than on the experience or the abilities of their chief, they silenced by their clamors his timid remonstrances, and, rushing with fury to the charge, filled up the ditch, broke down the rampart, and dispersed themselves through the tents to recruit their exhausted strength and to enjoy the rich harvest of their labors. But the prudent Sapor had watched the moment of victory. His army, of which the greater part, securely posted on the heights, had been spectators of the action, advanced in silence and under the shadow of the night; and his Persian archers, guided by the illumination of the camp, poured a shower of arrows on a disarmed and licentious crowd. The sincerity of history<sup>61</sup>

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<sup>61</sup> *Acerrimâ nocturnâ concertatione pugnatum est, nostrorum copiis ingenti strage confossis.*—Ammian. xviii. 5. See likewise Eutropius, x. 10 [6], and S. Rufus, c. 27.<sup>b</sup>

<sup>a</sup> On the site of Singara, see note, vol. i. p. 683.—S.

<sup>b</sup> The Persian historians, or romancers, do not mention the Battle of Singara, but make the captive Shahpour escape, defeat, and take prisoner, the Roman em-

declares that the Romans were vanquished with a dreadful slaughter, and that the flying remnant of the legions was exposed to the most intolerable hardships. Even the tenderness of panegyric, confessing that the glory of the emperor was sullied by the disobedience of his soldiers, chooses to draw a veil over the circumstances of this melancholy retreat. Yet one of those venal orators, so jealous of the fame of Constantius, relates, with amazing coolness, an act of such incredible cruelty as, in the judgment of posterity, must imprint a far deeper stain on the honor of the imperial name. The son of Sapor, the heir of his crown, had been made a captive in the Persian camp. The unhappy youth, who might have excited the compassion of the most savage enemy, was scourged, tortured, and publicly executed by the inhuman Romans.<sup>62</sup>

Whatever advantages might attend the arms of Sapor in the field, though nine repeated victories diffused among the nations the fame of his valor and conduct, he could not hope to succeed in the execution of his designs while the fortified towns of Mesopotamia, and, above all, the strong and ancient city of Nisibis, remained in the possession of the Romans. In the space of twelve years Nisibis, which, since the time of Lucullus, had been deservedly esteemed the bulwark of the East, sustained three memorable sieges against the power of Sapor; and the disappointed monarch, after urging his attacks above sixty, eighty, and a hundred days, was thrice repulsed with loss and ignominy.<sup>63</sup> This large and populous city was situate about two days' journey from the Tigris, in the midst of a pleasant and fertile plain at the foot of Mount Masius. A treble enclosure

Siege of Nisibis.

A.D. 338, 346, 350.

<sup>62</sup> Libanius, Orat. iii. p. 133, with Julian. Orat. i. p. 24, and Spanheim's Commentary, p. 179.

<sup>63</sup> See Julian. Orat. i. p. 27; Orat. ii. p. 62, etc.; with the Commentary of Spanheim (p. 188–202), who illustrates the circumstances, and ascertains the time of the three sieges of Nisibis. Their dates are likewise examined by Tillemont (*Hist. des Empereurs*, tom. iv. p. 668, 671, 674). Something is added from Zosimus, l. iii. [c. 8] p. 151, and the Alexandrian Chronicle, p. 290.

peror. The Roman captives were forced to repair all the ravages they had committed, even to replanting the smallest trees. Malcolm, i. 85.—M.



of brick walls was defended by a deep ditch;<sup>64</sup> and the intrepid resistance of Count Lucilianus and his garrison was seconded by the desperate courage of the people. The citizens of Nisibis were animated by the exhortations of their bishop,<sup>65</sup> inured to arms by the presence of danger, and convinced of the intentions of Sapor to plant a Persian colony in their room, and to lead them away into distant and barbarous captivity. The event of the two former sieges elated their confidence and exasperated the haughty spirit of the Great King, who advanced a third time towards Nisibis, at the head of the united forces of Persia and India. The ordinary machines, invented to batter or undermine the walls, were rendered ineffectual by the superior skill of the Romans, and many days had vainly elapsed when Sapor embraced a resolution worthy of an eastern monarch who believed that the elements themselves were subject to his power. At the stated season of the melting of the snows in Armenia, the river Mygdonius, which divides the plain and the city of Nisibis, forms, like the Nile,<sup>66</sup> an inundation over the adjacent country. By the labor of the Persians the course of the river was stopped below the town, and the waters were confined on every side by solid mounds of earth. On this artificial lake a fleet of armed vessels, filled with soldiers, and with engines which discharged stones of five hundred pounds weight, advanced in order of battle, and engaged, almost upon a level, the troops which defended the

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<sup>64</sup> Sallust. Fragment. lxxxiv. edit. Brosset, and Plutarch in Lucull. [c. 32] tom. iii. p. 184. Nisibis is now reduced to one hundred and fifty houses; the marshy lands produce rice, and the fertile meadows, as far as Mosul and the Tigris, are covered with the ruins of towns and villages. See Niebuhr, *Voyages*, tom. ii. p. 300-309.

<sup>65</sup> The miracles which Theodoret (l. ii. c. 30) ascribes to St. James, Bishop of Edessa, were at least performed in a worthy cause—the defence of his country. He appeared on the walls under the figure of the Roman emperor, and sent an army of gnats to sting the trunks of the elephants, and to discomfit the host of the new Sennacherib.

<sup>66</sup> Julian. Orat. i. p. 27. Though Niebuhr (tom. ii. p. 307) allows a very considerable swell to the Mygdonius, over which he saw a bridge of *twelve* arches; it is difficult, however, to understand this parallel of a trifling rivulet with a mighty river. There are many circumstances obscure, and almost unintelligible, in the description of these stupendous water-works.

ramparts.\* The irresistible force of the waters was alternately fatal to the contending parties, till at length a portion of the walls, unable to sustain the accumulated pressure, gave way at once, and exposed an ample breach of one hundred and fifty feet. The Persians were instantly driven to the assault, and the fate of Nisibis depended on the event of the day. The heavy-armed cavalry, who led the van of a deep column, were embarrassed in the mud, and great numbers were drowned in the unseen holes which had been filled by the rushing waters. The elephants, made furious by their wounds, increased the disorder, and trampled down thousands of the Persian archers. The Great King, who, from an exalted throne, beheld the misfortunes of his arms, sounded, with reluctant indignation, the signal of the retreat, and suspended for some hours the prosecution of the attack. But the vigilant citizens improved the opportunity of the night, and the return of day discovered a new wall of six feet in height rising every moment to fill up the interval of the breach. Notwithstanding the disappointment of his hopes and the loss of more than twenty thousand men, Sapor still pressed the reduction of Nisibis with an obstinate firmness which could have yielded only to the necessity of defending the eastern provinces of Persia against a formidable invasion of the Massagetæ.<sup>67</sup> Alarmed by this intelligence, he hastily relinquished the siege, and marched with rapid diligence from the banks of the Tigris to those of the Oxus. The danger and difficulties of the Scythian war engaged him soon afterwards to conclude, or at least to observe, a truce with the Roman emperor, which was equally grateful

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<sup>67</sup> We are obliged to Zonaras (tom. ii. l. xiii. [c. 7] p. 11 [15]) for this invasion of the Massagetæ, which is perfectly consistent with the general series of events to which we are darkly led by the broken history of Ammianus.

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\* Macdonald Kinnier observes on these floating batteries, "As the elevation of the place is considerably above the level of the country in its immediate vicinity, and the Mygdonius is a very insignificant stream, it is difficult to imagine how this work could have been accomplished, even with the wonderful resources which the king must have had at his disposal."—Geographical Memoir, p. 262.  
—M.

to both princes, as Constantius himself, after the deaths of his two brothers, was involved, by the revolutions of the West, in a civil contest which required and seemed to exceed the most vigorous exertion of his undivided strength.

After the partition of the empire, three years had scarcely elapsed before the sons of Constantine seemed impatient to convince mankind that they were incapable of contenting themselves with the dominions which they were unqualified to govern. The eldest of those princes soon complained that he was defrauded of his just proportion of the spoils of their murdered kinsmen; and though he might yield to the superior guilt and merit of Constantius, he exacted from Constans the cession of the African provinces, as an equivalent for the rich countries of Macedonia and Greece which his brother had acquired by the death of Dalmatius. The want of sincerity which Constantine experienced in a tedious and fruitless negotiation exasperated the fierceness of his temper, and he eagerly listened to those favorites who suggested to him that his honor as well as his interest was concerned in the prosecution of the quarrel. At the head of a tumultuary band, suited for rapine rather than for conquest, he suddenly broke into the dominions of Constans by the way of the Julian Alps, and the country round Aquileia felt the first effects of his resentment. The measures of Constans, who then resided in Dacia, were directed with more prudence and ability. On the news of his brother's invasion, he detached a select and disciplined body of his Illyrian troops, proposing to follow them in person with the remainder of his forces. But the conduct of his lieutenants soon terminated the unnatural contest. By the artful appearances of flight, Constantine was betrayed into an ambuscade, which had been concealed in a wood, where the rash youth, with a few attendants, was surprised, surrounded, and slain. His body, after it had been found in the obscure stream of the Alsa, obtained the honors of an imperial sepulchre, but his provinces transferred their allegiance to the conqueror, who, refusing to admit his elder brother Constantius to any share in these new acquisitions, maintained the undis-

Civil war,  
and death of  
Constantine.  
A.D. 340,  
March.

puted possession of more than two thirds of the Roman empire.<sup>68</sup>

The fate of Constans himself was delayed about ten years longer, and the revenge of his brother's death was reserved

for the more ignoble hand of a domestic traitor. The pernicious tendency of the system introduced

by Constantine was displayed in the feeble administration of his sons, who, by their vices and weakness, soon lost the esteem and affections of their people. The pride assumed by Constans from the unmerited success of his arms was rendered more contemptible by his want of abilities and application. His fond partiality towards some German captives, distinguished only by the charms of youth, was an object of scandal to the people;<sup>69</sup> and Magnentius, an ambitious soldier, who was himself of barbarian extraction, was encouraged by the public discontent to assert the honor of the Roman name.<sup>70</sup> The chosen bands of Jovians and Herculians, who acknowledged Magnentius as their leader, maintained the most respectable and important station in the imperial camp. The friendship of Marcellinus, count of the sacred largesses, supplied with a liberal hand the means of seduction. The soldiers were convinced, by the most specious arguments, that the republic summoned them to break the bonds of hereditary servitude, and, by the choice of an active and vigilant prince, to reward the same virtues which had raised the ancestors of

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<sup>68</sup> The causes and the events of this civil war are related with much perplexity and contradiction. I have chiefly followed Zonaras and the younger Victor. The monody (ad calcem Eutrop. edit. Havercamp.) pronounced on the death of Constantine might have been very instructive; but prudence and false taste engaged the orator to involve himself in vague declamation.

<sup>69</sup> *Quarum (gentium) obsides pretio quæsitos pueros venustiores, quod cultius habuerat, libidine hujusmodi arsisse pro certo habetur* [De Cæs. 41]. Had not the depraved taste of Constans been publicly avowed, the elder Victor, who held a considerable office in his brother's reign, would not have asserted it in such positive terms.

<sup>70</sup> Julian. Orat. i. and ii. Zosim. l. ii. [c. 42] p. 134. Victor in Epitome [c. 41]. There is reason to believe that Magnentius was born in one of those barbarian colonies which Constantius Chlorus had established in Gaul (see this History, vol. i. p. 668). His behavior may remind us of the patriot Earl of Leicester, the famous Simon de Montfort, who could persuade the good people of England that he, a Frenchman by birth, had taken arms to deliver them from foreign favorites.



the degenerate Constans from a private condition to the throne of the world. As soon as the conspiracy was ripe for execution, Marcellinus, under the pretence of celebrating his son's birthday, gave a splendid entertainment to the *illustrious* and *honorable* persons of the court of Gaul, which then resided in the city of Autun. The intemperance of the feast was artfully protracted till a very late hour of the night, and the unsuspecting guests were tempted to indulge themselves in a dangerous and guilty freedom of conversation. On a sudden the doors were thrown open, and Magnentius, who had retired for a few moments, returned into the apartment, invested with the diadem and purple. The conspirators instantly saluted him with the titles of Augustus and Emperor. The surprise, the terror, the intoxication, the ambitious hopes, and the mutual ignorance of the rest of the assembly prompted them to join their voices to the general acclamation. The guards hastened to take the oath of fidelity, the gates of the town were shut, and before the dawn of day Magnentius became master of the troops and treasure of the palace and city of Autun. By his secrecy and diligence he entertained some hopes of surprising the person of Constans, who was pursuing in the adjacent forest his favorite amusement of hunting, or perhaps some pleasures of a more private and criminal nature. The rapid progress of fame allowed him, however, an instant for flight, though the desertion of his soldiers and subjects deprived him of the power of resistance. Before he could reach a seaport in Spain, where he intended to embark, he was overtaken near Helena,<sup>71</sup> at the foot of the Pyrenees, by a party of light cavalry, whose chief, regardless of the sanctity of a temple, executed his commission by the murder of the son of Constantine.<sup>72</sup>

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<sup>71</sup> This ancient city had once flourished under the name of Illiberis (Pomponius Mela, ii. 5). The munificence of Constantine gave it new splendor and his mother's name. Helena (it is still called Elne) became the seat of a bishop, who long afterwards transferred his residence to Perpignan, the capital of modern Rousillon. See D Anville, *Notice de l'Ancienne Gaule*, p. 380; Longuerue, *Description de la France*, p. 223; and the *Marca Hispanica*, l. i. c. 2.

<sup>72</sup> Zosimus, l. ii. [c. 42] p. 119, 120; Zonaras, *tom. ii. l. xiii.* [c. 6] p. 13; and the Abbreviators.

As soon as the death of Constans had decided this easy but important revolution, the example of the court of Autun was imitated by the provinces of the West. The authority of Magnentius was acknowledged through the whole extent of the two great præfectures of Gaul and Italy; and the usurper prepared, by every act of oppression, to collect a treasure which might discharge the obligation of an immense donative and supply the expenses of a civil war. The martial countries of Illyricum, from the Danube to the extremity of Greece, had long obeyed the government of Vetranio, an aged general, beloved for the simplicity of his manners, and who had acquired some reputation by his experience and services in war.<sup>73</sup> Attached by habit, by duty, and by gratitude to the house of Constantine, he immediately gave the strongest assurances to the only surviving son of his late master that he would expose, with unshaken fidelity, his person and his troops to inflict a just revenge on the traitors of Gaul. But the legions of Vetranio were seduced, rather than provoked, by the example of rebellion; their leader soon betrayed a want of firmness or a want of sincerity, and his ambition derived a specious pretence from the approbation of the princess Constantina. That cruel and aspiring woman, who had obtained from the great Constantine, her father, the rank of *Augusta*, placed the diadem with her own hands on the head of the Illyrian general, and seemed to expect from his victory the accomplishment of those unbounded hopes of which she had been disappointed by the death of her husband Hannibalianus. Perhaps it was without the consent of Constantina that the new emperor formed a necessary, though dishonorable, alliance with the usurper of the West, whose purple was so recently stained with her brother's blood.<sup>74</sup>

<sup>73</sup> Eutropius (x. 10 [6]) describes Vetranio with more temper, and probably with more truth, than either of the two Victors. Vetranio was born of obscure parents in the wildest parts of Mæsia; and so much had his education been neglected that, after his elevation, he studied the alphabet.

<sup>74</sup> The doubtful, fluctuating conduct of Vetranio is described by Julian in his first oration [p. 30 seq.], and accurately explained by Spanheim, who discusses the situation and behavior of Constantina.

The intelligence of these important events, which so deeply affected the honor and safety of the imperial house, recalled the arms of Constantius from the inglorious prosecution of the Persian war. He recommended the care of the East to his lieutenants, and afterwards to his cousin Gallus, whom he raised from a prison to a throne, and marched towards Europe with a mind agitated by the conflict of hope and fear, of grief and indignation. On his arrival at Heraclea, in Thrace, the emperor gave audience to the ambassadors of Magnentius and Vetranio. The first author of the conspiracy, Marcellinus, who in some measure had bestowed the purple on his new master, boldly accepted this dangerous commission; and his three colleagues were selected from the illustrious personages of the state and army. These deputies were instructed to soothe the resentment and to alarm the fears of Constantius. They were empowered to offer him the friendship and alliance of the Western princes, to cement their union by a double marriage—of Constantius with the daughter of Magnentius, and of Magnentius himself with the ambitious Constantina—and to acknowledge in the treaty the pre-eminence of rank which might justly be claimed by the Emperor of the East. Should pride and mistaken piety urge him to refuse these equitable conditions, the ambassadors were ordered to expatiate on the inevitable ruin which must attend his rashness if he ventured to provoke the sovereigns of the West to exert their superior strength, and to employ against him that valor, those abilities, and those legions to which the House of Constantine had been indebted for so many triumphs. Such propositions and such arguments appeared to deserve the most serious attention. The answer of Constantius was deferred till the next day; and as he had reflected on the importance of justifying a civil war in the opinion of the people, he thus addressed his council, who listened with real or affected credulity: “Last night,” said he, “after I retired to rest, the shade of the great Constantine, embracing the corpse of my murdered brother, rose before my eyes; his well-known voice awakened me to revenge, forbade me to despair of the republic, and assured me of the success and immortal glory

Constantius  
refuses to  
treat.  
A.D. 350.

which would crown the justice of my arms." The authority of such a vision, or rather of the prince who alleged it, silenced every doubt, and excluded all negotiation. The ignominious terms of peace were rejected with disdain. One of the ambassadors of the tyrant was dismissed with the haughty answer of Constantius. His colleagues, as unworthy of the privileges of the law of nations, were put in irons; and the contending powers prepared to wage an implacable war.<sup>75</sup>

Such was the conduct, and such, perhaps, was the duty, of the brother of Constans towards the perfidious usurper of Gaul.

Deposes Ve-  
tranio.  
A. D. 350.  
Dec. 25.

The situation and character of Vetranio admitted of milder measures; and the policy of the Eastern Emperor was directed to disunite his antagonists, and to separate the forces of Illyricum from the cause of rebellion. It was an easy task to deceive the frankness and simplicity of Vetranio, who, fluctuating some time between the opposite views of honor and interest, displayed to the world the insincerity of his temper, and was insensibly engaged in the snares of an artful negotiation. Constantius acknowledged him as a legitimate and equal colleague in the empire, on condition that he would renounce his disgraceful alliance with Magnentius, and appoint a place of interview on the frontiers of their respective provinces, where they might pledge their friendship by mutual vows of fidelity, and regulate by common consent the future operations of the civil war. In consequence of this agreement, Vetranio advanced to the city of Sardica<sup>76</sup> at the head of twenty thousand horse and of a more numerous body of infantry—a power so far superior to the forces of Constantius that the Illyrian emperor appeared to command the life and fortunes of his rival, who, depending on the success of his private negotiations, had seduced the troops and undermined the throne of Vetranio. The chiefs, who had secretly embraced the party of Constantius, prepared in his favor a public spectacle calcu-

<sup>75</sup> See Peter the Patrician in the *Excerpta Legationum*, p. 28 [edit. Paris; c. 14, p. 130, edit. Bonn].

<sup>76</sup> Zonaras, tom. ii. l. xiii. [c. 7] p. 15. The position of Sardica, near the modern city of Sophia, appears better suited to this interview than the situation of either Naissus or Sirmium, where it is placed by Jerome, Socrates, and Sozomen.



lated to discover and inflame the passions of the multitude." The united armies were commanded to assemble in a large plain near the city. In the centre, according to the rules of ancient discipline, a military tribunal, or rather scaffold, was erected, from whence the emperors were accustomed on solemn and important occasions to harangue the troops. The well-ordered ranks of Romans and barbarians, with drawn swords or with erected spears, the squadrons of cavalry, and the cohorts of infantry, distinguished by the variety of their arms and ensigns, formed an immense circle round the tribunal; and the attentive silence which they preserved was sometimes interrupted by loud bursts of clamor or of applause. In the presence of this formidable assembly, the two emperors were called upon to explain the situation of public affairs. The precedence of rank was yielded to the royal birth of Constantius; and though he was indifferently skilled in the arts of rhetoric, he acquitted himself under these difficult circumstances with firmness, dexterity, and eloquence. The first part of his oration seemed to be pointed only against the tyrant of Gaul; but while he tragically lamented the cruel murder of Constans, he insinuated that none except a brother could claim a right to the succession of his brother. He displayed with some complaisancy the glories of his imperial race, and recalled to the memory of the troops the valor, the triumphs, the liberality of the great Constantine, to whose sons they had engaged their allegiance by an oath of fidelity which the ingratitude of his most favored servants had tempted them to violate. The officers, who surrounded the tribunal and were instructed to act their parts in this extraordinary scene, confessed the irresistible power of reason and eloquence by saluting the Emperor Constantius as their lawful sovereign. The contagion of loyalty and repentance was communicated from rank to rank, till the plain of Sardica resounded with the universal acclamation of "Away with these upstart usurpers! Long life and victory to the son of Constantine! Under his banners alone we

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<sup>77</sup> See the two first orations of Julian, particularly p. 31; and Zosimus, l. ii. [c. 44], p. 122. The distinct narrative of the historian serves to illustrate the diffuse but vague descriptions of the orator.

will fight and conquer." The shout of thousands, their menacing gestures, the fierce clashing of their arms, astonished and subdued the courage of Vetricano, who stood amidst the defection of his followers in anxious and silent suspense. Instead of embracing the last refuge of generous despair, he tamely submitted to his fate, and, taking the diadem from his head, in the view of both armies fell prostrate at the feet of his conqueror. Constantius used his victory with prudence and moderation; and, raising from the ground the aged suppliant whom he affected to style by the endearing name of Father, he gave him his hand to descend from the throne. The city of Prusa was assigned for the exile or retirement of the abdicated monarch, who lived six years in the enjoyment of ease and affluence. He often expressed his grateful sense of the goodness of Constantius, and with a very amiable simplicity advised his benefactor to resign the sceptre of the world, and to seek for content (where alone it could be found) in the peaceful obscurity of a private condition.<sup>78</sup>

The behavior of Constantius on this memorable occasion was celebrated with some appearance of justice; and his courtiers compared the studied orations which a Pericles or a Demosthenes addressed to the populace of Athens with the victorious eloquence which had persuaded an armed multitude to desert and depose the object of their partial choice.<sup>79</sup> The approaching contest with Magnentius was of a more serious and bloody kind. The tyrant advanced by rapid marches to encounter Constantius, at the head of a numerous army composed of Gauls and Spaniards, of Franks and Saxons, of those provincials who supplied the strength of the legions, and of those barbarians who were dreaded as the most formidable enemies of the republic. The fer-

Makes war  
against  
Magnentius.  
A.D. 351.

<sup>78</sup> The younger Victor assigns to his exile the emphatical appellation of "voluptarium otium" [Epit. c. 41]. Socrates (l. ii. c. 28) is the voucher for the correspondence with the emperor, which would seem to prove that Vetricano was, indeed, "prope ad stultitiam simplicissimus."

<sup>79</sup> Eum Constantius . . . facundiæ vi dejectum imperio in privatum otium removit. Quæ gloria post natum imperium soli processit eloquio clementiæque, etc.—Aurelius Victor [de Cæsar. c. 42]. Julian and Themistius (Orat. iii. and iv.) adorn this exploit with all the artificial and gaudy coloring of their rhetoric.

tile plains<sup>80</sup> of the Lower Pannonia, between the Drave, the Save, and the Danube, presented a spacious theatre; and the operations of the civil war were protracted during the summer months by the skill or timidity of the combatants.<sup>81</sup> Constantius had declared his intention of deciding the quarrel in the fields of Cibalis—a name that would animate his troops by the remembrance of the victory which, on the same auspicious ground, had been obtained by the arms of his father, Constantine. Yet, by the impregnable fortifications with which the emperor encompassed his camp, he appeared to decline rather than to invite a general engagement. It was the object of Magnentius to tempt or to compel his adversary to relinquish this advantageous position; and he employed with that view the various marches, evolutions, and stratagems which the knowledge of the art of war could suggest to an experienced officer. He carried by assault the important town of Siscia; made an attack on the city of Sirmium, which lay in the rear of the imperial camp; attempted to force a passage over the Save into the eastern provinces of Illyricum; and cut in pieces a numerous detachment which he had allured into the narrow passes of Adarne. During the greater part of the summer the tyrant of Gaul showed himself master of the field. The troops of Constantius were harassed and dispirited; his reputation declined in the eye of the world; and his pride condescended to solicit a treaty of peace which would have resigned to the assassin of Constans the sovereignty of the provinces beyond the Alps. These offers were enforced by the eloquence of Philip, the imperial ambassador, and the council as well as the army of Magnentius were disposed to accept them. But the haughty usurper, careless of the remonstrances of his friends,

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<sup>80</sup> Busbequius (p. 112) traversed the Lower Hungary and Slavonia at a time when they were reduced almost to a desert by the reciprocal hostilities of the Turks and Christians. Yet he mentions with admiration the unconquerable fertility of the soil; and observes that the height of the grass was sufficient to conceal a loaded wagon from his sight. See likewise Browne's *Travels*, in Harris's Collection, vol. ii. p. 762, etc.

<sup>81</sup> Zosimus gives a very large account of the war and the negotiation (l. ii. [c. 45–54] p. 123–130). But as he neither shows himself a soldier nor a politician, his narrative must be weighed with attention and received with caution.

gave orders that Philip should be detained as a captive, or at least as a hostage, while he despatched an officer to reproach Constantius with the weakness of his reign, and to insult him by the promise of a pardon if he would instantly abdicate the purple. "That he should confide in the justice of his cause and the protection of an avenging Deity" was the only answer which honor permitted the emperor to return. But he was so sensible of the difficulties of his situation that he no longer dared to retaliate the indignity which had been offered to his representative. The negotiation of Philip was not, however, ineffectual, since he determined Sylvanus the Frank, a general of merit and reputation, to desert with a considerable body of cavalry a few days before the battle of Mursa.

The city of Mursa, or Essek, celebrated in modern times for a bridge of boats, five miles in length, over the river Drave and the adjacent morasses,<sup>62</sup> has been always considered as a place of importance in the wars of Hungary. Magnentius, directing his march towards Mursa, set fire to the gates, and, by a sudden assault, had almost scaled the walls of the town. The vigilance of the garrison extinguished the flames. The approach of Constantius left him no time to continue the operations of the siege; and the emperor soon removed the only obstacle that could embarrass his motions by forcing a body of troops which had taken post in an adjoining amphitheatre. The field of battle round Mursa was a naked and level plain. On this ground the army of Constantius formed, with the Drave on their right; while their left, either from the nature of their disposition or from the superiority of their cavalry, extended far beyond the right flank of Magnentius.<sup>63</sup> The troops on both sides remained under arms in anxious expectation during the greatest part of the morning; and the son of Constantine, after animating his soldiers

Battle of  
Mursa.  
A.D. 351.  
Sept. 28.

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<sup>62</sup> This remarkable bridge, which is flanked with towers and supported on large wooden piles, was constructed, A.D. 1566, by Sultan Soliman, to facilitate the march of his armies into Hungary. See Browne's *Travels* and Busching's *System of Geography*, vol. ii. p. 90.

<sup>63</sup> This position and the subsequent evolutions are clearly though concisely described by Julian, *Orat.* i. p. 36.



by an eloquent speech, retired into a church at some distance from the field of battle, and committed to his generals the conduct of this decisive day.<sup>84</sup> They deserved his confidence by the valor and military skill which they exerted. They wisely began the action upon the left; and, advancing their whole wing of cavalry in an oblique line, they suddenly wheeled it on the right flank of the enemy, which was unprepared to resist the impetuosity of their charge. But the Romans of the West soon rallied by the habits of discipline; and the barbarians of Germany supported the renown of their national bravery. The engagement soon became general, was maintained with various and singular turns of fortune, and scarcely ended with the darkness of the night. The signal victory which Constantius obtained is attributed to the arms of his cavalry. His cuirassiers are described as so many massy statues of steel glittering with their scaly armor, and breaking with their ponderous lances the firm array of the Gallic legions. As soon as the legions gave way, the lighter and more active squadrons of the second line rode, sword in hand, into the intervals and completed the disorder. In the meanwhile the huge bodies of the Germans were exposed almost naked to the dexterity of the Oriental archers; and whole troops of those barbarians were urged by anguish and despair to precipitate themselves into the broad and rapid stream of the Drave.<sup>85</sup> The number of the slain was computed at fifty-four thousand men, and the slaughter of the conquerors was more considerable than that of the vanquished<sup>86</sup>—a circumstance which proves the obsti-

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<sup>84</sup> Sulpicius Severus, l. ii. p. 405 [edit. Lugd. Bat. 1647]. The emperor passed the day in prayer with Valens, the Arian bishop of Mursa, who gained his confidence by announcing the success of the battle. M. de Tillemont (*Hist. des Empereurs*, tom. iv. p. 1110) very properly remarks the silence of Julian with regard to the personal prowess of Constantius in the battle of Mursa. The silence of flattery is sometimes equal to the most positive and authentic evidence.

<sup>85</sup> Julian. *Orat.* i. p. 36, 37, and *Orat.* ii. p. 59, 60. Zonaras, tom. ii. l. xiii. [c. 8] p. 17. Zosimus, l. ii. [c. 49–52] p. 130–133. The last of these celebrates the dexterity of the archer Menelaus, who could discharge three arrows at the same time—an advantage which, according to his apprehension of military affairs, materially contributed to the victory of Constantius.

<sup>86</sup> According to Zonaras [l. c.], Constantius out of 80,000 men lost 30,000, and

nacy of the contest, and justifies the observation of an ancient writer that the forces of the empire were consumed in the fatal battle of Mursa by the loss of a veteran army sufficient to defend the frontiers or to add new triumphs to the glory of Rome.<sup>87</sup> Notwithstanding the invectives of a servile orator, there is not the least reason to believe that the tyrant deserted his own standard in the beginning of the engagement. He seems to have displayed the virtues of a general and of a soldier till the day was irrecoverably lost and his camp in the possession of the enemy. Magnentius then consulted his safety, and, throwing away the imperial ornaments, escaped with some difficulty from the pursuit of the light horse, who incessantly followed his rapid flight from the banks of the Drave to the foot of the Julian Alps.<sup>88</sup>

The approach of winter supplied the indolence of Constantius with specious reasons for deferring the prosecution of the war till the ensuing spring. Magnentius had fixed his residence in the city of Aquileia, and showed a seeming resolution to dispute the passage of the mountains and morasses which fortified the confines of the Venetian province. The surprisal of a castle in the Alps by the secret march of the imperialists could scarcely have determined him to relinquish the possession of Italy if the inclinations of the people had supported the cause of their tyrant.<sup>89</sup>

Conquest of  
Italy.  
A.D. 352.

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Magnentius lost 24,000 out of 36,000. The other articles of this account seem probable and authentic, but the numbers of the tyrant's army must have been mistaken, either by the author or his transcribers. Magnentius had collected the whole force of the West, Romans and barbarians, into one formidable body which cannot fairly be estimated at less than 100,000 men. Julian. Orat. i. p. 34, 35.

<sup>87</sup> *Ingentes R. I. vires eâ dimicatione consumptæ sunt, ad quælibet bella externa idoneæ, quæ multum triumphorum possent securitatisque conferre.*—Eutropius, x. 13 [6]. The younger Victor expresses himself to the same effect.

<sup>88</sup> On this occasion we must prefer the unsuspected testimony of Zosimus and Zonaras to the flattering assertions of Julian. The younger Victor paints the character of Magnentius in a singular light: *Sermonis acer, animi tumidi, et immodice timidus; artifex tamen ad occultandam audaciæ specie formidinem* [Epit. c. 43]. Is it most likely that in the battle of Mursa his behavior was governed by nature or by art? I should incline for the latter.

<sup>89</sup> Julian. Orat. i. p. 38, 39. In that place, however, as well as in Oration ii. p.

But the memory of the cruelties exercised by his ministers after the unsuccessful revolt of Nepotian had left a deep impression of horror and resentment on the minds of the Romans. That rash youth, the son of the princess Eutropia and the nephew of Constantine, had seen with indignation the sceptre of the West usurped by a perfidious barbarian. Arming a desperate troop of slaves and gladiators, he overpowered the feeble guard of the domestic tranquillity of Rome, received the homage of the senate, and, assuming the title of Augustus, precariously reigned during a tumult of twenty-eight days. The march of some regular forces put an end to his ambitious hopes. The rebellion was extinguished in the blood of Nepotian, of his mother, Eutropia, and of his adherents; and the proscription was extended to all who had contracted a fatal alliance with the name and family of Constantine.<sup>90</sup> But as soon as Constantius, after the battle of Mursa, became master of the sea-coast of Dalmatia, a band of noble exiles who had ventured to equip a fleet in some harbor of the Adriatic sought protection and revenge in his victorious camp. By their secret intelligence with their countrymen, Rome and the Italian cities were persuaded to display the banners of Constantius on their walls. The grateful veterans, enriched by the liberality of the father, signalized their gratitude and loyalty to the son. The cavalry, the legions, and the auxiliaries of Italy renewed their oath of allegiance to Constantius; and the usurper, alarmed by the general desertion, was compelled, with the remains of his faithful troops, to retire beyond the Alps into the provinces of Gaul. The detachments, however, which were ordered either to press or to intercept the flight of Magnentius conducted themselves with the usual imprudence of success, and allowed him, in the plains of Pavia, an opportu-

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97, he insinuates the general disposition of the senate, the people, and the soldiers of Italy towards the party of the emperor.

<sup>90</sup> The elder Victor describes in a pathetic manner the miserable condition of Rome: *Cujus stolidum ingenium adeo P. R. patribusque exitio fuit, uti passim domus, fora, viæ, templaque, cruore, cadaveribusque opplerentur, bustorum modo.* [De Cæsar. c. 42]. Athanasius (tom. i. p. 677) deplores the fate of several illustrious victims, and Julian (Orat. ii. p. 58) execrates the cruelty of Marcellinus, the implacable enemy of the House of Constantine.

nity of turning on his pursuers, and of gratifying his despair by the carnage of a useless victory.<sup>91</sup>

The pride of Magnentius was reduced, by repeated misfortunes, to sue, and to sue in vain, for peace. He first despatched a senator in whose abilities he confided, and afterwards several bishops, whose holy character might obtain a more favorable audience, with the offer of resigning the purple, and the promise of devoting the remainder of his life to the service of the emperor. But Constantius, though he granted fair terms of pardon and reconciliation to all who abandoned the standard of rebellion,<sup>92</sup> avowed his inflexible resolution to inflict a just punishment on the crimes of an assassin whom he prepared to overwhelm on every side by the effort of his victorious arms. An imperial fleet acquired the easy possession of Africa and Spain, confirmed the wavering faith of the Moorish nations, and landed a considerable force, which passed the Pyrenees, and advanced towards Lyons, the last and fatal station of Magnentius.<sup>93</sup> The temper of the tyrant, which was never inclined to clemency, was urged by distress to exercise every act of oppression which could extort an immediate supply from the cities of Gaul.<sup>94</sup> Their patience was at length exhausted; and Treves, the seat of Prætorian government, gave the signal of revolt by shutting her gates against Decentius, who had been raised by his brother to the rank either of Cæsar or of Augustus.<sup>95</sup> From Treves, Decentius was obliged to retire to Sens,

Last defeat,  
and death, of  
Magnentius.  
A.D. 353.  
August 10.

<sup>91</sup> Zosimus, l. ii. [c. 53] p. 133. Victor in Epitome [c. 42]. The panegyrists of Constantius, with their usual candor, forget to mention this accidental defeat.

<sup>92</sup> Zonaras, tom. ii. l. xiii. [c. 8] p. 17. Julian, in several places of the two orations, expatiates on the clemency of Constantius to the rebels.

<sup>93</sup> Zosimus, l. ii. [c. 53] p. 133. Julian. Orat. i. p. 40, ii. p. 74.

<sup>94</sup> Ammian. xv. 6. Zosimus, l. ii. [c. 53] p. 133. Julian, who (Orat. i. p. 40) inveighs against the cruel effects of the tyrant's despair, mentions (Orat. i. p. 34) the oppressive edicts which were dictated by his necessities or by his avarice. His subjects were compelled to purchase the imperial demesnes—a doubtful and dangerous species of property, which, in case of a revolution, might be imputed to them as a treasonable usurpation.

<sup>95</sup> The medals of Magnentius celebrate the victories of the *two* Augusti, and of the Cæsar. The Cæsar was another brother named Desiderius. See Tillemont, *Hist. des Empereurs*, tom. iv. p. 757.



where he was soon surrounded by an army of Germans, whom the pernicious arts of Constantius had introduced into the civil dissensions of Rome.<sup>96</sup> In the meantime the imperial troops forced the passages of the Cottian Alps, and in the bloody combat of Mount Seleucus irrevocably fixed the title of rebels on the party of Magnentius.<sup>97</sup> He was unable to bring another army into the field; the fidelity of his guards was corrupted; and when he appeared in public to animate them by his exhortations, he was saluted with a unanimous shout of "Long live the Emperor Constantius!" The tyrant, who perceived that they were preparing to deserve pardon and rewards by the sacrifice of the most obnoxious criminal, prevented their design by falling on his sword<sup>98</sup>—a death more easy and more honorable than he could hope to obtain from the hands of an enemy whose revenge would have been colored with the specious pretence of justice and fraternal piety. The example of suicide was imitated by Decentius, who strangled himself on the news of his brother's death. The author of the conspiracy, Marcellinus, had long since disappeared in the battle of Mursa,<sup>99</sup> and the public tranquillity was confirm-

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<sup>96</sup> Julian. Orat. i. p. 40, ii. p. 74; with Spanheim, p. 263. His Commentary illustrates the transactions of this civil war. Mons Seleuci was a small place in the Cottian Alps, a few miles distant from Vapincum, or Gap, an episcopal city of Dauphiné. See D'Anville, Notice de la Gaule, p. 464; and Longuerue, Description de la France, p. 327.<sup>a</sup>

<sup>97</sup> Zosimus, l. ii. [c. 53] p. 134. Liban. Orat. x. p. 268, 269. The latter most vehemently arraigns this cruel and selfish policy of Constantius.

<sup>98</sup> Julian. Orat. i. p. 40. Zosimus, l. ii. [c. 53] p. 134. Socrates, l. ii. c. 32. Sozomen, l. iv. c. 7. The younger Victor describes his death with some horrid circumstances: *Transfosso latere, ut erat vasti corporis, vulnere naribusque et ore cruorem effundens, exspiravit* [Epit. c. 42]. If we can give credit to Zonaras, the tyrant, before he expired, had the pleasure of murdering with his own hands his mother and his brother Desiderius.

<sup>99</sup> Julian (Orat. ii. p. 58, 59) seems at a loss to determine whether he inflicted on himself the punishment of his crimes, whether he was drowned in the Drave, or whether he was carried by the avenging demons from the field of battle to his destined place of eternal tortures.

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<sup>a</sup> The Itinerary of Antoninus (p. 357, edit. Wess.) places Mons Seleucus twenty-four miles from Vapincum (Gap), and twenty-six from Lucus (le Luc) on the road to Die (Dea Vocontiorum). The situation answers to Mont Saléon, a little place

ed by the execution of the surviving leaders of a guilty and unsuccessful faction. A severe inquisition was extended over all who, either from choice or from compulsion, had been involved in the cause of rebellion. Paul, surnamed Catena from his superior skill in the judicial exercise of tyranny,<sup>a</sup> was sent to explore the latent remains of the conspiracy in the remote province of Britain. The honest indignation expressed by Martin, vice-præfect of the island, was interpreted as an evidence of his own guilt; and the governor was urged to the necessity of turning against his breast the sword with which he had been provoked to wound the imperial minister. The most innocent subjects of the West were exposed to exile and confiscation, to death and torture; and as the timid are always cruel, the mind of Constantius was inaccessible to mercy.<sup>100</sup>

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<sup>100</sup> Ammian. xiv. 5, xxi. 16.

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on the right of the small river Buech, which falls into the Durance. Roman antiquities have been found in this place. St. Martin, note to Le Beau, ii. 47.—M.

<sup>a</sup> This is scarcely correct. Ut erat in complicandis negotiis artifex dirus, unde et Catena inditum est cognomen.—Amm. Marc. loc. cit.—M.

## CHAPTER XIX.

Constantius Sole Emperor.—Elevation and Death of Gallus.—Danger and Elevation of Julian.—Sarmatian and Persian Wars.—Victories of Julian in Gaul.

THE divided provinces of the empire were again united by the victory of Constantius; but as that feeble prince was destitute of personal merit either in peace or war, as he feared his generals and distrusted his ministers, the triumph of his arms served only to establish the reign of the *eunuchs* over the Roman world. Those unhappy beings, the ancient production of Oriental jealousy and despotism,<sup>1</sup> were introduced into Greece and Rome by the contagion of Asiatic luxury.<sup>2</sup> Their progress was rapid; and the eunuchs, who, in the time of Augustus, had been abhorred as the monstrous retinue of an Egyptian queen,<sup>3</sup> were gradually admitted into the families of matrons, of senators, and of the emperors themselves.<sup>4</sup> Restrained by the severe edicts of

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<sup>1</sup> Ammianus (l. xiv. c. 6) imputes the first practice of castration to the cruel ingenuity of Semiramis, who is supposed to have reigned above nineteen hundred years before Christ. The use of eunuchs is of high antiquity, both in Asia and Egypt. They are mentioned in the law of Moses, Deuteron. xxiii. 1. See Goguet, Origines des Loix, etc., part i. l. i. ch. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Eunuchum dixti velle te;  
Quia solæ utuntur his reginæ——

Terent. Eunuch. act i. scene 2.

This play is translated from Menander, and the original must have appeared soon after the Eastern conquests of Alexander.

<sup>3</sup> Miles . . . spadonibus  
Servire rugosis potest.

Horat. Carm. v. 9 [Epod. ix. 13], and Dacier ad loc.

By the word *spado* the Romans very forcibly expressed their abhorrence of this mutilated condition. The Greek appellation of eunuchs, which insensibly prevailed, had a milder sound and a more ambiguous sense.

<sup>4</sup> We need only mention Posides, a freedman and eunuch of Claudius, in whose favor the emperor prostituted some of the most honorable rewards of military

Domitian and Nerva,<sup>5</sup> cherished by the pride of Diocletian, reduced to an humble station by the prudence of Constantine,<sup>6</sup> they multiplied in the palaces of his degenerate sons, and insensibly acquired the knowledge, and at length the direction, of the secret councils of Constantius. The aversion and contempt which mankind has so uniformly entertained for that imperfect species appears to have degraded their character, and to have rendered them almost as incapable as they were supposed to be of conceiving any generous sentiment or of performing any worthy action.<sup>7</sup> But the eunuchs were skilled in the arts of flattery and intrigue; and they alternately governed the mind of Constantius by his fears, his indolence, and his vanity.<sup>8</sup> Whilst he viewed in a deceitful mirror the fair appearance of public prosperity, he supinely permitted them to intercept the complaints of the injured provinces; to ac-

valor. See Sueton. in Claudio, c. 28. Posides employed a great part of his wealth in building.

Ut *spado* vincebat Capitolia nostra Posides.

Juvenal. Sat. xiv. [91].

<sup>5</sup> *Castrari mares vetuit.*—Sueton. in Domitian. c. 7. See Dion Cassius, l. lxvii. [c. 2] p. 1101; l. lxviii. [c. 2] p. 1119.

<sup>6</sup> There is a passage in the Augustan History, p. 137, in which Lampridius, whilst he praises Alexander Severus and Constantine for restraining the tyranny of the eunuchs, deploras the mischiefs which they occasioned in other reigns: *Huc accedit, quod eunuchos nec in consiliis nec in ministeriis habuit; qui soli principes perdunt, dum eos more gentium aut regum Persarum volunt vivere; qui a populo etiam amicissimum semovent; qui internuntii sunt, aliud quàm respondetur, [sæpe] referentes; claudentes principem suum, et agentes ante omnia ne quid sciat* [Lampr. Alex. Sev. c. 66].

<sup>7</sup> Xenophon (Cyropædia, l. vii. [5, § 60] p. 540) has stated the specious reasons which engaged Cyrus to intrust his person to the guard of eunuchs. He had observed in animals that, although the practice of castration might tame their ungovernable fierceness, it did not diminish their strength or spirit; and he persuaded himself that those who were separated from the rest of humankind would be more firmly attached to the person of their benefactor. But a long experience has contradicted the judgment of Cyrus. Some particular instances may occur of eunuchs distinguished by their fidelity, their valor, and their abilities; but if we examine the general history of Persia, India, and China, we shall find that the power of the eunuchs has uniformly marked the decline and fall of every dynasty.

<sup>8</sup> See Ammianus Marcellinus, l. xxi. c. 16; l. xxii. c. 4. The whole tenor of his impartial history serves to justify the invectives of Mamertinus, of Libanius, and of Julian himself, who have insulted the vices of the court of Constantius.



cumulate immense treasures by the sale of justice and of honors; to disgrace the most important dignities by the promotion of those who had purchased at their hands the powers of oppression;\* and to gratify their resentment against the few independent spirits who arrogantly refused to solicit the protection of slaves. Of these slaves the most distinguished was the chamberlain Eusebius, who ruled the monarch and the palace with such absolute sway that Constantius, according to the sarcasm of an impartial historian, possessed some credit with this haughty favorite.<sup>10</sup> By his artful suggestions, the emperor was persuaded to subscribe the condemnation of the unfortunate Gallus, and to add a new crime to the long list of unnatural murders which pollute the honor of the House of Constantine.

When the two nephews of Constantine, Gallus and Julian, were saved from the fury of the soldiers, the former was about twelve and the latter about six years of age; and as the eldest was thought to be of a sickly constitution, they obtained with the less difficulty a precarious and dependent life from the affected pity of Constantius, who was sensible that the execution of these helpless orphans would have been esteemed by all mankind an act of the most deliberate cruelty.<sup>11</sup> Different cities of Ionia and Bithynia were assigned for the places of their exile and education; but

Education of  
Gallus and  
Julian.

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\* Aurelius Victor censures the negligence of his sovereign in choosing the governors of the provinces and the generals of the army, and concludes his history with a very bold observation, as it is much more dangerous under a feeble reign to attack the ministers than the master himself: *Uti verum absolvam brevi, ut Imperatore ipso clarius, ita apparitorum plerisque magis atrox nihil* [De Cæsar. c. 42].

<sup>10</sup> *Apud quem (si vere dici debeat) multum Constantius potuit.* — Ammian. l. xviii. c. 4.

<sup>11</sup> Gregory Nazianzen (Orat. iii. p. 90) reproaches the apostate with his ingratitude towards Mark, Bishop of Arethusa, who had contributed to save his life; and we learn, though from a less respectable authority (Tillemont, *Hist. des Empereurs*, tom. iv. p. 916), that Julian was concealed in the sanctuary of a church.

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\* Gallus and Julian were not sons of the same mother. Their father, Julius Constantius, had had Gallus by his first wife, named Galla; Julian was the son of Basilina, whom he had espoused in a second marriage. Tillemont, *Hist. des Emp., Vie de Constantin*, art. 3.—G. See genealogical table, vol. ii. p. 327.—S.

as soon as their growing years excited the jealousy of the emperor, he judged it more prudent to secure those unhappy youths in the strong castle of Macellum, near Cæsarea. The treatment which they experienced during a six years' confinement was partly such as they could hope from a careful guardian, and partly such as they might dread from a suspicious tyrant.<sup>11</sup> Their prison was an ancient palace—the residence of the kings of Cappadocia; the situation was pleasant, the building stately, the enclosure spacious. They pursued their studies and practised their exercises under the tuition of the most skilful masters; and the numerous household appointed to attend, or rather to guard, the nephews of Constantine was not unworthy of the dignity of their birth. But they could not disguise to themselves that they were deprived of fortune, of freedom, and of safety; secluded from the society of all whom they could trust or esteem, and condemned to pass their melancholy hours in the company of slaves devoted to the commands of a tyrant who had already injured them beyond the hope of reconciliation. At length, however, the emergencies of the State compelled the emperor, or rather his eunuchs, to invest Gallus, in the twenty-fifth year of his age, with the title of Cæsar, and to cement this political connection by his marriage with the Princess Constantina. After a formal interview, in which the two princes mutually engaged their faith never to undertake anything to the prejudice of each other, they repaired without delay to their respective stations. Constantius continued his march towards the West, and Gallus fixed his residence at Antioch, from whence, with a delegated authority, he administered the five great dioceses of the Eastern præfecture.<sup>12</sup> In this

Gallus declared Cæsar.  
A.D. 351.  
March 5.

<sup>11</sup> The most authentic account of the education and adventures of Julian is contained in the epistle or manifesto which he himself addressed to the senate and people of Athens. Libanius (*Orat. Parentalis*), on the side of the pagans, and Socrates (*l. iii. c. 1*), on that of the Christians, have preserved several interesting circumstances.

<sup>12</sup> For the promotion of Gallus see Idatius, Zosimus, and the two Victors. According to Philostorgius (*l. iv. c. 1*), Theophilus, an Arian bishop, was the witness, and, as it were, the guarantee, of this solemn engagement. He supported that character with generous firmness; but M. de Tillemont (*Hist. des Empereurs*,

fortunate change the new Cæsar was not unmindful of his brother Julian, who obtained the honors of his rank, the appearances of liberty, and the restitution of an ample patrimony.<sup>14</sup>

The writers the most indulgent to the memory of Gallus, and even Julian himself, though he wished to cast a veil over the frailties of his brother, are obliged to confess that the Cæsar was incapable of reigning. Trans-ported from a prison to a throne, he possessed neither genius nor application, nor docility to compensate for the want of knowledge and experience. A temper naturally morose and violent, instead of being corrected, was soured by solitude and adversity; the remembrance of what he had endured disposed him to retaliation rather than to sympathy; and the ungoverned sallies of his rage were often fatal to those who approached his person or were subject to his power.<sup>15</sup> Constantina, his wife, is described not as a woman, but as one of the infernal furies tormented with an insatiate thirst of human blood.<sup>16</sup> Instead of employing her influence to insinuate the mild counsels of prudence and humanity, she exasperated the fierce passions of her husband; and as she retained the vanity, though she had renounced the gentleness, of her sex, a pearl necklace was esteemed an equivalent price for the murder of an innocent and virtuous nobleman.<sup>17</sup> The cruelty of Gallus

Cruelty and  
imprudence  
of Gallus.

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tom. iv. p. 1120) thinks it very improbable that a heretic should have possessed such virtue.

<sup>14</sup> Julian was at first permitted to pursue his studies at Constantinople; but the reputation which he acquired soon excited the jealousy of Constantius, and the young prince was advised to withdraw himself to the less conspicuous scenes of Bithynia and Ionia.

<sup>15</sup> See Julian ad S. P. Q. A. p. 271. Jerome in Chron. Aurelius Victor, Eutropius, x. 11 [7]. I shall copy the words of Eutropius, who wrote his abridgment about fifteen years after the death of Gallus, when there was no longer any motive either to flatter or to depreciate his character: "Multis incivilibus gestis Gallus Cæsar . . . vir naturâ ferus et ad tyrannidem pronior, si suo jure imperare licuisset."

<sup>16</sup> Megæra quædam mortalis, inflammatrix sævientis assidua, humani cruoris avida, etc.—Ammian. Marcellin. l. xiv. c. 1. The sincerity of Ammianus would not suffer him to misrepresent facts or characters, but his love of *ambitious ornaments* frequently betrayed him into an unnatural vehemence of expression.

<sup>17</sup> His name was Clematius of Alexandria, and his only crime was a refusal to

was sometimes displayed in the undissembled violence of popular or military executions, and was sometimes disguised by the abuse of law and the forms of judicial proceedings. The private houses of Antioch, and the places of public resort, were besieged by spies and informers; and the Cæsar himself, concealed in a plebeian habit, very frequently condescended to assume that odious character. Every apartment of the palace was adorned with the instruments of death and torture, and a general consternation was diffused through the capital of Syria. The prince of the East, as if he had been conscious how much he had to fear and how little he deserved to reign, selected for the objects of his resentment the provincials accused of some imaginary treason, and his own courtiers, whom with more reason he suspected of incensing, by their secret correspondence, the timid and suspicious mind of Constantius. But he forgot that he was depriving himself of his only support—the affection of the people—whilst he furnished the malice of his enemies with the arms of truth, and afforded the emperor the fairest pretence of exacting the forfeit of his purple and of his life.<sup>18</sup>

As long as the civil war suspended the fate of the Roman world, Constantius dissembled his knowledge of the weak and cruel administration to which his choice had subjected the East; and the discovery of some assassins, secretly despatched to Antioch by the tyrant of Gaul, was employed to convince the public that the emperor and the Cæsar were united by the same interest and pursued by the same enemies.<sup>19</sup> But when the victory was decided in favor of Constantius, his dependent colleague became

Massacre of  
the imperial  
ministers.  
A.D. 354.

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gratify the desires of his mother-in-law, who solicited his death because she had been disappointed of his love. Ammian. l. xiv. c. 1.

<sup>18</sup> See in Ammianus (l. xiv. c. 1, 7) a very ample detail of the cruelties of Gallus. His brother Julian (p. 272) insinuates that a secret conspiracy had been formed against him; and Zosimus names (l. ii. [c. 55] p. 135) the persons engaged in it—a minister of considerable rank and two obscure agents, who were resolved to make their fortune.

<sup>19</sup> Zonaras, l. xiii. [c. 8] tom. ii. p. 17, 18. The assassins had seduced a great number of legionaries; but their designs were discovered and revealed by an old woman in whose cottage they lodged.



less useful and less formidable. Every circumstance of his conduct was severely and suspiciously examined; and it was privately resolved either to deprive Gallus of the purple, or at least to remove him from the indolent luxury of Asia to the hardships and dangers of a German war. The death of Theophilus, consular of the province of Syria, who in a time of scarcity had been massacred by the people of Antioch, with the connivance and almost at the instigation of Gallus, was justly resented, not only as an act of wanton cruelty, but as a dangerous insult on the supreme majesty of Constantius. Two ministers of illustrious rank—Domitian, the Oriental præfect, and Montius, quæstor of the palace—were empowered by a special commission<sup>a</sup> to visit and reform the state of the East. They were instructed to behave towards Gallus with moderation and respect, and, by the gentlest arts of persuasion, to engage him to comply with the invitation of his brother and colleague. The rashness of the præfect disappointed these prudent measures, and hastened his own ruin as well as that of his enemy. On his arrival at Antioch, Domitian passed disdainfully before the gates of the palace; and, alleging a slight pretence of indisposition, continued several days in sullen retirement to prepare an inflammatory memorial, which he transmitted to the imperial court. Yielding at length to the pressing solicitations of Gallus, the præfect condescended to take his seat in council; but his first step was to signify a concise and haughty mandate, importing that the Cæsar should immediately repair to Italy, and threatening that he himself would punish his delay or hesitation by suspending the usual allowance of his household. The nephew and daughter of Constantine, who could ill brook the insolence of a subject, expressed their resentment by instantly delivering Domitian to the custody of a guard. The quarrel still admitted of some terms of accommodation. They were rendered impracticable by the imprudent behavior of Montius, a statesman whose art and experience were frequently betrayed by the levity of his dis-

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<sup>a</sup> The commission seems to have been granted to Domitian alone. Montius interfered to support his authority. Amm. Marc. loc. cit.—M.

position.<sup>20</sup> The quæstor reproached Gallus in haughty language, that a prince who was scarcely authorized to remove a municipal magistrate should presume to imprison a Prætorian præfect; convoked a meeting of the civil and military officers, and required them, in the name of their sovereign, to defend the person and dignity of his representatives. By this rash declaration of war, the impatient temper of Gallus was provoked to embrace the most desperate counsels. He ordered his guards to stand to their arms; assembled the populace of Antioch; and recommended to their zeal the care of his safety and revenge. His commands were too fatally obeyed. They rudely seized the præfect and the quæstor, and, tying their legs together with ropes, they dragged them through the streets of the city, inflicted a thousand insults and a thousand wounds on these unhappy victims, and at last precipitated their mangled and lifeless bodies into the stream of the Orontes.<sup>21</sup>

After such a deed, whatever might have been the designs of Gallus, it was only in a field of battle that he could assert his innocence with any hope of success. But the mind of that prince was formed of an equal mixture of violence and weakness. Instead of assuming the title of Augustus; instead of employing in his defence the troops and treasures of the East, he suffered himself to be deceived by the affected tranquillity of Constantius, who, leaving him the vain pageantry of a court, imperceptibly recalled the veteran legions from the provinces of Asia. But as it still appeared dangerous to arrest Gallus in his capital, the slow and safer arts of dissimulation were practised with success. The frequent and pressing epistles of Constantius were filled with

Dangerous  
situation of  
Gallus.

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<sup>20</sup> In the present text of Ammianus [xiv. 7] we read, "*Asper, quidem, sed ad lenitatem propensior,*" which forms a sentence of contradictory nonsense. With the aid of an old manuscript, Valesius has rectified the first of these corruptions, and we perceive a ray of light in the substitution of the word *vaffer*. If we venture to change *lenitatem* into *levitatem*, this alteration of a single letter will render the whole passage clear and consistent.

<sup>21</sup> Instead of being obliged to collect scattered and imperfect hints from various sources, we now enter into the full stream of the history of Ammianus, and need only refer to the seventh and ninth chapters of his fourteenth book. Philostorgius, however (l. iii. c. 28), though partial to Gallus, should not be entirely overlooked.

professions of confidence and friendship, exhorting the Cæsar to discharge the duties of his high station; to relieve his colleague from a part of the public cares; and to assist the West by his presence, his counsels, and his arms. After so many reciprocal injuries, Gallus had reason to fear and to distrust. But he had neglected the opportunities of flight and of resistance; he was seduced by the flattering assurances of the tribune Scudilo, who, under the semblance of a rough soldier, disguised the most artful insinuation. And he depended on the credit of his wife Constantina till the unseasonable death of that princess completed the ruin in which he had been involved by her impetuous passions.<sup>22</sup>

After a long delay, the reluctant Cæsar set forward on his journey to the imperial court. From Antioch to Hadrianople he traversed the wide extent of his dominions with a numerous and stately train; and, as he labored to conceal his apprehensions from the world, and perhaps from himself, he entertained the people of Constantinople with an exhibition of the games of the circus. The progress of the journey might, however, have warned him of the impending danger. In all the principal cities he was met by ministers of confidence, commissioned to seize the offices of government, to observe his motions, and to prevent the hasty sallies of his despair. The persons despatched to secure the provinces which he left behind passed him with cold salutations or affected disdain; and the troops whose station lay along the public road were studiously removed on his approach, lest they might be tempted to offer their swords for the service of a civil war.<sup>23</sup> After Gallus had been permitted to repose himself a few days at Hadrianople, he received a

His disgrace  
and death.  
A.D. 354.  
December.

<sup>22</sup> She had preceded her husband, but died of a fever on the road, at a little place in Bithynia called Cœnum Gallicanum.

<sup>23</sup> The Thebæan legions, which were then quartered at Hadrianople, sent a deputa-  
tion to Gallus with a tender of their services. Ammian. l. xiv. c. 11. The No-  
titia (s. 6, 20, 38, edit. Labb.) mentions three several legions which bore the name  
of Thebæan. The zeal of M. de Voltaire to destroy a despicable though celebrat-  
ed legend has tempted him, on the slightest grounds, to deny the existence of a  
Thebæan legion in the Roman armies. See Œuvres de Voltaire, tom xv. p. 414,  
quarto edition.

mandate, expressed in the most haughty and absolute style, that his splendid retinue should halt in that city, while the Cæsar himself, with only ten post-carriages, should hasten to the imperial residence at Milan. In this rapid journey the profound respect which was due to the brother and colleague of Constantius was insensibly changed into rude familiarity; and Gallus, who discovered in the countenances of the attendants that they already considered themselves as his guards and might soon be employed as his executioners, began to accuse his fatal rashness, and to recollect with terror and remorse the conduct by which he had provoked his fate. The dissimulation which had hitherto been preserved was laid aside at Petovio,<sup>a</sup> in Pannonia. He was conducted to a palace in the suburbs, where the general Barbatio with a select band of soldiers, who could neither be moved by pity nor corrupted by rewards, expected the arrival of his illustrious victim. In the close of the evening he was arrested, ignominiously stripped of the ensigns of Cæsar, and hurried away to Pola,<sup>b</sup> in Istria, a sequestered prison, which had been so recently polluted with royal blood. The horror which he felt was soon increased by the appearance of his implacable enemy the eunuch Eusebius, who, with the assistance of a notary and a tribune, proceeded to interrogate him concerning the administration of the East. The Cæsar sank under the weight of shame and guilt, confessed all the criminal actions and all the treasonable designs with which he was charged; and, by imputing them to the advice of his wife, exasperated the indignation of Constantius, who reviewed with partial prejudice the minutes of the examination. The emperor was easily convinced that his own safety was incompatible with the life of his cousin. The sentence of death was signed, despatched, and executed; and the nephew of Constantine, with his hands tied behind his back, was beheaded in prison like the vilest malefactor.<sup>24</sup> Those who are

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<sup>24</sup> See the complete narrative of the journey and death of Gallus in Ammianus, l. xiv. c. 11. Julian complains that his brother was put to death without a trial;

<sup>a</sup> Pettau, in Styria.—M.

<sup>b</sup> Rather to Flanonia, now Fianone, near Pola. St. Martin.—M.



inclined to palliate the cruelties of Constantius assert that he soon relented, and endeavored to recall the bloody mandate; but that the second messenger, intrusted with the reprieve, was detained by the eunuchs, who dreaded the unforgiving temper of Gallus, and were desirous of reuniting to *their* empire the wealthy provinces of the East.<sup>25</sup>

Besides the reigning emperor, Julian alone survived of all the numerous posterity of Constantius Chlorus. The misfortune of his royal birth involved him in the disgrace

The danger  
and escape of  
Julian.

of Gallus. From his retirement in the happy country of Ionia he was conveyed, under a strong guard, to the court of Milan, where he languished above seven months in the continual apprehension of suffering the same ignominious death which was daily inflicted, almost before his eyes, on the friends and adherents of his persecuted family. His looks, his gestures, his silence, were scrutinized with malignant curiosity, and he was perpetually assaulted by enemies whom he had never offended, and by arts to which he was a stranger.<sup>26</sup> But in the school of adversity Julian insensibly acquired the virtues of firmness and discretion. He defended his honor, as well as his life, against the ensnaring subtleties of the eunuchs, who endeavored to extort some declaration of his sentiments; and whilst he cautiously suppressed his grief and resentment, he nobly disdained to flatter the tyrant by any seeming approbation of his brother's murder. Julian most devoutly ascribes his miraculous deliverance to the protection of the gods, who had exempted his innocence from the sentence of destruction pronounced by their justice against the impious

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attempts to justify, or at least to excuse, the cruel revenge which he had inflicted on his enemies; but seems at last to acknowledge that he might justly have been deprived of the purple.

<sup>25</sup> Philostorgius, l. iv. c. 1. Zonaras, l. xiii. [c. 9] tom. ii. p. 19. But the former was partial towards an Arian monarch, and the latter transcribed, without choice or criticism, whatever he found in the writings of the ancients.

<sup>26</sup> See Ammianus Marcellin. l. xv. c. 1, 3, 8. Julian himself, in his epistle to the Athenians, draws a very lively and just picture of his own danger and of his sentiments. He shows, however, a tendency to exaggerate his sufferings, by insinuating, though in obscure terms, that they lasted above a year—a period which cannot be reconciled with the truth of chronology.

house of Constantine.<sup>27</sup> As the most effectual instrument of their providence, he gratefully acknowledges the steady and generous friendship of the empress Eusebia<sup>28</sup>—a woman of beauty and merit, who, by the ascendant which she had gained over the mind of her husband, counterbalanced in some measure the powerful conspiracy of the eunuchs. By the intercession of his patroness, Julian was admitted into the imperial presence: he pleaded his cause with a decent freedom; he was heard with favor; and, notwithstanding the efforts of his enemies, who urged the danger of sparing an avenger of the blood of Gallus, the milder sentiment of Eusebia prevailed in the council. But the effects of a second interview were dreaded by the eunuchs; and Julian was advised to withdraw for a while into the neighborhood of Milan, till the emperor thought proper to assign the city of Athens for the place of his honorable exile. As he had discovered from his earliest youth a propensity, or rather passion, for the language, the manners, the learning, and the religion of the Greeks, he obeyed with pleasure an order so agreeable to his wishes. Far from the tumult of arms and the treachery of courts, he spent six months amidst the groves of the Academy, in a free intercourse with the philosophers of the age, who studied to cultivate the genius, to encourage the vanity, and to inflame the devotion of their royal pupil. Their labors were not unsuccessful; and Julian inviolably preserved for Athens that tender regard which seldom fails to arise in a liberal mind from the recollection of the place where it has discovered and exercised its growing powers. The gentleness and affability of manners which his temper suggested and his

He is sent to  
Athens.  
A.D. 355.  
May.

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<sup>27</sup> Julian has worked the crimes and misfortunes of the family of Constantine into an allegorical fable, which is happily conceived and agreeably related. It forms the conclusion of the seventh Oration, from whence it has been detached and translated by the Abbé de la Bletterie, *Vie de Jovien*, tom. ii. p. 385-408.

<sup>28</sup> She was a native of Thessalonica, in Macedonia, of a noble family, and the daughter as well as sister of consuls. Her marriage with the emperor may be placed in the year 352. In a divided age the historians of all parties agree in her praises. See their testimonies collected by Tillemont, *Hist. des Empereurs*, tom. iv. p. 750-754.

situation imposed insensibly engaged the affections of the strangers as well as citizens with whom he conversed. Some of his fellow-students might perhaps examine his behavior with an eye of prejudice and aversion; but Julian established in the schools of Athens a general prepossession in favor of his virtues and talents, which was soon diffused over the Roman world.<sup>29</sup>

Whilst his hours were passed in studious retirement, the empress, resolute to achieve the generous design which she had undertaken, was not unmindful of the care of his fortune. The death of the late Cæsar had left Constantius invested with the sole command, and oppressed by the accumulated weight, of a mighty empire. Before the wounds of civil discord could be healed, the provinces of Gaul were overwhelmed by a deluge of barbarians. The Sarmatians no longer respected the barrier of the Danube. The impunity of rapine had increased the boldness and numbers of the wild Isaurians; those robbers descended from their craggy mountains to ravage the adjacent country, and had even presumed, though without success, to besiege the important city of Seleucia, which was defended by a garrison of three Roman legions. Above all, the Persian monarch, elated by victory, again threatened the peace of Asia; and the presence of the emperor was indispensably required both in the West and in the East. For the first time Constantius sincerely acknowledged that his single strength was unequal to such an extent of care and of dominion.<sup>30</sup> Insensible to the voice of flattery, which assured him that his all-powerful virtue and celestial fortune would still continue to triumph over every obstacle,

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<sup>29</sup> Libanius and Gregory Nazianzen have exhausted the arts as well as the powers of their eloquence to represent Julian as the first of heroes or the worst of tyrants. Gregory was his fellow-student at Athens; and the symptoms, which he so tragically describes, of the future wickedness of the apostate amount only to some bodily imperfections, and to some peculiarities in his speech and manner. He protests, however, that he *then* foresaw and foretold the calamities of the Church and State (Greg. Nazianzen, Orat. iv. p. 121, 122).

<sup>30</sup> Succumbere tot necessitatibus tamque crebris unum se, quod nunquam fecerat, aperte demonstrans.—Ammian. l. xv. c. 8. He then expresses, in their own words, the flattering assurances of the courtiers.

he listened with complacency to the advice of Eusebia, which gratified his indolence, without offending his suspicious pride. As she perceived that the remembrance of Gallus dwelt on the emperor's mind, she artfully turned his attention to the opposite characters of the two brothers, which from their infancy had been compared to those of Domitian and of Titus.<sup>31</sup> She accustomed her husband to consider Julian as a youth of a mild, unambitious disposition, whose allegiance and gratitude might be secured by the gift of the purple, and who was qualified to fill with honor a subordinate station, without aspiring to dispute the commands or to shade the glories of his sovereign and benefactor. After an obstinate though secret struggle, the opposition of the favorite eunuchs submitted to the ascendancy of the empress; and it was resolved that Julian, after celebrating his nuptials with Helena, sister of Constantius, should be appointed, with the title of Cæsar, to reign over the countries beyond the Alps.<sup>32</sup>

Although the order which recalled him to court was probably accompanied by some intimation of his approaching greatness, he appeals to the people of Athens to witness his tears of undissembled sorrow, when he was reluctantly torn away from his beloved retirement.<sup>33</sup> He trembled for his life, for his fame, and even for his virtue; and his sole confidence was derived from the persuasion that Minerva inspired all his actions, and that he was protected by an invisible guard of angels, whom for that purpose she had borrowed from the Sun and Moon. He approached with horror the palace of Milan; nor could the ingenuous youth conceal his indignation when he found himself accosted with false and servile respect by the assassins of his family. Eusebia, rejoicing in the success of

<sup>31</sup> *Tantum a temperatis moribus Juliani differens fratris quantum inter Vespasiani filios fuit, Domitianum et Titum.*—Ammian. l. xiv. c. 11. The circumstances and education of the two brothers were so nearly the same as to afford a strong example of the innate difference of characters.

<sup>32</sup> Ammianus, l. xv. c. 8. Zosimus, l. iii. [c. 2] p. 137, 138.

<sup>33</sup> Julian, ad S. P. Q. A. p. 275, 276. Libanius, Orat. x. p. 268. Julian did not yield till the gods had signified their will by repeated visions and omens. His piety then forbade him to resist.



her benevolent schemes, embraced him with the tenderness of a sister, and endeavored, by the most soothing caresses, to dispel his terrors and reconcile him to his fortune. But the ceremony of shaving his beard, and his awkward demeanor when he first exchanged the cloak of a Greek philosopher for the military habit of a Roman prince, amused during a few days the levity of the imperial court.<sup>34</sup>

The emperors of the age of Constantine no longer deigned to consult with the senate in the choice of a colleague; but they were anxious that their nomination should be ratified by the consent of the army. On this solemn occasion the guards, with the other troops whose stations were in the neighborhood of Milan, appeared under arms; and Constantius ascended his lofty tribunal, holding by the hand his cousin Julian, who entered the same day into the twenty-fifth year of his age.<sup>35</sup> In a studied speech, conceived and delivered with dignity, the emperor represented the various dangers which threatened the prosperity of the republic, the necessity of naming a Cæsar for the administration of the West, and his own intention, if it was agreeable to their wishes, of rewarding with the honors of the purple the promising virtues of the

nephew of Constantine. The approbation of the soldiers was testified by a respectful murmur; they gazed on the manly countenance of Julian, and observed with pleasure that the fire which sparkled in his eyes was tempered by a modest blush on being thus exposed for the first time to the public view of mankind. As soon as the ceremony of his investiture had been performed, Constantius addressed him with the tone of authority which his superior age and station permitted him to assume; and, exhorting the new Cæsar to deserve, by heroic deeds, that sacred and immortal name, the emperor gave his colleague the strongest assur-

and declared  
Cæsar.  
A.D. 355.  
Nov. 6.

<sup>34</sup> Julian himself relates (p. 274), with some humor, the circumstances of his own metamorphosis, his downcast looks, and his perplexity at being thus suddenly transported into a new world, where every object appeared strange and hostile.

<sup>35</sup> See Ammian. Marcellin. l. xv. c. 8. Zosimus, l. iii. [c. 2] p. 139. Aurelius Victor. Victor Junior in Epitom. [c. 42]. Eutrop. x. 14 [7].

ances of a friendship which should never be impaired by time nor interrupted by their separation into the most distant climates. As soon as the speech was ended, the troops, as a token of applause, clashed their shields against their knees;<sup>36</sup> while the officers who surrounded the tribunal expressed, with decent reserve, their sense of the merits of the representative of Constantius.

The two princes returned to the palace in the same chariot; and, during the slow procession, Julian repeated to himself a verse of his favorite Homer, which he might equally apply to his fortune and to his fears.<sup>37</sup> The four-and-twenty days which the Cæsar spent at Milan after his investiture, and the first months of his Gallic reign, were devoted to a splendid but severe captivity; nor could the acquisition of honor compensate for the loss of freedom.<sup>38</sup> His steps were watched, his correspondence was intercepted; and he was obliged, by prudence, to decline the visits of his most intimate friends. Of his former domestics, four only were permitted to attend him—two pages, his physician, and his librarian, the last of whom was employed in the care of a valuable collection of books, the gift of the empress, who studied the inclinations as well as the interest of her friend. In the room of these faithful servants a household was formed, such, indeed, as became the dignity of a Cæsar; but it was filled with a crowd of slaves, destitute, and perhaps incapable, of any attachment for their new master, to whom, for the most part, they were either unknown or suspected. His want of experience might require

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<sup>36</sup> "Militares omnes horrendo fragore scuta genibus illidentes; quod est prosperitatis indicium plenum; nam contra cum hastis clypei feriuntur, iræ documentum est et doloris." . . . Ammianus adds, with a nice distinction, "Eumque ut potiori reverentia servaretur, nec supra modum laudabant nec infra quam decebat" [xv. 8].

<sup>37</sup> "Ἐλλαβε πορφύρεος θάνατος, καὶ μοῖρα κραταίη. The word *purple*, which Homer had used as a vague but common epithet for death, was applied by Julian to express, very aptly, the nature and object of his own apprehensions.

<sup>38</sup> He represents, in the most pathetic terms (p. 277), the distress of his new situation. The provision for his table was, however, so elegant and sumptuous that the young philosopher rejected it with disdain. Quum legeret libellum assidue, quem Constantius ut privignum ad studia mittens manū suā conscripserat, prælicenter disponens quid in convivio Cæsaris impendi deberet, Phasianum, et vulvam et sumen exigi vetuit et inferri.—Ammian. Marcellin. l. xvi. c. 5.

the assistance of a wise council ; but the minute instructions which regulated the service of his table and the distribution of his hours were adapted to a youth still under the discipline of his preceptors rather than to the situation of a prince intrusted with the conduct of an important war. If he aspired to deserve the esteem of his subjects, he was checked by the fear of displeasing his sovereign ; and even the fruits of his marriage-bed were blasted by the jealous artifices of Eusebia<sup>39</sup> herself, who, on this occasion alone, seems to have been unmindful of the tenderness of her sex and the generosity of her character. The memory of his father and of his brothers reminded Julian of his own danger, and his apprehensions

Fatal end of  
Sylvanus.  
A.D. 355.  
September.

were increased by the recent and unworthy fate of Sylvanus. In the summer which preceded his own elevation that general had been chosen to deliver Gaul from the tyranny of the barbarians ; but Sylvanus soon discovered that he had left his most dangerous enemies in the imperial court. A dexterous informer, countenanced by several of the principal ministers, procured from him some commendatory letters ; and, erasing the whole of the contents, except the signature, filled up the vacant parchment with matters of high and treasonable import. By the industry and courage of his friends, the fraud was, however, detected ; and in a great council of the civil and military officers, held in the presence of the emperor himself, the innocence of Sylvanus was publicly acknowledged. But the discovery came too late ; the report of the calumny, and the hasty seizure of his estate, had already provoked the indignant chief to the rebellion of which he was so unjustly accused. He assumed the purple

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<sup>39</sup> If we recollect that Constantine, the father of Helena, died above eighteen years before in a mature old age, it will appear probable that the daughter, though a virgin, could not be very young at the time of her marriage. She was soon afterwards delivered of a son, who died immediately, "*quòd obstetrix corrupta mercede, mox natum præsecto plusquam convenerat umbilico necavit.*" She accompanied the emperor and empress in their journey to Rome, and the latter, "*quæsitum venenum bibere per fraudem illexit, ut quotiescunque concepisset, immaturum abjiceret partum.*" Ammian. l. xvi. c. 10. Our physicians will determine whether there exists such a poison. For my own part, I am inclined to hope that the public malignity imputed the effects of accident as the guilt of Eusebia.

at his headquarters of Cologne, and his active powers appeared to menace Italy with an invasion and Milan with a siege. In this emergency, Ursicinus, a general of equal rank, regained, by an act of treachery, the favor which he had lost by his eminent services in the East. Exasperated, as he might speciously allege, by injuries of a similar nature, he hastened with a few followers to join the standard, and to betray the confidence, of his too credulous friend. After a reign of only twenty-eight days, Sylvanus was assassinated. The soldiers who, without any criminal intention, had blindly followed the example of their leader, immediately returned to their allegiance; and the flatterers of Constantius celebrated the wisdom and felicity of the monarch who had extinguished a civil war without the hazard of a battle.<sup>40</sup>

The protection of the Rhætian frontier and the persecution of the Catholic Church detained Constantius in Italy above eighteen months after the departure of Julian. Before the emperor returned into the East, he indulged his pride and curiosity in a visit to the ancient capital.<sup>41</sup> He proceeded from Milan to Rome along the Æmilian and Flaminian ways; and as soon as he approached within forty miles of the city, the march of a prince who had never vanquished a foreign enemy assumed the appearance of a triumphal procession. His splendid train was composed of all the ministers of luxury; but in a time of profound peace he was encompassed by the glittering arms of the numerous squadrons of his guards and cuirassiers. Their streaming banners of silk, embossed with gold, and shaped in the form of dragons, waved round the person of the emperor. Constantius sat alone in a lofty car resplendent with gold and precious gems; and, except when he bowed his head to pass under the gates of the cities, he affected a stately demeanor of inflexible,

Constantius  
visits Rome.  
A.D. 357.  
April 28.

<sup>40</sup> Ammianus (xv. 5) was perfectly well informed of the conduct and fate of Sylvanus. He himself was one of the few followers who attended Ursicinus in his dangerous enterprise.

<sup>41</sup> For the particulars of the visit of Constantius to Rome, see Ammianus, l. xvi. c. 10. We have only to add that Themistius was appointed deputy from Constantinople, and that he composed his fourth oration for this ceremony.



and, as it might seem, of insensible gravity. The severe discipline of the Persian youth had been introduced by the eunuchs into the imperial palace ; and such were the habits of patience which they had inculcated that, during a slow and sultry march, he was never seen to move his hand towards his face, or to turn his eyes either to the right or to the left. He was received by the magistrates and senate of Rome ; and the emperor surveyed, with attention, the civil honors of the republic and the consular images of the noble families. The streets were lined with an innumerable multitude. Their repeated acclamations expressed their joy at beholding, after an absence of thirty-two years, the sacred person of their sovereign ; and Constantius himself expressed, with some pleasantry, his affected surprise that the human race should thus suddenly be collected on the same spot. The son of Constantine was lodged in the ancient palace of Augustus : he presided in the senate, harangued the people from the tribunal which Cicero had so often ascended, assisted with unusual courtesy at the games of the circus, and accepted the crowns of gold, as well as the panegyrics, which had been prepared for this ceremony by the deputies of the principal cities. His short visit of thirty days was employed in viewing the monuments of art and power which were scattered over the seven hills and the interjacent valleys. He admired the awful majesty of the Capitol, the vast extent of the baths of Caracalla and Diocletian, the severe simplicity of the Pantheon, the massy greatness of the Amphitheatre of Titus, the elegant architecture of the Theatre of Pompey and the Temple of Peace, and, above all, the stately structure of the Forum and Column of Trajan ; acknowledging that the voice of fame, so prone to invent and to magnify, had made an inadequate report of the metropolis of the world. The traveller who has contemplated the ruins of ancient Rome may conceive some imperfect idea of the sentiments which they must have inspired when they reared their heads in the splendor of unsullied beauty.

The satisfaction which Constantius had received from this journey excited him to the generous emulation of bestowing on the Romans some memorial of his own gratitude and munifi-

cence. His first idea was to imitate the equestrian and colossal statue which he had seen in the Forum of Trajan ; but, when he had maturely weighed the difficulties of the execution,<sup>42</sup> he chose rather to embellish the capital by the gift of an Egyptian obelisk. In a remote but polished age, which seems to have preceded the invention of alphabetical writing, a great number of these obelisks had been erected in the cities of Thebes and Heliopolis by the ancient sovereigns of Egypt, in a just confidence that the simplicity of their form and the hardness of their substance would resist the injuries of time and violence.<sup>43</sup> Several of these extraordinary columns had been transported to Rome by Augustus and his successors as the most durable monuments of their power and victory;<sup>44</sup> but there remained one obelisk which, from its size or sanctity, escaped for a long time the rapacious vanity of the conquerors. It was designed by Constantine to adorn his new city;<sup>45</sup> and, after being removed by his order from the pedestal where it stood before the Temple of the Sun at Heliopolis, was floated down the Nile to Alexandria. The death of Constantine suspended the execution of his purpose, and this obelisk was destined by his son to the ancient capital of the empire. A vessel of uncommon strength and capaciousness was provided to convey this enormous weight of granite, at least a hundred and fifteen feet in length, from the banks

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<sup>42</sup> Hormisdas, a fugitive prince of Persia, observed to the emperor that if he made such a horse, he must think of preparing a similar stable (the Forum of Trajan). Another saying of Hormisdas is recorded, "that one thing only had displeased him, to find that men died at Rome as well as elsewhere." If we adopt this reading of the text of Ammianus (*displacuisse* instead of *placuisse*), we may consider it as a reproof of Roman vanity. The contrary sense would be that of a misanthrope.

<sup>43</sup> When Germanicus visited the ancient monuments of Thebes, the eldest of the priests explained to him the meaning of these hieroglyphics. Tacit. Annal. ii. c. 60. But it seems probable that before the useful invention of an alphabet these natural or arbitrary signs were the common characters of the Egyptian nation. See Warburton's Divine Legation of Moses, vol. iii. p. 69-243.

<sup>44</sup> See Plin. Hist. Natur. l. xxxvi. c. 14, 15.

<sup>45</sup> Ammian. Marcellin. l. xvii. c. 4. He gives us a Greek interpretation of the hieroglyphics, and his commentator Lindenbrogius adds a Latin inscription, which, in twenty verses of the age of Constantius, contain a short history of the obelisk.

of the Nile to those of the Tiber. The obelisk of Constantius was landed about three miles from the city, and elevated, by the efforts of art and labor, in the great circus of Rome.<sup>46</sup>

The departure of Constantius from Rome was hastened by the alarming intelligence of the distress and danger of the Illyrian provinces. The distractions of civil war, and the irreparable loss which the Roman legions had sustained in the battle of Mursa, exposed those countries, almost without defence, to the light cavalry of the barbarians; and particularly to the inroads of the Quadi, a fierce and powerful nation, who seem to have exchanged the institutions of Germany for the arms and military arts of their Sarmatian allies.<sup>47</sup> The garrisons of the frontier were insufficient to check their progress; and the indolent monarch was at length compelled to assemble, from the extremities of his dominions, the flower of the Palatine troops, to take the field in person, and to employ a whole campaign, with the preceding autumn and the ensuing spring, in the serious prosecution of the war. The emperor passed the Danube on a bridge of boats, cut in pieces all that encountered his march, penetrated into the heart of the country of the Quadi, and severely retaliated the calamities which they had inflicted on the Roman province. The dismayed barbarians were soon reduced to sue for peace: they offered the restitution of his captive subjects as an atonement for the past, and the noblest

The Quadian  
and Sarma-  
tian war.  
A.D. 357, 358,  
359.

<sup>46</sup> See Donat. *Roma Antiqua*, l. iii. c. 14, l. iv. c. 12; and the learned though confused Dissertation of Bargæus on Obelisks, inserted in the fourth volume of Grævius's *Roman Antiquities*, p. 1897-1936. This dissertation is dedicated to Pope Sixtus V., who erected the obelisk of Constantius in the square before the patriarchal church of St. John Lateran.<sup>a</sup>

<sup>47</sup> The events of this Quadian and Sarmatian war are related by Ammianus, xvi. 10, xvii. 12, 13, xix. 11.

<sup>a</sup> It is doubtful whether the obelisk transported by Constantius to Rome now exists. Even from the text of Ammianus it is uncertain whether the interpretation of Hermapion refers to the older obelisk ("obelisco incisus est veteri quem videmus in Circo") raised, as he himself states, in the Circus Maximus, long before, by Augustus, or to the one brought by Constantius. The obelisk in the square before the Church of St. John Lateran is ascribed, not to Rameses the Great, but to Thoutmos II. Champollion, 1. *Lettre à M. de Blacas*, p. 32.—M.

hostages as a pledge of their future conduct. The generous courtesy which was shown to the first among their chieftains who employed the clemency of Constantius encouraged the more timid, or the more obstinate, to imitate their example; and the imperial camp was crowded with the princes and ambassadors of the most distant tribes, who occupied the plains of the Lesser Poland, and who might have deemed themselves secure behind the lofty ridge of the Carpathian Mountains. While Constantius gave laws to the barbarians beyond the Danube, he distinguished, with specious compassion, the Sarmatian exiles who had been expelled from their native country by the rebellion of their slaves, and who formed a very considerable accession to the power of the Quadi. The emperor, embracing a generous but artful system of policy, released the Sarmatians from the bands of this humiliating dependence, and restored them, by a separate treaty, to the dignity of a nation united under the government of a king, the friend and ally of the republic. He declared his resolution of asserting the justice of their cause, and of securing the peace of the provinces by the extirpation, or at least the banishment, of the Limigantes, whose manners were still infected with the vices of their servile origin. The execution of this design was attended with more difficulty than glory. The territory of the Limigantes was protected against the Romans by the Danube, against the hostile barbarians by the Theiss. The marshy lands which lay between those rivers, and were often covered by their inundations, formed an intricate wilderness, pervious only to the inhabitants, who were acquainted with its secret paths and inaccessible fortresses. On the approach of Constantius, the Limigantes tried the efficacy of prayers, of fraud, and of arms; but he sternly rejected their supplications, defeated their rude stratagems, and repelled with skill and firmness the efforts of their irregular valor. One of their most warlike tribes, established in a small island towards the conflux of the Theiss and the Danube, consented to pass the river with the intention of surprising the emperor during the security of an amicable conference. They soon became the victims of the perfidy which they meditated. Encompassed



on every side, trampled down by the cavalry, slaughtered by the swords of the legions, they disdained to ask for mercy ; and, with an undaunted countenance, still grasped their weapons in the agonies of death. After this victory a considerable body of Romans was landed on the opposite banks of the Danube ; the Taifalæ, a Gothic tribe engaged in the service of the empire, invaded the Limigantes on the side of the Theiss ; and their former masters, the free Sarmatians, animated by hope and revenge, penetrated through the hilly country into the heart of their ancient possessions. A general conflagration revealed the huts of the barbarians, which were seated in the depth of the wilderness ; and the soldier fought with confidence on marshy ground which it was dangerous for him to tread. In this extremity, the bravest of the Limigantes were resolved to die in arms rather than to yield : but the milder sentiment, enforced by the authority of their elders, at length prevailed ; and the suppliant crowd, followed by their wives and children, repaired to the imperial camp to learn their fate from the mouth of the conqueror. After celebrating his own clemency, which was still inclined to pardon their repeated crimes and to spare the remnant of a guilty nation, Constantius assigned for the place of their exile a remote country, where they might enjoy a safe and honorable repose. The Limigantes obeyed with reluctance ; but before they could reach, at least before they could occupy, their destined habitations, they returned to the banks of the Danube, exaggerating the hardships of their situation, and requesting, with fervent professions of fidelity, that the emperor would grant them an undisturbed settlement within the limits of the Roman provinces. Instead of consulting his own experience of their incurable perfidy, Constantius listened to his flatterers, who were ready to represent the honor and advantage of accepting a colony of soldiers at a time when it was much easier to obtain the pecuniary contributions than the military service of the subjects of the empire. The Limigantes were permitted to pass the Danube ; and the emperor gave audience to the multitude in a large plain near the modern city of Buda. They surrounded the tribunal, and seemed to hear with respect an

oration full of mildness and dignity ; when one of the barbarians, casting his shoe into the air, exclaimed with a loud voice, *Marha! marha!*<sup>a</sup> a word of defiance, which was received as the signal of the tumult. They rushed with fury to seize the person of the emperor ; his royal throne and golden couch were pillaged by these rude hands ; but the faithful defence of his guards, who died at his feet, allowed him a moment to mount a fleet horse, and to escape from the confusion. The disgrace which had been incurred by a treacherous surprise was soon retrieved by the numbers and discipline of the Romans ; and the combat was only terminated by the extinction of the name and nation of the Limigantes. The free Sarmatians were reinstated in the possession of their ancient seats ; and although Constantius distrusted the levity of their character, he entertained some hopes that a sense of gratitude might influence their future conduct. He had remarked the lofty stature and obsequious demeanor of Zizais, one of the noblest of their chiefs. He conferred on him the title of King ; and Zizais proved that he was not unworthy to reign, by a sincere and lasting attachment to the interest of his benefactor, who, after this splendid success, received the name of *Sarmaticus* from the acclamations of his victorious army.<sup>48</sup>

While the Roman emperor and the Persian monarch, at the distance of three thousand miles, defended their extreme limits against the barbarians of the Danube and of the Oxus, their intermediate frontier experienced the vicissitudes of a languid war and a precarious truce. Two of the Eastern ministers of Constantius—the Prætorian præfect Musonian, whose abilities were disgraced by the want of truth and integrity, and Cassian, Duke of Mesopotamia, a hardy and veteran soldier—opened a secret negotiation with

The Persian  
negotiation.  
A.D. 358.

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<sup>48</sup> Genti Sarmatarum, magno decore considens apud eos, regem dedit.—Aurelius Victor [Cæsar. 42]. In a pompous oration pronounced by Constantius himself, he expatiates on his own exploits with much vanity and some truth.

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<sup>a</sup> Reinesius reads Warrha! warrha! (guerre, war). Wagner, note on Amm. Marc. xix. 11.—M.

the satrap Tamsapor.<sup>49</sup> These overtures of peace, translated into the servile and flattering language of Asia, were transmitted to the camp of the Great King, who resolved to signify, by an ambassador, the terms which he was inclined to grant to the suppliant Romans. Narses, whom he invested with that character, was honorably received in his passage through Antioch and Constantinople. He reached Sirmium after a long journey, and, at his first audience, respectfully unfolded the silken veil which covered the haughty epistle of his sovereign. Sapor, King of Kings, and Brother of the Sun and Moon (such were the lofty titles affected by Oriental vanity), expressed his satisfaction that his brother, Constantius Cæsar, had been taught wisdom by adversity. As the lawful successor of Darius Hystaspis, Sapor asserted that the river Strymon, in Macedonia, was the true and ancient boundary of his empire; declaring, however, that, as an evidence of his moderation, he would content himself with the provinces of Armenia and Mesopotamia, which had been fraudulently extorted from his ancestors. He alleged that, without the restitution of these disputed countries, it was impossible to establish any treaty on a solid and permanent basis; and he arrogantly threatened that, if his ambassador returned in vain, he was prepared to take the field in the spring, and to support the justice of his cause by the strength of his invincible arms. Narses, who was endowed with the most polite and amiable manners, endeavored, as far as was consistent with his duty, to soften the harshness of the message.<sup>50</sup> Both the style and substance were maturely weighed in the imperial council, and he was dismissed with the following answer: "Constantius had a right to disclaim the officiousness of his ministers, who had acted without any specific orders from the throne. He was not, however,

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<sup>49</sup> Ammian. xvi. 9.

<sup>50</sup> Ammianus (xvii. 5) transcribes the haughty letter. Themistius (Orat. iv. p. 57, edit. Petav.) takes notice of the silk covering. Idatius and Zonaras mention the journey of the ambassador; and Peter the Patrician (in Excerpt. Legat. p. 28 [edit. Paris; c. 15, p. 131, edit. Bonn]) has informed us of his conciliating behavior.

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<sup>a</sup> In Persian, Tenschahpour. St. Martin, ii. 177.—M.

averse to an equal and honorable treaty; but it was highly indecent, as well as absurd, to propose to the sole and victorious emperor of the Roman world the same conditions of peace which he had indignantly rejected at the time when his power was contracted within the narrow limits of the East. The chance of arms was uncertain; and Sapor should recollect that, if the Romans had sometimes been vanquished in battle, they had almost always been successful in the event of the war." A few days after the departure of Narses, three ambassadors were sent to the court of Sapor, who was already returned from the Scythian expedition to his ordinary residence of Ctesiphon. A count, a notary, and a sophist had been selected for this important commission; and Constantius, who was secretly anxious for the conclusion of the peace, entertained some hopes that the dignity of the first of these ministers, the dexterity of the second, and the rhetoric of the third<sup>51</sup> would persuade the Persian monarch to abate of the rigor of his demands. But the progress of their negotiation was opposed and defeated by the hostile arts of Antoninus,<sup>52</sup> a Roman subject of Syria, who had fled from oppression and was admitted into the councils of Sapor, and even to the royal table, where, according to the custom of the Persians, the most important business was frequently discussed.<sup>53</sup> The dexterous fugitive promoted his interest by the same conduct which gratified his revenge. He incessantly urged the ambition of his new mas-

<sup>51</sup> Ammianus, xvii. 5, and Valesius ad loc. The sophist, or philosopher (in that age these words were almost synonymous), was Eustathius the Cappadocian, the disciple of Jamblichus and the friend of St. Basil. Eunapius (in *Vit. Ædesii*, p. 44-47) fondly attributes to this philosophic ambassador the glory of enchanting the barbarian king by the persuasive charms of reason and eloquence. See Tillemont, *Hist. des Empereurs*, tom. iv. p. 828, 1132.

<sup>52</sup> Ammian. xviii. 5, 6, 8. The decent and respectful behavior of Antoninus towards the Roman general sets him in a very interesting light; and Ammianus himself speaks of the traitor with some compassion and esteem.

<sup>53</sup> This circumstance, as it is noticed by Ammianus, serves to prove the veracity of Herodotus (l. i. c. 133) and the permanency of the Persian manners. In every age the Persians have been addicted to intemperance, and the wines of Shiraz have triumphed over the law of Mahomet. Brisson, *De Regno Pers.* l. ii. p. 462-472, and Chardin, *Voyages en Perse*, tom. iii. p. 90.



ter to embrace the favorable opportunity when the bravest of the Palatine troops were employed with the emperor in a distant war on the Danube. He pressed Sapor to invade the exhausted and defenceless provinces of the East with the numerous armies of Persia, now fortified by the alliance and accession of the fiercest barbarians. The ambassadors of Rome retired without success; and a second embassy, of a still more honorable rank, was detained in strict confinement, and threatened either with death or exile.

The military historian,<sup>64</sup> who was himself despatched to observe the army of the Persians, as they were preparing to construct a bridge of boats over the Tigris, beheld from an eminence the plain of Assyria, as far as the edge of the horizon, covered with men, with horses, and with arms. Sapor appeared in the front, conspicuous by the splendor of his purple. On his left hand, the place of honor among the Orientals, Grumbates, King of the Chionites, displayed the stern countenance of an aged and renowned warrior. The monarch had reserved a similar place on his right hand for the King of the Albanians, who led his independent tribes from the shores of the Caspian. The satraps and generals were distributed according to their several ranks; and the whole army, besides the numerous train of Oriental luxury, consisted of more than one hundred thousand effective men, inured to fatigue, and selected from the bravest nations of Asia. The Roman deserter, who in some measure guided the councils of Sapor, had prudently advised that, instead of wasting the summer in tedious and difficult sieges, he should march directly to the Euphrates, and press forward without delay to seize the feeble and wealthy metropolis of Syria. But the Persians were no sooner advanced into the plains of Mesopotamia than they discovered that every precaution had been used which could retard their progress or defeat their design. The inhabitants with their cattle were secured in places of strength, the green forage throughout the country was set on fire, the fords of the river were fortified by sharp stakes, mil-

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<sup>64</sup> Ammian. l. xviii. 6, 7, 8, 10.

itary engines were planted on the opposite banks, and a seasonable swell of the waters of the Euphrates deterred the barbarians from attempting the ordinary passage of the bridge of Thapsacus. Their skilful guide, changing his plan of operations, then conducted the army by a longer circuit, but through a fertile territory, towards the head of the Euphrates, where the infant river is reduced to a shallow and accessible stream. Sapor overlooked, with prudent disdain, the strength of Nisibis; but as he passed under the walls of Amida, he resolved to try whether the majesty of his presence would not awe the garrison into immediate submission. The sacrilegious insult of a random dart, which glanced against the royal tiara, convinced him of his error; and the indignant monarch listened with impatience to the advice of his ministers, who conjured him not to sacrifice the success of his ambition to the gratification of his resentment. The following day, Grumbates advanced towards the gates with a select body of troops, and required the instant surrender of the city, as the only atonement which could be accepted for such an act of rashness and insolence. His proposals were answered by a general discharge, and his only son, a beautiful and valiant youth, was pierced through the heart by a javelin, shot from one of the balistæ. The funeral of the Prince of the Chionites was celebrated according to the rites of his country; and the grief of his aged father was alleviated by the solemn promise of Sapor that the guilty city of Amida should serve as a funeral pile to expiate the death and to perpetuate the memory of his son.

The ancient city of Amid, or Amida,<sup>55</sup> which sometimes assumes the provincial appellation of Diarbekir,<sup>56</sup> is advan-

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<sup>55</sup> For the description of Amida, see D'Herbelot, *Bibliothèque Orientale*, p. 108; *Histoire de Timur Bec*, par Cherefeddin Ali, l. iii. ch. 41. Ahmed Arabsiades, tom. i. p. 331, c. 43; *Voyages de Tavernier*, tom. i. p. 301; *Voyages D'Otter*, tom. ii. p. 273; and *Voyages de Niebuhr*, tom. ii. p. 324–328. The last of these travelers, a learned and accurate Dane, has given a plan of Amida which illustrates the operations of the siege.

<sup>56</sup> Diarbekir—which is styled Amid, or Kara-Amid, in the public writings of the Turks—contains above 16,000 houses, and is the residence of a pasha with three

tageously situate in a fertile plain watered by the natural and artificial channels of the Tigris, of which the least inconsiderable stream bends in a semicircular form round the eastern part of the city. The Emperor Constantius had recently conferred on Amida the honor of his own name, and the additional fortifications of strong walls and lofty towers. It was provided with an arsenal of military engines, and the ordinary garrison had been reinforced to the amount of seven legions when the place was invested by the arms of Sapor.<sup>57</sup> His first and most sanguine hopes depended on the success of a general assault. To the several nations which followed his standard their respective posts were assigned—the south to the Vertæ; the north to the Albanians; the east to the Chionites, inflamed with grief and indignation; the west to the Segestans, the bravest of his warriors, who covered their front with a formidable line of Indian elephants.<sup>58</sup> The Persians on every side supported their efforts and animated their

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tails. The epithet of *Kara* is derived from the *blackness* of the stone which composes the strong and ancient wall of Amida.<sup>a</sup>

<sup>57</sup> The operations of the siege of Amida are very minutely described by Ammianus (xix. 1-9), who acted an honorable part in the defence, and escaped with difficulty when the city was stormed by the Persians.

<sup>58</sup> Of these four nations the Albanians are too well known to require any description. The Segestans [*Sacastenè*, St. Martin] inhabited a large and level country, which still preserves their name, to the south of Khorasan and the west of Hindostan (see *Geographia Nubiensis*, p. 133; and D'Herbelot, *Bibliothèque Orientale*, p. 797). Notwithstanding the boasted victory of Bahram (vol. i. p. 410), the Segestans, above fourscore years afterwards, appear as an independent nation, the ally of Persia. We are ignorant of the situation of the Vertæ and Chionites, but I am inclined to place them (at least the latter) towards the confines of India and Scythia. See Ammian. xvi. 9.<sup>b</sup>

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<sup>a</sup> In my *Mém. Hist. sur l'Arménie*, vol. i. p. 166-173, I conceive that I have proved this city (still called by the Armenians *Dikranagerd*, the city of Tigranes) to be the same with the famous *Tigranocerta*, of which the situation was unknown.—St. Martin, i. 432. Faustus of Byzantium, nearly a contemporary (Armenian), states that the Persians, on becoming masters of it, destroyed 40,000 houses, though Ammianus describes the city as of no great extent (“*civitatis ambitum non nimium amplæ*”).—St. Martin, ii. 290.—M.

<sup>b</sup> The Vertæ are still unknown. It is possible that the Chionites are the same as the Huns. These people were already known; and we find from Armenian authors that they were making at this period incursions into Asia. They were often at war with the Persians. The name was perhaps pronounced differently in the East and in the West, and this prevents us from recognizing it.—St. Martin, ii. 177.—M.



courage; and the monarch himself, careless of his rank and safety, displayed in the prosecution of the siege the ardor of a youthful soldier. After an obstinate combat, the barbarians were repulsed. They incessantly returned to the charge. They were again driven back with a dreadful slaughter; and two rebel legions of Gauls who had been banished into the East signalized their undisciplined courage by a nocturnal sally into the heart of the Persian camp. In one of the fiercest of these repeated assaults, Amida was betrayed by the treachery of a deserter, who indicated to the barbarians a secret and neglected staircase scooped out of the rock that hangs over the stream of the Tigris. Seventy chosen archers of the royal guard ascended in silence to the third story of a lofty tower which commanded the precipice. They elevated on high the Persian banner, the signal of confidence to the assailants and of dismay to the besieged; and if this devoted band could have maintained their post a few minutes longer, the reduction of the place might have been purchased by the sacrifice of their lives. After Sapor had tried without success the efficacy of force and of stratagem, he had recourse to the slower but more certain operations of a regular siege, in the conduct of which he was instructed by the skill of the Roman deserters. The trenches were opened at a convenient distance, and the troops destined for that service advanced under the portable cover of strong hurdles to fill up the ditch and undermine the foundations of the walls. Wooden towers were at the same time constructed, and moved forward on wheels till the soldiers, who were provided with every species of missile weapons, could engage, almost on level ground, with the troops who defended the rampart. Every mode of resistance which art could suggest or courage could execute was employed in the defence of Amida; and the works of Sapor were more than once destroyed by the fire of the Romans. But the resources of a besieged city may be exhausted. The Persians repaired their losses and pushed their approaches. A large breach was made by the battering-ram, and the strength of the garrison, wasted by the sword and by disease, yielded to the fury of the assault. The soldiers, the citizens, their wives, their children—all who



had not time to escape through the opposite gate—were involved by the conquerors in a promiscuous massacre.

But the ruin of Amida was the safety of the Roman provinces. As soon as the first transports of victory had subsided,

Sapor was at leisure to reflect that to chastise a disobedient city he had lost the flower of his troops

and the most favorable season for conquest.<sup>69</sup> Thirty thousand of his veterans had fallen under the walls of Amida during the continuance of a siege which lasted seventy-three days; and the disappointed monarch returned to his capital with affected triumph and secret mortification. It is more than probable that the inconstancy of his barbarian allies was tempted to relinquish a war in which they had encountered such unexpected difficulties; and that the aged king of the Chionites, satiated with revenge, turned away with horror from a scene of action where he had been deprived of the hope of his family and nation. The strength as well as spirit of the army with which Sapor took the field in the ensuing spring was no longer equal to the unbounded views of his ambition. Instead of aspiring to the conquest of the East, he was obliged to content himself with the reduction of two fortified cities of

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<sup>69</sup> Ammianus has marked the chronology of this year by three signs which do not perfectly coincide with each other, or with the series of the history: 1. The corn was ripe when Sapor invaded Mesopotamia—"cum jam stipulâ flavente turgent"—a circumstance which, in the latitude of Aleppo, would naturally refer us to the month of April or May. See Harmer's Observations on Scripture, vol. i. p. 41. Shaw's Travels, p. 325, edit. 4to. 2. The progress of Sapor was checked by the overflowing of the Euphrates, which generally happens in July and August. Plin. Hist. Nat. v. 21. *Viaggi di Pietro della Valle*, tom. i. p. 696. 3. When Sapor had taken Amida, after a siege of seventy-three days, the autumn was far advanced—"Autumno præcipiti hædorumque improbo sidere exorto." To reconcile these apparent contradictions, we must allow for some delay in the Persian king, some inaccuracy in the historian, and some disorder in the seasons.\*

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\* Clinton remarks there seems no such difficulty as Gibbon has supposed. Amida was taken about October 7 ("hædorum improbo sidere exorto"—i. e., October 6), and consequently the siege began about July 27. Before the siege the army of Sapor had approached the Euphrates "nivibus tabefactis inflatum," and it began to rise "sole obtinente vicesimam partem Cancræ" (Plin. Hist. Nat. v. 26), about July 8. Sapor might have consumed two months in Mesopotamia after he had crossed the Tigris at the beginning of May. Clinton, *Fasti Rom.* vol. i. p. 442.—S.

Mesopotamia—Singara and Bezabde<sup>60</sup>—the one situate in the midst of a sandy desert, the other in a small peninsula surrounded almost on every side by the deep and rapid stream of the Tigris. Five Roman legions, of the diminutive size to which they had been reduced in the age of Constantine, were made prisoners, and sent into remote captivity on the extreme confines of Persia. After dismantling the walls of Singara, the conqueror abandoned that solitary and sequestered place; but he carefully restored the fortifications of Bezabde, and fixed in that important post a garrison or colony of veterans amply supplied with every means of defence, and animated by high sentiments of honor and fidelity. Towards the close of the campaign, the arms of Sapor incurred some disgrace by an unsuccessful enterprise against Virtha, or Tecrit, a strong, or, as it was universally esteemed till the age of Tamerlane, an impregnable, fortress of the independent Arabs.<sup>61</sup>

The defence of the East against the arms of Sapor required, and would have exercised, the abilities of the most consum-

<sup>60</sup> The account of these sieges is given by Ammianus, xx. 6, 7.<sup>a</sup>

<sup>61</sup> For the identity of Virtha and Tecrit, see D'Anville, *Géographie Ancienne*, tom. ii. p. 201. For the siege of that castle by Timur Bec, or Tamerlane, see Cherefeddin, l. iii. c. 33. The Persian biographer exaggerates the merit and difficulty of this exploit, which delivered the caravans of Bagdad from a formidable gang of robbers.<sup>b</sup>

<sup>a</sup> On the site of Singara, see note, vol. i. p. 683. Bezabde, now called Jezíreh, is situated on a low sandy island in the Tigris, about 60 miles below the junction of its eastern and western branches, and 23 miles N.E. of the junction of the Khabur with the Tigris. The island is covered with modern buildings, which, generally speaking, are in a ruined state. Kinneir, *Journey Through Asia Minor*, etc., p. 450; Chesney, *Expedit. Euphrat.* vol. i. p. 19.—S.

<sup>b</sup> Tekrit is situated on the right bank of the Tigris, between Mosul and Bagdad, and is now almost the only permanent settlement of any importance between these two towns. It is a small town, but was once a place of some size and strength. The remains of an ancient castle surrounded by a ditch crown a sandstone rock rising about two hundred feet above the Tigris. Tekrit is celebrated as the birthplace of Saladin. Rich, *Koordistan*, vol. ii. p. 146; Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 467. The word BIRTHA, or Virtha, means in Syriac a fortress or castle, and hence might be applied to many places. St. Martin thinks that the Virtha of Ammianus lay too far south to be the same as Tekrit; but this is not an insuperable difficulty, and there is no other place with which it can be so well identified. There was a BIRTHA on the right bank of the Euphrates, the modern Bir, and also a town of the same name to the S.E. of Thapsacus; but neither of these can be the Virtha of Ammianus. St. Martin, *Notes on Le Beau*, vol. ii. p. 344; Smith, *Dict. of Greek and Rom. Geogr.* vol. i. p. 402.~S.

mate general; and it seemed fortunate for the State that it was the actual province of the brave Ursicinus, who alone deserved the confidence of the soldiers and people. In the hour of danger, Ursicinus<sup>62</sup> was removed from his station by the intrigues of the eunuchs; and the military command of the East was bestowed by the same influence on Sabinian, a wealthy and subtle veteran, who had attained the infirmities without acquiring the experience of age. By a second order, which issued from the same jealous and inconstant counsels, Ursicinus was again despatched to the frontier of Mesopotamia, and condemned to sustain the labors of a war the honors of which had been transferred to his unworthy rival. Sabinian fixed his indolent station under the walls of Edessa; and while he amused himself with the idle parade of military exercise, and moved to the sound of flutes in the Pyrrhic dance, the public defence was abandoned to the boldness and diligence of the former general of the East. But whenever Ursicinus recommended any vigorous plan of operations; when he proposed, at the head of a light and active army, to wheel round the foot of the mountains, to intercept the convoys of the enemy, to harass the wide extent of the Persian lines, and to relieve the distress of Amida, the timid and envious commander alleged that he was restrained by his positive orders from endangering the safety of the troops. Amida was at length taken; its bravest defenders, who had escaped the sword of the barbarians, died in the Roman camp by the hand of the executioner; and Ursicinus himself, after supporting the disgrace of a partial inquiry, was punished for the misconduct of Sabinian by the loss of his military rank. But Constantius soon experienced the truth of the prediction which honest indignation had extorted from his injured lieutenant, that as long as such maxims of government were suffered to prevail, the emperor himself would find it no easy task to defend his Eastern dominions from the invasion of a foreign

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<sup>62</sup> Ammianus (xviii. 5, 6, xix. 3, xx. 2) represents the merit and disgrace of Ursicinus with that faithful attention which a soldier owed to his general. Some partiality may be suspected, yet the whole account is consistent and probable.

enemy. When he had subdued or pacified the barbarians of the Danube, Constantius proceeded by slow marches into the East; and after he had wept over the smoking ruins of Amida, he formed with a powerful army the siege of Bezabde. The walls were shaken by the reiterated efforts of the most enormous of the battering-rams. The town was reduced to the last extremity; but it was still defended by the patient and intrepid valor of the garrison till the approach of the rainy season obliged the emperor to raise the siege, and ingloriously to retreat into his winter-quarters at Antioch.<sup>63</sup> The pride of Constantius and the ingenuity of his courtiers were at a loss to discover any materials for panegyric in the events of the Persian war; while the glory of his cousin Julian, to whose military command he had intrusted the provinces of Gaul, was proclaimed to the world in the simple and concise narrative of his exploits.

In the blind fury of civil discord, Constantius had abandoned to the barbarians of Germany the countries of Gaul, which still acknowledged the authority of his rival. A numerous swarm of Franks and Alemanni were invited to cross the Rhine by presents and promises, by the hopes of spoil, and by a perpetual grant of all the territories which they should be able to subdue.<sup>64</sup> But the emperor, who for a temporary service had thus imprudently provoked the rapacious spirit of the barbarians, soon discovered and lamented the difficulty of dismissing these formidable allies after they had tasted the richness of the Roman soil. Regardless of the nice distinction of loyalty and rebellion, these undisciplined robbers treated as their natural enemies

Invasion of  
Gaul by the  
Germans.

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<sup>63</sup> Ammian. xx. 11. "Omisso vano incepto, hiematurus Antiochiæ redit in Syriam ærumnosam, perpeßus et ulcerum sed et atrocia, dinque deflenda." It is *thus* that James Gronovius has restored an obscure passage; and he thinks that this correction alone would have deserved a new edition of his author, whose sense may now be darkly perceived. I expected some additional light from the recent labors of the learned Ernestus (Lipsiæ, 1773).

<sup>64</sup> The ravages of the Germans and the distress of Gaul may be collected from Julian himself. Orat. ad S. P. Q. Athen. p. 277. Ammian. xv. 11 [8?]. Libanius, Orat. x. Zosimus, l. iii. [c. 3] p. 140. Sozomen, l. iii. c. 1. [Mamertin. Grat. Act. c. iv.]



all the subjects of the empire who possessed any property which they were desirous of acquiring. Forty-five flourishing cities—Tongres, Cologne, Treves, Worms, Spire, Strasburg, etc.—besides a far greater number of towns and villages, were pillaged, and, for the most part, reduced to ashes. The barbarians of Germany, still faithful to the maxims of their ancestors, abhorred the confinement of walls, to which they applied the odious names of prisons and sepulchres; and, fixing their independent habitations on the banks of rivers—the Rhine, the Moselle, and the Meuse—they secured themselves against the danger of a surprise by a rude and hasty fortification of large trees, which were felled and thrown across the roads. The Alemanni were established in the modern countries of Alsace and Lorraine. The Franks occupied the island of the Batavians, together with an extensive district of Brabant which was then known by the appellation of Toxandria,<sup>65</sup> and may deserve to be considered as the original seat of their Gallic monarchy.<sup>66</sup> From the sources to the mouth of the Rhine, the conquests of the Germans extended above forty miles to the west of that river over a country peopled by colonies of their own name and nation; and the scene of their devastations was three times more extensive than that of their conquests. At a still greater distance the open towns of Gaul were deserted; and the inhabitants of the fortified cities, who trusted to their strength and vigilance, were obliged to content themselves with such supplies of corn as they could raise on the vacant land within the enclosure of their walls. The

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<sup>65</sup> Ammianus (xvii. 8). This name seems to be derived from the Toxandri of Pliny, and very frequently occurs in the histories of the Middle Age. Toxandria was a country of woods and morasses which extended from the neighborhood of Tongres to the conflux of the Vahal and the Rhine. See Valesius, *Notit. Galliar.* p. 558.

<sup>66</sup> The paradox of P. Daniel that the Franks never obtained any permanent settlement on this side of the Rhine before the time of Clovis is refuted with much learning and good sense by M. Biet, who has proved by a chain of evidence their uninterrupted possession of Toxandria one hundred and thirty years before the accession of Clovis. The dissertation of M. Biet was crowned by the Academy of Soissons in the year 1736, and seems to have been justly preferred to the discourse of his more celebrated competitor, the Abbé le Bœuf, an antiquarian whose name was happily expressive of his talents.

diminished legions, destitute of pay and provisions, of arms and discipline, trembled at the approach, and even at the name, of the barbarians.

Under these melancholy circumstances, an unexperienced youth was appointed to save and to govern the provinces of Gaul, or rather, as he expresses it himself, to exhibit the vain image of imperial greatness. The retired scholastic education of Julian, in which he had been more conversant with books than with arms, with the dead than with the living, left him in profound ignorance of the practical arts of war and government; and when he awkwardly repeated some military exercise which it was necessary for him to learn, he exclaimed with a sigh, "O Plato, Plato, what a task for a philosopher!" Yet even this speculative philosophy, which men of business are too apt to despise, had filled the mind of Julian with the noblest precepts and the most shining examples, had animated him with the love of virtue, the desire of fame, and the contempt of death. The habits of temperance recommended in the schools are still more essential in the severe discipline of a camp. The simple wants of nature regulated the measure of his food and sleep. Rejecting with disdain the delicacies provided for his table, he satisfied his appetite with the coarse and common fare which was allotted to the meanest soldiers. During the rigor of a Gallic winter, he never suffered a fire in his bedchamber; and after a short and uninterrupted slumber he frequently rose in the middle of the night from a carpet spread on the floor, to despatch any urgent business, to visit his rounds, or to steal a few moments for the prosecution of his favorite studies.<sup>67</sup> The precepts of eloquence, which he had hitherto practised on fancied topics of declamation, were more usefully applied to excite or to assuage the passions of an armed multitude; and although Julian, from his early habits of conversation and literature, was more familiarly acquainted with the beauties of the Greek language,

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<sup>67</sup> The private life of Julian in Gaul, and the severe discipline which he embraced, are displayed by Ammianus (xvi. 5), who professes to praise, and by Julian himself, who affects to ridicule (*Misopogon*, p. 340), a conduct which, in a prince of the House of Constantine, might justly excite the surprise of mankind.

he had attained a competent knowledge of the Latin tongue.<sup>68</sup> Since Julian was not originally designed for the character of a legislator or a judge, it is probable that the civil jurisprudence of the Romans had not engaged any considerable share of his attention; but he derived from his philosophic studies an inflexible regard for justice, tempered by a disposition to clemency, the knowledge of the general principles of equity and evidence, and the faculty of patiently investigating the most intricate and tedious questions which could be proposed for his discussion. The measures of policy and the operations of war must submit to the various accidents of circumstance and character, and the unpractised student will often be perplexed in the application of the most perfect theory. But in the acquisition of this important science Julian was assisted by the active vigor of his own genius as well as by the wisdom and experience of Sallust, an officer of rank, who soon conceived a sincere attachment for a prince so worthy of his friendship, and whose incorruptible integrity was adorned by the talent of insinuating the harshest truths without wounding the delicacy of a royal ear.<sup>69</sup>

Immediately after Julian had received the purple at Milan, he was sent into Gaul with a feeble retinue of three hundred and sixty soldiers. At Vienna, where he passed a painful and anxious winter, in the hands of those ministers to whom Constantius had intrusted the direction of his conduct, the Cæsar was informed of the siege and deliverance of Autun. That large and ancient city, protected only by a ruined wall and pusillanimous garrison, was saved by the generous resolution of a few veterans, who re-

His first campaign in Gaul.  
A.D. 356.

<sup>68</sup> Aderat Latine quoque disserendi sufficiens sermo.—Ammianus, xvi. 5. But Julian, educated in the schools of Greece, always considered the language of the Romans as a foreign and popular dialect, which he might use on necessary occasions.

<sup>69</sup> We are ignorant of the actual office of this excellent minister, whom Julian afterwards created præfect of Gaul. Sallust was speedily recalled by the jealousy of the emperor; and we may still read a sensible but pedantic discourse (p. 240–252), in which Julian deplores the loss of so valuable a friend, to whom he acknowledges himself indebted for his reputation. See La Bletterie, Préface à la Vie de Jovien, p. 20.

sumed their arms for the defence of their country. In his march from Autun, through the heart of the Gallic provinces, Julian embraced with ardor the earliest opportunity of signaling his courage. At the head of a small body of archers and heavy cavalry, he preferred the shorter but the more dangerous of two roads,<sup>a</sup> and sometimes eluding and sometimes resisting the attacks of the barbarians, who were masters of the field, he arrived with honor and safety at the camp near Rheims, where the Roman troops had been ordered to assemble. The aspect of their young prince revived the drooping spirit of the soldiers, and they marched from Rheims in search of the enemy with a confidence which had almost proved fatal to them. The Alemanni, familiarized to the knowledge of the country, secretly collected their scattered forces, and, seizing the opportunity of a dark and rainy day, poured with unexpected fury on the rear-guard of the Romans. Before the inevitable disorder could be remedied, two legions were destroyed; and Julian was taught by experience that caution and vigilance are the most important lessons of the art of war. In a second and more successful action,<sup>b</sup> he recovered and established his military fame; but as the agility of the barbarians saved them from the pursuit, his victory was neither bloody nor decisive. He advanced, however, to the banks of the Rhine, surveyed the ruins of Cologne, convinced himself of the difficulties of the war, and retreated on the approach of winter, discontented with the court, with his army, and with his own success.<sup>70</sup> The power of the enemy was yet unbroken, and the Cæsar had no sooner separated his troops, and fixed his own quarters at Sens, in the centre of Gaul, than he was

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<sup>70</sup> Ammianus (xvi. 2, 3) appears much better satisfied with the success of this first campaign than Julian himself, who very fairly owns that he did nothing of consequence, and that he fled before the enemy.

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<sup>a</sup> *Aliis per Arbor—quibusdam per Sedelaucum et Coram iri debere firmantibus.*—Amm. Marc. xvi. 2. I do not know what place can be meant by the mutilated name *Arbor*. *Sedelaucus* is *Saulieu*, a small town of the department of the Côte d'Or, six leagues from Autun. *Cora* answers to the village of *Cure*, on the river of the same name, between Autun and Nevers.—St. Martin, ii. 162.—M.

<sup>b</sup> Fought at *Brocomagus*, now *Brumat* on the *Zorn*, between *Strasburg* and *Haguenau*, where many Roman remains have been found.—S.



surrounded and besieged by a numerous host of Germans. Reduced in this extremity to the resources of his own mind, he displayed a prudent intrepidity which compensated for all the deficiencies of the place and garrison; and the barbarians, at the end of thirty days, were obliged to retire with disappointed rage.

The conscious pride of Julian, who was indebted only to his sword for this signal deliverance, was embittered by the re-

His second  
campaign.  
A.D. 357.

flection that he was abandoned, betrayed, and perhaps devoted to destruction by those who were bound to assist him by every tie of honor and fidelity.

Marcellus, master-general of the cavalry in Gaul, interpreting too strictly the jealous orders of the court, beheld with supine indifference the distress of Julian, and had restrained the troops under his command from marching to the relief of Sens. If the Cæsar had dissembled in silence so dangerous an insult, his person and authority would have been exposed to the contempt of the world; and if an action so criminal had been suffered to pass with impunity, the emperor would have confirmed the suspicions which received a very specious color from his past conduct towards the princes of the Flavian family. Marcellus was recalled, and gently dismissed from his office.<sup>71</sup> In his room, Severus was appointed general of the cavalry, an experienced soldier of approved courage and fidelity, who could advise with respect and execute with zeal, and who submitted without reluctance to the supreme command which Julian, by the interest of his patroness Eusebia, at length obtained over the armies of Gaul.<sup>72</sup> A very judicious plan of operations was adopted for the approaching campaign. Julian himself, at the head of the remains of the veteran bands and of some new levies which he had been permitted to form,

<sup>71</sup> Ammian. xvi. 7. Libanius speaks rather more advantageously of the military talents of Marcellus, Orat. x. p. 272. And Julian insinuates that he would not have been so easily recalled, unless he had given other reasons of offence to the court, p. 278.

<sup>72</sup> Severus, non discors, non arrogans, sed longa militiæ frugalitate compertus; et eum recta præeuntem secuturus, ut ductorem morigerus miles.—Ammian. xvi. 11. Zosimus, l. iii. [c. 2] p. 140.

boldly penetrated into the centre of the German cantonnments, and carefully re-established the fortifications of Saverne in an advantageous post which would either check the incursions or intercept the retreat of the enemy. At the same time, Barbatio, general of the infantry, advanced from Milan with an army of thirty thousand men, and, passing the mountains, prepared to throw a bridge over the Rhine, in the neighborhood of Basel. It was reasonable to expect that the Alemanni, pressed on either side by the Roman arms, would soon be forced to evacuate the provinces of Gaul, and to hasten to the defence of their native country. But the hopes of the campaign were defeated by the incapacity, or the envy, or the secret instructions of Barbatio, who acted as if he had been the enemy of the Cæsar and the secret ally of the barbarians. The negligence with which he permitted a troop of pillagers freely to pass and to return, almost before the gates of his camp, may be imputed to his want of abilities; but the treasonable act of burning a number of boats and a superfluous stock of provisions, which would have been of the most essential service to the army of Gaul, was an evidence of his hostile and criminal intentions. The Germans despised an enemy who appeared destitute either of power or of inclination to offend them; and the ignominious retreat of Barbatio deprived Julian of the expected support, and left him to extricate himself from a hazardous situation, where he could neither remain with safety nor retire with honor.<sup>73</sup>

As soon as they were delivered from the fears of invasion, the Alemanni prepared to chastise the Roman youth who presumed to dispute the possession of that country which they claimed as their own by the right of conquest and of treaties. They employed three days and as many nights in transporting over the Rhine their military powers. The fierce Chnodomar, shaking the ponderous javelin which he had victoriously wielded against

Battle of  
Strasbourg.  
A.D. 357.  
August.

<sup>73</sup> On the design and failure of the co-operation between Julian and Barbatio, see Ammianus (xvi. 11), and Libanius, Orat. x. p. 273.<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Barbatio seems to have allowed himself to be surprised and defeated.—M.

the brother of Magnentius, led the van of the barbarians, and moderated by his experience the martial ardor which his example inspired.<sup>74</sup> He was followed by six other kings, by ten princes of regal extraction, by a long train of high-spirited nobles, and by thirty-five thousand of the bravest warriors of the tribes of Germany. The confidence derived from the view of their own strength was increased by the intelligence which they received from a deserter, that the Cæsar, with a feeble army of thirteen thousand men, occupied a post about one-and-twenty miles from their camp of Strasburg. With this inadequate force, Julian resolved to seek and to encounter the barbarian host; and the chance of a general action was preferred to the tedious and uncertain operation of separately engaging the dispersed parties of the Alemanni. The Romans marched in close order and in two columns, the cavalry on the right, the infantry on the left; and the day was so far spent when they appeared in sight of the enemy that Julian was desirous of deferring the battle till the next morning, and of allowing his troops to recruit their exhausted strength by the necessary refreshments of sleep and food. Yielding, however, with some reluctance, to the clamors of the soldiers, and even to the opinion of his council, he exhorted them to justify by their valor the eager impatience which, in case of a defeat, would be universally branded with the epithets of rashness and presumption. The trumpets sounded, the military shout was heard through the field, and the two armies rushed with equal fury to the charge. The Cæsar, who conducted in person his right wing, depended on the dexterity of his archers and the weight of his cuirassiers. But his ranks were instantly broken by an irregular mixture of light-horse and of light-infantry, and he had the mortification of beholding the flight of six hundred of his most renowned cuirassiers.<sup>75</sup> The fugitives were stopped

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<sup>74</sup> Ammianus (xvi. 12) describes with his indated eloquence the figure and character of Chnodomar: "Audax et fidens ingenti robore lacertorum, ubi ardor prælii sperabatur immanis, equo spumante, sublimior, erectus in jaculum formidandæ vastitatis, armorumque nitore conspicuus: antea strenuus et miles, et utilis præter cæteros ductor. . . . Decentium Cæsarem superavit æquo Marte congressus."

<sup>75</sup> After the battle Julian ventured to revive the rigor of ancient discipline by  
II.—27

and rallied by the presence and authority of Julian, who, careless of his own safety, threw himself before them, and, urging every motive of shame and honor, led them back against the victorious enemy. The conflict between the two lines of infantry was obstinate and bloody. The Germans possessed the superiority of strength and stature, the Romans that of discipline and temper; and as the barbarians who served under the standard of the empire united the respective advantages of both parties, their strenuous efforts, guided by a skilful leader, at length determined the event of the day. The Romans lost four tribunes and two hundred and forty-three soldiers in this memorable battle of Strasburg, so glorious to the Cæsar<sup>76</sup> and so salutary to the afflicted provinces of Gaul. Six thousand of the Alemanni were slain in the field, without including those who were drowned in the Rhine or transfixed with darts whilst they attempted to swim across the river.<sup>77</sup> Chnodomar himself was surrounded and taken prisoner, with three of his brave companions, who had devoted themselves to follow in life or death the fate of their chieftain. Julian received him with military pomp in the council of his officers; and, expressing a generous pity for the fallen state, dissembled his inward contempt for the abject humiliation of his captive. Instead of exhibiting the vanquished king of the Alemanni as a grateful spectacle to the cities of Gaul, he respectfully laid

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exposing these fugitives in female apparel to the derision of the whole camp. In the next campaign these troops nobly retrieved their honor. Zosimus, l. iii. [c. 3] p. 142.

<sup>76</sup> Julian himself (ad S. P. Q. Athen. p. 279) speaks of the battle of Strasburg with the modesty of conscious merit: *ἡ μάχη οὐκ ἀκλειῶς, ἴσως καὶ εἰς ὑμᾶς ἀφίκετο ἢ τοιαύτη μάχη*. Zosimus compares it with the victory of Alexander over Darius; and yet we are at a loss to discover any of those strokes of military genius which fix the attention of ages on the conduct and success of a single day.

<sup>77</sup> Ammianus, xvi. 12. Libanius adds 2000 more to the number of the slain (Orat. x. p. 274). But these trifling differences disappear before the 60,000 barbarians whom Zosimus has sacrificed to the glory of his hero (l. iii. [c. 3] p. 141). We might attribute this extravagant number to the carelessness of transcribers if this credulous or partial historian had not swelled the army of 35,000 Alemanni to an innumerable multitude of barbarians, *πληθος ἀπειρον βαρβάρων*. It is our own fault if this detection does not inspire us with proper distrust on similar occasions.



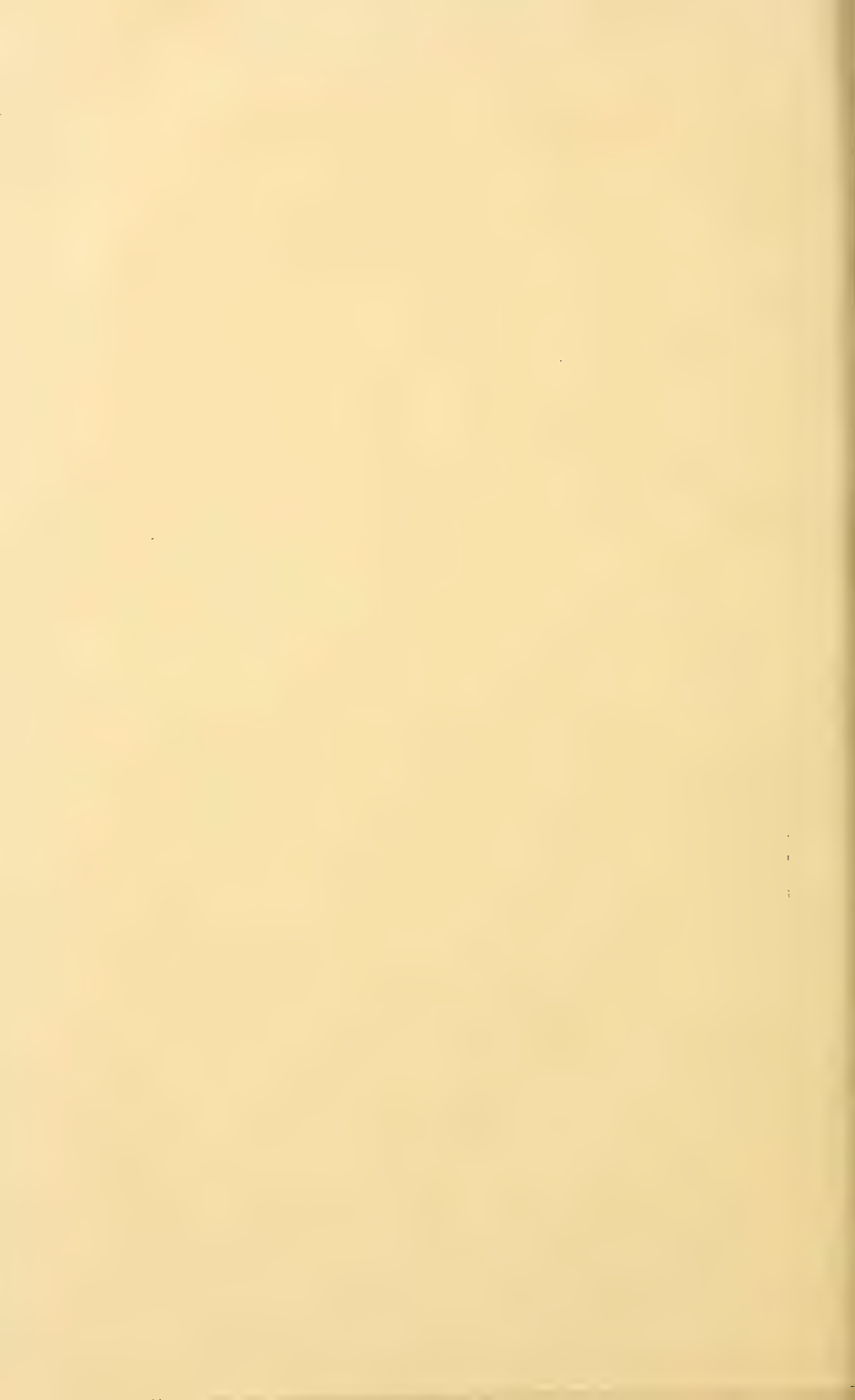


BATTLE OF STRASBURG, 375 A.D. Page 416

"Julian rallying his defeated forces and snatching victory from apparent defeat."

Gibbon's Rome, Vol. II.

Drawing by A. Mucha



at the feet of the emperor this splendid trophy of his victory. Chnodomar experienced an honorable treatment; but the impatient barbarian could not long survive his defeat, his confinement, and his exile.<sup>78</sup>

After Julian had repulsed the Alemanni from the provinces of the Upper Rhine, he turned his arms against the Franks, who were seated nearer to the ocean, on the confines of Gaul and Germany; and who, from their numbers, and still more from their intrepid valor, had ever been esteemed the most formidable of the barbarians.<sup>79</sup>

Julian sub-  
dues the  
Franks.  
A.D. 358.

Although they were strongly actuated by the allurements of rapine, they professed a disinterested love of war, which they considered as the supreme honor and felicity of human nature; and their minds and bodies were so completely hardened by perpetual action that, according to the lively expression of an orator, the snows of winter were as pleasant to them as the flowers of spring. In the month of December which followed the battle of Strasburg, Julian attacked a body of six hundred Franks who had thrown themselves into two castles on the Meuse.<sup>80</sup> In the midst of that severe season they sustained with inflexible constancy a siege of fifty-four days, till at length, exhausted by hunger and satisfied that the vigilance of the enemy in breaking the ice of the river left them no hopes of escape, the Franks consented, for the first time, to dispense with the ancient law which commanded them to conquer or to die. The Cæsar immediately sent his captives to the court of Constantius, who, accepting them as a valuable present,<sup>81</sup> rejoiced in the opportunity of adding so many heroes

<sup>78</sup> Ammianus, xvi. 12. Libanius, Orat. x. p. 276.

<sup>79</sup> Libanius (Orat. iii. p. 137) draws a very lively picture of the manners of the Franks.

<sup>80</sup> Ammianus, xvii. 2. Libanius, Orat. x. p. 278. The Greek orator, by misapprehending a passage of Julian, has been induced to represent the Franks as consisting of a thousand men; and, as his head was always full of the Peloponnesian war, he compares them to the Lacedæmonians, who were besieged and taken in the island of Sphacteria.

<sup>81</sup> Julian, ad S. P. Q. Athen. p. 280. Libanius, Orat. x. p. 278. According to the expression of Libanius, the emperor *δῶρα ὀνόμαζε*, which La Bletterie understands (Vie de Julien, p. 118) as an honest confession, and Valesius (ad Ammian.

to the choicest troops of his domestic guards. The obstinate resistance of this handful of Franks apprised Julian of the difficulties of the expedition which he meditated for the ensuing spring against the whole body of the nation. His rapid diligence surprised and astonished the active barbarians. Ordering his soldiers to provide themselves with biscuit for twenty days, he suddenly pitched his camp near Tongres, while the enemy still supposed him in his winter-quarters of Paris, expecting the slow arrival of his convoys from Aquitaine. Without allowing the Franks to unite or to deliberate, he skilfully spread his legions from Cologne to the ocean; and, by the terror as well as by the success of his arms, soon reduced the suppliant tribes to implore the clemency and to obey the commands of their conqueror. The Chamavians submissively retired to their former habitations beyond the Rhine; but the Salians were permitted to possess their new establishment of Toxandria as the subjects and auxiliaries of the Roman empire.<sup>82</sup> The treaty was ratified by solemn oaths; and perpetual inspectors were appointed to reside among the Franks, with the authority of enforcing the strict observance of the conditions. An incident is related, interesting enough in itself, and by no means repugnant to the character of Julian, who ingeniously contrived both the plot and the catastrophe of the tragedy. When the Chamavians sued for peace, he required the son of their king as the only hostage on whom he could rely. A mournful silence, interrupted by tears and groans, declared

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xvii. 2) as a mean evasion, of the truth. Dom Bouquet (*Historiens de France*, tom. i. p. 733), by substituting another word, *ἐνόμισε*, would suppress both the difficulty and the spirit of this passage.

<sup>82</sup> Ammian. xvii. 8; Zosimus, l. iii. [c. 4 seq.] p. 146–150 (his narrative is darkened by a mixture of fable); and Julian. ad S. P. Q. Athen. p. 280. His expression, *ὑπεδεξάμην μὲν μοῖραν τοῦ Σαλίων ἔθνους, Χαμάβους δὲ ἐξήλασα*. This difference of treatment confirms the opinion that the Salian Franks were permitted to retain the settlements in Toxandria.<sup>a</sup>

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<sup>a</sup> A newly discovered fragment of Eunapius, whom Zosimus probably transcribed, illustrates this transaction: “Julian commanded the Romans to abstain from all hostile measures against the Salians, neither to waste nor ravage *their own* country, for he called every country *their own* which was surrendered without resistance or toil on the part of the conquerors.” Mai, *Script. Vet. Nov. Collect.* ii. 256; and Eunapius in Niebuhr, *Byzant. Hist.* p. 86.—M.



the sad perplexity of the barbarians; and their aged chief lamented, in pathetic language, that his private loss was now embittered by a sense of the public calamity. While the Chamavians lay prostrate at the foot of his throne, the royal captive, whom they believed to have been slain, unexpectedly appeared before their eyes; and as soon as the tumult of joy was hushed into attention, the Cæsar addressed the assembly in the following terms: "Behold the son—the prince—whom you wept! You had lost him by your fault. God and the Romans have restored him to you. I shall still preserve and educate the youth, rather as a monument of my own virtue than as a pledge of your sincerity. Should you presume to violate the faith which you have sworn, the arms of the republic will avenge the perfidy, not on the innocent, but on the guilty!" The barbarians withdrew from his presence impressed with the warmest sentiments of gratitude and admiration.<sup>83</sup>

It was not enough for Julian to have delivered the provinces of Gaul from the barbarians of Germany. He aspired to emulate the glory of the first and most illustrious of the emperors, after whose example he composed his own commentaries of the Gallic war.<sup>84</sup> Cæsar has related with conscious pride the manner in which he *twice* passed the Rhine. Julian could boast that, before he assumed the title of Augustus, he had carried the Roman eagles beyond that great river in *three* successful expeditions.<sup>85</sup> The consternation of the Germans after the battle of Strasburg en-

Makes three expeditions beyond the Rhine.  
A.D. 357, 358, 359.

<sup>83</sup> This interesting story, which Zosimus has abridged, is related by Eunapius (in Excerpt. Legationum, p. 15, 16, 17 [edit. Paris; p. 11 seq. edit. Ven.; c. i. p. 41 seq. edit. Bonn]) with all the amplifications of Grecian rhetoric; but the silence of Libanius, of Ammianus, and of Julian himself renders the truth of it extremely suspicious.

<sup>84</sup> Libanius, the friend of Julian, clearly insinuates (Orat. iv. p. 178) that his hero had composed the history of his Gallic campaigns. But Zosimus (l. iii. [c. 2] p. 140) seems to have derived his information only from the Orations (λόγοι) and the Epistles of Julian. The discourse which is addressed to the Athenians contains an accurate though general account of the war against the Germans.

<sup>85</sup> See Ammian. xvii. 1, 10, xviii. 2; and Zosim. l. iii. p. 144. Julian. ad S. P. Q. Athen. p. 280.

couraged him to the first attempt; and the reluctance of the troops soon yielded to the persuasive eloquence of a leader who shared the fatigues and dangers which he imposed on the meanest of the soldiers. The villages on either side of the Main, which were plentifully stored with corn and cattle, felt the ravages of an invading army. The principal houses, constructed with some imitation of Roman elegance, were consumed by the flames; and the Cæsar boldly advanced about ten miles, till his progress was stopped by a dark and impenetrable forest, undermined by subterraneous passages, which threatened with secret snares and ambush every step of the assailant. The ground was already covered with snow; and Julian, after repairing an ancient castle which had been erected by Trajan, granted a truce of ten months to the submissive barbarians. At the expiration of the truce, Julian undertook a second expedition beyond the Rhine, to humble the pride of Surmar and Hortaire, two of the kings of the Alemanni, who had been present at the battle of Strasburg. They promised to restore all the Roman captives who yet remained alive; and as the Cæsar had procured an exact account from the cities and villages of Gaul of the inhabitants whom they had lost, he detected every attempt to deceive him with a degree of readiness and accuracy which almost established the belief of his supernatural knowledge. His third expedition was still more splendid and important than the two former. The Germans had collected their military powers, and moved along the opposite banks of the river with a design of destroying the bridge and of preventing the passage of the Romans. But this judicious plan of defence was disconcerted by a skilful diversion. Three hundred light-armed and active soldiers were detached in forty small boats, to fall down the stream in silence, and to land at some distance from the posts of the enemy. They executed their orders with so much boldness and celerity that they had almost surprised the barbarian chiefs, who returned in the fearless confidence of intoxication from one of their nocturnal festivals. Without repeating the uniform and disgusting tale of slaughter and devastation, it is sufficient to observe that Julian dictated his own conditions of peace to six

of the haughtiest kings of the Alemanni, three of whom were permitted to view the severe discipline and martial pomp of a Roman camp. Followed by twenty thousand captives, whom he had rescued from the chains of the barbarians, the Cæsar repossessed the Rhine, after terminating a war the success of which has been compared to the ancient glories of the Punic and Cimbric victories.

As soon as the valor and conduct of Julian had secured an interval of peace, he applied himself to a work more congenial to his humane and philosophic temper. The cities of Gaul, which had suffered from the inroads of the barbarians, he diligently repaired; and seven important posts, between Mentz and the mouth of the Rhine, are particularly mentioned as having been rebuilt and fortified by the order of Julian.<sup>66</sup> The vanquished Germans had submitted to the just but humiliating condition of preparing and conveying the necessary materials. The active zeal of Julian urged the prosecution of the work; and such was the spirit which he had diffused among the troops that the auxiliaries themselves, waiving their exemption from any duties of fatigue, contended in the most servile labors with the diligence of the Roman soldiers. It was incumbent on the Cæsar to provide for the subsistence as well as for the safety of the inhabitants and of the garrisons. The desertion of the former and the mutiny of the latter must have been the fatal and inevitable consequences of famine. The tillage of the provinces of Gaul had been interrupted by the calamities of war; but the scanty harvests of the Continent were supplied, by his paternal care, from the plenty of the adjacent island. Six hundred large barks, framed in the forest of the Ardennes, made several voyages to the

<sup>66</sup> Ammian. xviii. 2. Libanius, Orat. x. p. 279, 280. Of these seven posts, four are at present towns of some consequence—Bingen, Andernach, Bonn, and Nuyss. The other three—Tricesimæ, Quadriburgium, and Castra Herculis, or Heraclea—no longer subsist; but there is room to believe that on the ground of Quadriburgium the Dutch have constructed the fort of Schenk, a name so offensive to the fastidious delicacy of Boileau. See D'Auvill, Notice de l'Ancienne Gaule, p. 183; Boileau, Épitre iv. and the notes.<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Heraclea, perhaps Erkelens in the district of Juliers. St. Martin, ii. 311.—M.

coast of Britain; and, returning from thence laden with corn, sailed up the Rhine, and distributed their cargoes to the several towns and fortresses along the banks of the river.<sup>87</sup> The arms of Julian had restored a free and secure navigation, which Constantius had offered to purchase at the expense of his dignity and of a tributary present of two thousand pounds of silver. The emperor parsimoniously refused to his soldiers the sums which he granted with a lavish and trembling hand to the barbarians. The dexterity as well as the firmness of Julian was put to a severe trial when he took the field with a discontented army, which had already served two campaigns without receiving any regular pay or any extraordinary donation.<sup>88</sup>

A tender regard for the peace and happiness of his subjects was the ruling principle which directed, or seemed to direct, the administration of Julian.<sup>89</sup> He devoted the leisure of his winter-quarters to the offices of civil government, and affected to assume with more pleasure the character of a magistrate than that of a general. Before he took the field he devolved on the provincial governors most of the public and private causes which had been referred to his tribunal; but, on his return, he carefully revised their proceedings, mitigated the rigor of the law, and pronounced a second judgment on the judges themselves. Superior to the last temptation of virtuous minds, an indiscreet and intemperate zeal for justice, he restrained, with calmness and dignity, the warmth of an advocate who prosecuted, for extortion, the President of the Narbonnese province. "Who will ever be found guilty," exclaimed the vehement Delphidius, "if it be enough

Civil admin-  
istration of  
Julian.

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<sup>87</sup> We may credit Julian himself, *Orat. ad S. P. Q. Atheniensem*, p. 279 seq., who gives a very particular account of the transaction. Zosimus adds two hundred vessels more, l. iii. [c. 5] p. 145. If we computed the six hundred corn-ships of Julian at only seventy tons each, they were capable of exporting 120,000 quarters (see Arbuthnot's *Weights and Measures*, p. 237); and the country which could bear so large an exportation must already have attained an improved state of agriculture.

<sup>88</sup> The troops once broke out into a mutiny, immediately before the second passage of the Rhine. *Ammian.* xvii. 9.

<sup>89</sup> *Ammian.* xvi. 5, xviii. 1. Mamertinus in *Panegy.* *Vet.* xi. 4.



to deny?" "And who," replied Julian, "will ever be innocent if it is sufficient to affirm?" In the general administration of peace and war, the interest of the sovereign is commonly the same as that of his people; but Constantius would have thought himself deeply injured if the virtues of Julian had defrauded him of any part of the tribute which he extorted from an oppressed and exhausted country. The prince, who was invested with the ensigns of royalty, might sometimes presume to correct the rapacious insolence of the inferior agents, to expose their corrupt arts, and to introduce an equal and easier mode of collection. But the management of the finances was more safely intrusted to Florentius, Prætorian Præfect of Gaul, an effeminate tyrant, incapable of pity or remorse; and the haughty minister complained of the most decent and gentle opposition, while Julian himself was rather inclined to censure the weakness of his own behavior. The Cæsar had rejected with abhorrence a mandate for the levy of an extraordinary tax, a new superindiction which the præfect had offered for his signature; and the faithful picture of the public misery, by which he had been obliged to justify his refusal, offended the court of Constantius. We may enjoy the pleasure of reading the sentiments of Julian as he expresses them with warmth and freedom in a letter to one of his most intimate friends. After stating his own conduct, he proceeds in the following terms: "Was it possible for the disciple of Plato and Aristotle to act otherwise than I have done? Could I abandon the unhappy subjects intrusted to my care? Was I not called upon to defend them from the repeated injuries of these unfeeling robbers? A tribune who deserts his post is punished with death and deprived of the honors of burial. With what justice could I pronounce *his* sentence if, in the hour of danger, I myself neglected a duty far more sacred and far more important? God has placed me in this elevated post; his providence will guard and support me. Should I be condemned to suffer, I shall derive comfort from the testimony of a pure and upright conscience. Would to Heaven that I still possessed a counsellor like Sallust! If they think proper to send me a successor, I shall submit without reluctance, and

had much rather improve the short opportunity of doing good than enjoy a long and lasting impunity of evil.”<sup>90</sup> The precarious and dependent situation of Julian displayed his virtues and concealed his defects. The young hero who supported in Gaul the throne of Constantius was not permitted to reform the vices of the government; but he had courage to alleviate or to pity the distress of the people. Unless he had been able to revive the martial spirit of the Romans, or to introduce the arts of industry and refinement among their savage enemies, he could not entertain any rational hopes of securing the public tranquillity, either by the peace or conquest of Germany. Yet the victories of Julian suspended for a short time the inroads of the barbarians and delayed the ruin of the Western empire.

His salutary influence restored the cities of Gaul, which had been so long exposed to the evils of civil discord, barbarian war, and domestic tyranny; and the spirit of industry was revived with the hopes of enjoyment. Agriculture, manufactures, and commerce again flourished under the protection of the laws; and the *curiæ*, or civil corporations, were again filled with useful and respectable members. The youth were no longer apprehensive of marriage, and married persons were no longer apprehensive of posterity; the public and private festivals were celebrated with customary pomp; and the frequent and secure intercourse of the provinces displayed the image of national prosperity.<sup>91</sup> A mind like that of Julian must have felt the general happiness of which he was the author; but he viewed with peculiar satisfaction and complacency the city of Paris, the seat of his winter residence, and the object even of his partial affection.<sup>92</sup> That splendid

<sup>90</sup> Ammian. xvii. 3. Julian. Epistol. xvii. edit. Spanheim. Such a conduct almost justifies the encomium of Mamertinus. “Ita illi anni spatia divisa sunt, ut aut Barbaros domitet, aut civibus jura restituat; perpetuum professus, aut contra hostem, aut contra vitia, certamen.”

<sup>91</sup> Libanius, Orat. Parental. in Imp. Julian. c. 38, in Fabricius Bibliothec. Græc. tom. vii. p. 263, 264.

<sup>92</sup> See Julian, in Misopogon. p. 340, 341. The primitive state of Paris is illustrated by Henry Valesius (ad Ammian. xx. 4), his brother Hadrian Valesius, or De Valois, and M. d’Anville (in their respective Notitias of ancient Gaul), the

capital, which now embraces an ample territory on either side of the Seine, was originally confined to the small island in the midst of the river, from whence the inhabitants derived a supply of pure and salubrious water. The river bathed the foot of the walls, and the town was accessible only by two wooden bridges. A forest overspread the northern side of the Seine; but on the south, the ground which now bears the name of the University was insensibly covered with houses and adorned with a palace and amphitheatre, baths, an aqueduct, and a Field of Mars for the exercise of the Roman troops. The severity of the climate was tempered by the neighborhood of the ocean; and, with some precautions which experience had taught, the vine and fig-tree were successfully cultivated. But in remarkable winters the Seine was deeply frozen; and the huge pieces of ice that floated down the stream might be compared by an Asiatic to the blocks of white marble which were extracted from the quarries of Phrygia. The licentiousness and corruption of Antioch recalled to the memory of Julian the severe and simple manners of his beloved Lutetia,<sup>93</sup> where the amusements of the theatre were unknown or despised. He indignantly contrasted the effeminate Syrians with the brave and honest simplicity of the Gauls, and almost forgave the intemperance which was the only stain of the Celtic character.<sup>94</sup> If Julian could now revisit the capital of France, he might converse with men of science and genius capable of understanding and of instructing a disciple of the Greeks; he might excuse the lively and graceful follies of a nation whose martial spirit has never been enervated by the indulgence of luxury; and he must applaud the perfection of that inestimable art which softens and refines and embellishes the intercourse of social life.

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Abbé de Longuerue (*Description de la France*, tom. i. p. 12, 13), and M. Bonamy (in the *Mém. de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, tom. xv. p. 656-691).

<sup>93</sup> Τὴν φίλην Λευκεσίαν.—Julian. in *Misopogon*. p. 340. Leucetia, or Lutetia, was the ancient name of the city which, according to the fashion of the fourth century, assumed the territorial appellation of *Parisii*.

<sup>94</sup> Julian. in *Misopogon*. p. 359, 360.

## CHAPTER XX.

The Motives, Progress, and Effects of the Conversion of Constantine.—Legal Establishment and Constitution of the Christian or Catholic Church.

THE public establishment of Christianity may be considered as one of those important and domestic revolutions which excite the most lively curiosity and afford the most valuable instruction. The victories and the civil policy of Constantine no longer influence the state of Europe; but a considerable portion of the globe still retains the impression which it received from the conversion of that monarch; and the ecclesiastical institutions of his reign are still connected, by an indissoluble chain, with the opinions, the passions, and the interests of the present generation.

In the consideration of a subject which may be examined with impartiality, but cannot be viewed with indifference, a difficulty immediately arises of a very unexpected nature—that of ascertaining the real and precise date of the conversion of Constantine. The eloquent Lactantius, in the midst of his court, seems impatient<sup>1</sup> to proclaim to the world the glorious example of the sovereign of Gaul, who, in the first moments of his reign, acknowledged and adored the majesty of the true and only God.<sup>2</sup> The learn-

Date of the  
conversion of  
Constantine.

A.D. 306.

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<sup>1</sup> The date of the Divine Institutions of Lactantius has been accurately discussed, difficulties have been started, solutions proposed, and an expedient imagined of two *original* editions—the former published during the persecution of Diocletian, the latter under that of Licinius. See Dufresnoy, *Præfat.* p. v. Tillemont, *Mém. Ecclésiast.* tom. vi. p. 465–470. Lardner's *Credibility*, part ii. vol. vii. p. 78–86. For my own part, I am *almost* convinced that Lactantius dedicated his Institutions to the sovereign of Gaul at a time when Galerius, Maximin, and even Licinius persecuted the Christians; that is, between the years 306 and 311.

<sup>2</sup> Lactant. *Divin. Institut.* i. 1, vii. 26. The first and most important of these passages is indeed wanting in twenty-eight manuscripts, but it is found in nineteen. If we weigh the comparative value of those manuscripts, one of 900 years old, in the



ed Eusebius has ascribed the faith of Constantine to the miraculous sign which was displayed in the heavens whilst he meditated and prepared the Italian expedition.<sup>3</sup>

A.D. 312.

The historian Zosimus maliciously asserts that the emperor had imbrued his hands in the blood of his eldest son

A.D. 326.

before he publicly renounced the gods of Rome and of his ancestors.<sup>4</sup> The perplexity produced by these

discordant authorities is derived from the behavior of Constantine himself. According to the strictness of ecclesiastical

A.D. 337.

language, the first of the *Christian* emperors was unworthy of that name till the moment of his death ;

since it was only during his last illness that he received, as a catechumen, the imposition of hands,<sup>5</sup> and was afterwards ad-

mitted, by the initiatory rites of baptism, into the number of the faithful.<sup>6</sup> The Christianity of Constantine must be al-

lowed in a much more vague and qualified sense ; and the nicest accuracy is required in tracing the slow and almost im-

perceptible gradations by which the monarch declared himself the protector, and at length the proselyte, of the Church. It

King of France's library, may be alleged in its favor ; but the passage is omitted in the correct manuscript of Bologna, which the P. de Montfaucon ascribes to the sixth or seventh century (*Diarium Italic.* p. 409). The taste of most of the editors (except Isæus, see Lactant. edit. Dufresnoy, tom. i. p. 596) has felt the genuine style of Lactantius.

<sup>3</sup> Euseb. in Vit. Constant. l. i. c. 27-32.

<sup>4</sup> Zosimus, l. ii. [c. 29] p. 104.

<sup>5</sup> That rite was *always* used in making a catechumen (see Bingham's *Antiquities*, l. x. c. i. p. 419 ; Dom Chardon, *Hist. des Sacremens*, tom. i. p. 62), and Constantine received it for the *first* time (Euseb. in Vit. Constant. l. iv. c. 61) immediately before his baptism and death. From the connection of these two facts, Valesius (ad loc. Euseb.) has drawn the conclusion which is reluctantly admitted by Tillemont (*Hist. des Empereurs*, tom. iv. p. 628) and opposed with feeble arguments by Mosheim (p. 968).

<sup>6</sup> Euseb. in Vit. Constant. l. iv. c. 61, 62, 63. The legend of Constantine's baptism at Rome, thirteen years before his death, was invented in the eighth century, as a proper motive for his *donation*. Such has been the gradual progress of knowledge that a story of which Cardinal Baronius (*Annal. Ecclesiast.* A.D. 324, No. 43-49) declared himself the unblushing advocate is now feebly supported, even within the verge of the Vatican. See the *Antiquitates Christianæ*, tom. ii. p. 232—a work published with six approbations at Rome, in the year 1751, by Father Mamachi, a learned Dominican.

was an arduous task to eradicate the habits and prejudices of his education, to acknowledge the divine power of Christ, and to understand that the truth of *his* revelation was incompatible with the worship of the gods. The obstacles which he had probably experienced in his own mind instructed him to proceed with caution in the momentous change of a national religion; and he insensibly discovered his new opinions, as far as he could enforce them with safety and with effect. During the whole course of his reign, the stream of Christianity flowed with a gentle though accelerated motion; but its general direction was sometimes checked, and sometimes diverted, by the accidental circumstances of the times, and by the prudence, or possibly by the caprice, of the monarch. His ministers were permitted to signify the intentions of their master in the various language which was best adapted to their respective principles;<sup>7</sup> and he artfully balanced the hopes and fears of his subjects by publishing in the same year two edicts, the first of which enjoined the solemn observance of Sunday,<sup>8</sup> and the second directed the regular consultation of the Aruspices.<sup>9</sup> While this important revolution yet remained in suspense, the Christians and the pagans watched the conduct of their sovereign with the same anxiety, but with very opposite sentiments. The former were prompted by every motive of zeal as well as vanity to exaggerate the marks of his favor and the evidences of his faith. The latter, till their just apprehensions were changed into despair and resentment, attempted to conceal from the world and from themselves that the gods of

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<sup>7</sup> The quæstor, or secretary, who composed the law of the Theodosian Code, makes his master say with indifference, “*hominibus supra dictæ religionis*” (l. xvi. tit. ii. leg. 1). The minister of ecclesiastical affairs was allowed a more devout and respectful style, *τῆς ἐνθέσμου καὶ ἀγιωτάτης καθολικῆς θρησκείας*; the legal, most holy, and Catholic worship. See Euseb. Hist. Eccles. l. x. c. 6.

<sup>8</sup> Cod. Theodos. l. ii. tit. viii. leg. 1. Cod. Justinian. l. iii. tit. xii. leg. 3. Constantine styles the Lord's day *dies solis*, a name which could not offend the ears of his pagan subjects.

<sup>9</sup> Cod. Theodos. l. xvi. tit. x. leg. 1. Godefroy, in the character of a commentator, endeavors (tom. vi. p. 257) to excuse Constantine; but the more zealous Baronius (Annal. Eccles. A.D. 321, No. 18) censures his profane conduct with **truth and asperity**.

Rome could no longer reckon the emperor in the number of their votaries. The same passions and prejudices have engaged the partial writers of the times to connect the public profession of Christianity with the most glorious or the most ignominious era of the reign of Constantine.

Whatever symptoms of Christian piety might transpire in the discourses or actions of Constantine, he persevered till he was near forty years of age in the practice of the established religion;<sup>10</sup> and the same conduct which in the court of Nicomedia might be imputed to his fear could be ascribed only to the inclination or policy of the sovereign of Gaul. His liberality restored and enriched the temples of the gods; the medals which issued from his imperial mint are impressed with the figures and attributes of Jupiter and Apollo, of Mars and Hercules; and his filial piety increased the council of Olympus by the solemn apotheosis of his father Constantius.<sup>11</sup> But the devotion of Constantine was more peculiarly directed to the genius of the Sun, the Apollo of Greek and Roman mythology; and he was pleased to be represented with the symbols of the God of Light and Poetry. The unerring shafts of that deity, the brightness of his eyes, his laurel wreath, immortal beauty, and elegant accomplishments seem to point him out as the patron of a young hero. The altars of Apollo were crowned with the votive offerings of Constantine; and the credulous multitude were taught to believe that the emperor was permitted to behold with mortal eyes the visible majesty of their tutelar deity; and that, either waking or in a vision, he was blessed with the auspicious omens of a long and victorious reign. The Sun was universally celebrated

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<sup>10</sup> Theodoret (l. i. c. 18) seems to insinuate that Helena gave her son a Christian education; but we may be assured, from the superior authority of Eusebius (in Vit. Constant. l. iii. c. 47), that she herself was indebted to Constantine for the knowledge of Christianity.

<sup>11</sup> See the medals of Constantine in Ducange and Banduri. As few cities had retained the privilege of coining, almost all the medals of that age issued from the mint under the sanction of the imperial authority.\*

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\* Eckhel, Doctrin. Num. vol. viii.—M.

as the invincible guide and protector of Constantine; and the pagans might reasonably expect that the insulted god would pursue with unrelenting vengeance the impiety of his ungrateful favorite.<sup>12</sup>

As long as Constantine exercised a limited sovereignty over the provinces of Gaul, his Christian subjects were protected by the authority, and perhaps by the laws, of a prince who wisely left to the gods the care of vindicating their own honor. If we may credit the assertion of Constantine himself, he had been an indignant spectator of the savage cruelties which were inflicted by the hands of Roman soldiers on those citizens whose religion was their only crime.<sup>13</sup> In the East and in the West he had seen the different effects of severity and indulgence; and, as the former was rendered still more odious by the example of Galerius, his implacable enemy, the latter was recommended to his imitation by the authority and advice of a dying father. The son of Constantius immediately suspended or repealed the edicts of persecution, and granted the free exercise of their religious ceremonies to all those who had already professed themselves members of the Church. They were soon encouraged to depend on the favor as well as on the justice of their sovereign, who had imbibed a secret and sincere reverence for the name of Christ and for the God of the Christians.<sup>14</sup>

Edict of  
Milan.  
A.D. 313.  
March.

About five months after the conquest of Italy, the emperor made a solemn and authentic declaration of his sentiments by the celebrated edict of Milan, which restored peace to the Catholic Church. In the person

<sup>12</sup> The panegyric of Eumenius (vii. [vi.] inter Panegy. Vet.), which was pronounced a few months before the Italian war, abounds with the most unexceptionable evidence of the pagan superstition of Constantine, and of his particular veneration for Apollo, or the Sun, to which Julian alludes (Orat. vii. p. 228, ἀπολείπων σέ). See Commentaire de Spanheim sur les Césars, p. 317.

<sup>13</sup> Constantin. Orat. ad Sanctos, c. 25. But it might easily be shown that the Greek translator has improved the sense of the Latin original; and the aged emperor might recollect the persecution of Diocletian with a more lively abhorrence than he had actually felt in the days of his youth and paganism.

<sup>14</sup> See Euseb. Hist. Eccles. l. viii. 13, l. ix. 9; and in Vit. Const. l. i. c. 16, 17. Lactant. Divin. Institut. i. 1. Cæcilius de Mort. Persecut. c. 25.



al interview of the two Western princes, Constantine, by the ascendant of genius and power, obtained the ready concurrence of his colleague, Licinius; the union of their names and authority disarmed the fury of Maximin; and, after the death of the tyrant of the East, the edict of Milan was received as a general and fundamental law of the Roman world.<sup>16</sup>

The wisdom of the emperors provided for the restitution of all the civil and religious rights of which the Christians had been so unjustly deprived. It was enacted that the places of worship and public lands which had been confiscated should be restored to the Church, without dispute, without delay, and without expense; and this severe injunction was accompanied with a gracious promise that if any of the purchasers had paid a fair and adequate price, they should be indemnified from the imperial treasury. The salutary regulations which guard the future tranquillity of the faithful are framed on the principles of enlarged and equal toleration; and such an equality must have been interpreted by a recent sect as an advantageous and honorable distinction. The two emperors proclaim to the world that they have granted a free and absolute power to the Christians, and to all others, of following the religion which each individual thinks proper to prefer, to which he has addicted his mind, and which he may deem the best adapted to his own use. They carefully explain every ambiguous word, remove every exception, and exact from the governors of the provinces a strict obedience to the true and simple meaning of an edict which was designed to establish and secure, without any limitation, the claims of religious liberty. They condescend to assign two weighty reasons which have induced them to allow this universal toleration—the humane intention of consulting the peace and happiness of their people, and the pious hope that by such a conduct they shall appease and propitiate the *Deity*, whose seat is in heaven. They gratefully acknowledge the many signal proofs which they have received

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<sup>16</sup> Cæcilius (de Mort. Persecut. c. 48) has preserved the Latin original; and Eusebius (Hist. Eccles. l. x. c. 5) has given a Greek translation of this perpetual edict, which refers to some provisional regulations.

of the divine favor; and they trust that the same Providence will forever continue to protect the prosperity of the prince and people. From these vague and indefinite expressions of piety three suppositions may be deduced, of a different, but not of an incompatible nature. The mind of Constantine might fluctuate between the pagan and the Christian religion. According to the loose and complying notions of polytheism, he might acknowledge the God of the Christians as *one* of the *many* deities who compose the hierarchy of heaven. Or perhaps he might embrace the philosophic and pleasing idea that, notwithstanding the variety of names, of rites, and of opinions, all the sects and all the nations of mankind are united in the worship of the common Father and Creator of the universe.<sup>16</sup>

But the counsels of princes are more frequently influenced by views of temporal advantage than by considerations of abstract and speculative truth. The partial and increasing favor of Constantine may naturally be referred to the esteem which he entertained for the moral character of the Christians, and to a persuasion that the propagation of the Gospel would inculcate the practice of private and public virtue. Whatever latitude an absolute monarch may assume in his own conduct, whatever indulgence he may claim for his own passions, it is undoubtedly his interest that all his subjects should respect the natural and civil obligations of society. But the operation of the wisest laws is imperfect and precarious. They seldom inspire virtue, they cannot always restrain vice. Their power is insufficient to prohibit all that they condemn, nor can they always punish the actions which they prohibit. The legislators of antiquity had summoned to their aid the powers of education and of opinion. But every principle which had once maintained the vig-

Use and  
beauty of  
the Christian  
morality.

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<sup>16</sup> A panegyric of Constantine, pronounced seven or eight months after the edict of Milan (see Gothofred. Chronolog. Legum, p. 7; and Tillemont, Hist. des Empereurs, tom. iv. p. 246), uses the following remarkable expression: "Summe rerum sator, cujus tot nomina sunt, quot linguas gentium esse voluisti, quem enim te ipse dici velis, scire non possumus" (Panegy. Vet. ix. [viii.] 26). In explaining Constantine's progress in the faith, Mosheim (p. 971, etc.) is ingenious, subtle, prolix.

or and purity of Rome and Sparta was long since extinguished in a declining and despotic empire. Philosophy still exercised her temperate sway over the human mind, but the cause of virtue derived very feeble support from the influence of the pagan superstition. Under these discouraging circumstances a prudent magistrate might observe with pleasure the progress of a religion which diffused among the people a pure, benevolent, and universal system of ethics, adapted to every duty and every condition of life, recommended as the will and reason of the supreme Deity, and enforced by the sanction of eternal rewards or punishments. The experience of Greek and Roman history could not inform the world how far the system of national manners might be reformed and improved by the precepts of a divine revelation; and Constantine might listen with some confidence to the flattering, and indeed reasonable, assurances of Lactantius. The eloquent apologist seemed firmly to expect, and almost ventured to promise, *that* the establishment of Christianity would restore the innocence and felicity of the primitive age; *that* the worship of the true God would extinguish war and dissension among those who mutually considered themselves as the children of a common parent; *that* every impure desire, every angry or selfish passion, would be restrained by the knowledge of the Gospel; and *that* the magistrates might sheathe the sword of justice among a people who would be universally actuated by the sentiments of truth and piety, of equity and moderation, of harmony and universal love.<sup>17</sup>

The passive and unresisting obedience which bows under the yoke of authority, or even of oppression, must have appeared in the eyes of an absolute monarch the most conspicuous and useful of the evangelic virtues.<sup>18</sup>

The primitive Christians derived the institution of civil government, not from the consent of the people, but from

Theory and  
practice of  
passive obe-  
dience.

<sup>17</sup> See the elegant description of Lactantius (Divin. Institut. v. 8), who is much more perspicuous and positive than becomes a discreet prophet.

<sup>18</sup> The political system of the Christians is explained by Grotius, de Jure Belli et Pacis, l. i. c. 3, 4. Grotius was a republican and an exile, but the mildness of his temper inclined him to support the established powers.

the decrees of Heaven. The reigning emperor, though he had usurped the sceptre by treason and murder, immediately assumed the sacred character of vicegerent of the Deity. To the Deity alone he was accountable for the abuse of his power; and his subjects were indissolubly bound by their oath of fidelity to a tyrant who had violated every law of nature and society. The humble Christians were sent into the world as sheep among wolves; and since they were not permitted to employ force even in the defence of their religion, they should be still more criminal if they were tempted to shed the blood of their fellow-creatures in disputing the vain privileges or the sordid possessions of this transitory life. Faithful to the doctrine of the apostle who in the reign of Nero had preached the duty of unconditional submission, the Christians of the three first centuries preserved their conscience pure and innocent of the guilt of secret conspiracy or open rebellion. While they experienced the rigor of persecution, they were never provoked either to meet their tyrants in the field or indignantly to withdraw themselves into some remote and sequestered corner of the globe.<sup>19</sup> The Protestants of France, of Germany, and of Britain, who asserted with such intrepid courage their civil and religious freedom, have been insulted by the invidious comparison between the conduct of the primitive and of the reformed Christians.<sup>20</sup> Perhaps, instead of censure, some applause may be due to the superior sense and spirit of our ancestors, who had convinced themselves that religion cannot abolish the unalienable rights of human nature."

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<sup>19</sup> Tertullian, *Apolog.* c. 32, 34, 35, 36. *Tamen nunquam Albiniani, nec Nigriani vel Cassiani inveniri potuerunt Christiani.*—*Ad Scapulam*, c. 2. If this assertion be strictly true, it excludes the Christians of that age from all civil and military employments, which would have compelled them to take an active part in the service of their respective governors. See Moyle's Works, vol. ii. p. 349.

<sup>20</sup> See the artful Bossuet (*Hist. des Variations des Églises Protestantes*, tom. iii. p. 210–258), and the malicious Bayle (tom. ii. p. 620). I name Bayle, for he was certainly the author of the *Avis aux Réfugiés*; consult the *Dictionnaire Critique de Chauffepié*, tom. i. part ii. p. 145.

<sup>21</sup> Buchanan is the earliest, or at least the most celebrated, of the reformers who justified the theory of resistance. See his *Dialogus de Jure Regni apud Scotos*, tom. ii. p. 28, 30, edit. fol. Ruddiman.



Perhaps the patience of the primitive Church may be ascribed to its weakness as well as to its virtue. A sect of unwarlike plebeians, without leaders, without arms, without fortifications, must have encountered inevitable destruction in a rash and fruitless resistance to the master of the Roman legions. But the Christians, when they deprecated the wrath of Diocletian or solicited the favor of Constantine, could allege, with truth and confidence, that they held the principle of passive obedience, and that, in the space of three centuries, their conduct had always been conformable to their principles. They might add that the throne of the emperors would be established on a fixed and permanent basis if all their subjects, embracing the Christian doctrine, should learn to suffer and to obey.

In the general order of Providence, princes and tyrants are considered as the ministers of Heaven, appointed to rule or to chastise the nations of the earth. But sacred history affords many illustrious examples of the more immediate interposition of the Deity in the government of his chosen people. The sceptre and the sword were committed to the hands of Moses, of Joshua, of Gideon, of David, of the Maccabees; the virtues of those heroes were the motive or the effect of the divine favor; the success of their arms was destined to achieve the deliverance or the triumph of the Church. If the judges of Israel were occasional and temporary magistrates, the kings of Judah derived from the royal unction of their great ancestor an hereditary and indefeasible right, which could not be forfeited by their own vices, nor recalled by the caprice of their subjects. The same extraordinary providence, which was no longer confined to the Jewish people, might elect Constantine and his family as the protectors of the Christian world; and the devout Lactantius announces, in a prophetic tone, the future glories of his long and universal reign.<sup>22</sup> Galerius and Maximin, Maxentius

Divine right  
of Constan-  
tine.

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<sup>22</sup> Lactant. *Divin. Institut.* l. i. c. 1. Eusebius, in the course of his History, his Life, and his Oration, repeatedly inculcates the divine right of Constantine to the empire.

and Licinius, were the rivals who shared with the favorite of Heaven the provinces of the empire. The tragic deaths of Galerius and Maximin soon gratified the resentment and fulfilled the sanguine expectations of the Christians. The success of Constantine against Maxentius and Licinius removed the two formidable competitors who still opposed the triumph of the second David, and his cause might seem to claim the peculiar interposition of Providence. The character of the Roman tyrant disgraced the purple and human nature; and though the Christians might enjoy his precarious favor, they were exposed, with the rest of his subjects, to the effects of his wanton and capricious cruelty. The conduct of Licinius soon betrayed the reluctance with which he had consented to the wise and humane regulations of the edict of Milan. The convocation of provincial synods was prohibited in his dominions; his Christian officers were ignominiously dismissed; and if he avoided the guilt, or rather danger, of a general persecution, his partial oppressions were rendered still more odious by the violation of a solemn and voluntary engagement.” While the East, according to the lively expression of Eusebius, was involved in the shades of infernal darkness, the auspicious rays of celestial light warmed and illuminated the provinces of the West. The piety of Constantine was admitted as an unexceptionable proof of the justice of his arms; and his use of victory confirmed the opinion of the Christians that their hero was inspired and conducted by the Lord of Hosts. The conquest of Italy produced a general edict of toleration; and as soon as the defeat of Licinius had invested Constantine with the sole dominion of the Roman world, he immediately, by circular letters, exhorted all his subjects to imitate, without delay, the example of their sovereign, and to embrace the divine truth of Christianity.”

A.D. 324.

The assurance that the elevation of Constantine was inti-

<sup>23</sup> Our imperfect knowledge of the persecution of Licinius is derived from Eusebius (*Hist. Eccles.* l. x. c. 8; *Vit. Constantin.* l. i. c. 49–56, l. ii. c. 1, 2). Aurelius Victor mentions his cruelty in general terms.

<sup>24</sup> Euseb. in *Vit. Constant.* l. ii. c. 24–42, 48–60.

mately connected with the designs of Providence instilled into the minds of the Christians two opinions, which, by the Loyalty and zeal of the Christian party. very different means, assisted the accomplishment of the prophecy. Their warm and active loyalty exhausted in his favor every resource of human industry; and they confidently expected that their strenuous efforts would be seconded by some divine and miraculous aid. The enemies of Constantine have imputed to interested motives the alliance which he insensibly contracted with the Catholic Church, and which apparently contributed to the success of his ambition. In the beginning of the fourth century the Christians still bore a very inadequate proportion to the inhabitants of the empire; but among a degenerate people, who viewed the change of masters with the indifference of slaves, the spirit and union of a religious party might assist the popular leader, to whose service, from a principle of conscience, they had devoted their lives and fortunes.<sup>26</sup> The example of his father had instructed Constantine to esteem and to reward the merit of the Christians; and in the distribution of public offices he had the advantage of strengthening his government by the choice of ministers or generals in whose fidelity he could repose a just and unreserved confidence. By the influence of these dignified missionaries, the proselytes of the new faith must have multiplied in the court and army. The barbarians of Germany, who filled the ranks of the legions, were of a careless temper, which acquiesced without resistance in the religion of their commander; and when they passed the Alps, it may fairly be presumed that a great number of the soldiers had already consecrated their swords to the service of Christ and of Constantine.<sup>26</sup> The habits of mankind and the interest

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<sup>26</sup> In the beginning of the last century, the Papists of England were only a *thirtieth*, and the Protestants of France only a *fifteenth*, part of the respective nations to whom their spirit and power were a constant object of apprehension. See the relations which Bentivoglio (who was then nuncio at Brussels, and afterwards cardinal) transmitted to the court of Rome (*Relazione*, tom. ii. p. 211, 241). Bentivoglio was curious, well-informed, but somewhat partial.

<sup>26</sup> This careless temper of the Germans appears almost uniformly in the history of the conversion of each of the tribes. The legions of Constantine were recruit-

of religion gradually abated the horror of war and bloodshed which had so long prevailed among the Christians; and in the councils which were assembled under the gracious protection of Constantine the authority of the bishops was seasonably employed to ratify the obligation of the military oath, and to inflict the penalty of excommunication on those soldiers who threw away their arms during the peace of the Church.<sup>27</sup> While Constantine in his own dominions increased the number and zeal of his faithful adherents, he could depend on the support of a powerful faction in those provinces which were still possessed or usurped by his rivals. A secret disaffection was diffused among the Christian subjects of Maxentius and Licinius; and the resentment which the latter did not attempt to conceal served only to engage them still more deeply in the interest of his competitor. The regular correspondence which connected the bishops of the most distant provinces enabled them freely to communicate their wishes and their designs, and to transmit without danger any useful intelligence, or any pious contributions, which might promote the service of Constantine, who publicly declared that he had taken up arms for the deliverance of the Church.<sup>28</sup>

The enthusiasm which inspired the troops, and perhaps the emperor himself, had sharpened their swords while it satisfied their conscience. They marched to battle with the full assurance that the same God who had formerly opened a passage to the Israelites through the waters of Jordan, and had thrown down the walls of Jericho at the sound of the trumpets of Joshua, would display his visi-

Expectation  
and belief of  
a miracle.

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ed with Germans (Zosimus, l. ii. [c. 15] p. 86); and the court even of his father had been filled with Christians. See the first book of the Life of Constantine by Eusebius.

<sup>27</sup> De his qui arma projiciunt in pace, placuit eos abstinere a communione.—Concil. Arelat. Canon iii. The best critics apply these words to the *peace of the Church*.

<sup>28</sup> Eusebius always considers the second civil war against Licinius as a sort of religious crusade. At the invitation of the tyrant, some Christian officers had resumed their *zones*; or, in other words, had returned to the military service. Their conduct was afterwards censured by the twelfth canon of the Council of Nice, if this particular application may be received, instead of the loose and general sense of the Greek interpreters Balsamon, Zonaras, and Alexis Aristenus. See Beveridge, Pandect. Eccles. Græc. tom. i. p. 72, tom. ii. p. 78, Annotation.



ble majesty and power in the victory of Constantine. The evidence of ecclesiastical history is prepared to affirm that their expectations were justified by the conspicuous miracle to which the conversion of the first Christian emperor has been almost unanimously ascribed. The real or imaginary cause of so important an event deserves and demands the attention of posterity; and I shall endeavor to form a just estimate of the famous vision of Constantine by a distinct consideration of the *standard*, the *dream*, and the *celestial sign*, by separating the historical, the natural, and the marvellous parts of this extraordinary story, which, in the composition of a specious argument, have been artfully confounded in one splendid and brittle mass.

I. An instrument of the tortures which were inflicted only on slaves and strangers became an object of horror in the eyes of a Roman citizen; and the ideas of guilt, of pain, and of ignominy were closely united with the idea of the cross.<sup>29</sup> The piety rather than the humanity of Constantine soon abolished in his dominions the punishment which the Saviour of mankind had condescended to suffer;<sup>30</sup> but the emperor had already learned to despise the prejudices of his education and of his people before he could erect in the midst of Rome his own statue bearing a cross in its right hand with an inscription which referred the victory of his arms and the deliverance of Rome to the virtue of that salutary sign, the true symbol of force and courage.<sup>31</sup> The

The *Labarum*, or standard of the cross.

<sup>29</sup> Nomen ipsum *crucis* absit non modo a corpore civium Romanorum, sed etiam a cogitatione, oculis, auribus.—Cicero pro Rabirio, c. 5. The Christian writers Justin, Minucius Felix, Tertullian, Jerome, and Maximus of Turin have investigated with tolerable success the figure or likeness of a cross in almost every object of nature or art; in the intersection of the meridian and equator, the human face, a bird flying, a man swimming, a mast and yard, a plough, a *standard*, etc., etc., etc. See Lipsius de Cruce, l. i. c. 9.

<sup>30</sup> See Aurelius Victor [de Cæsar. c. 41], who considers this law as one of the examples of Constantine's piety. An edict so honorable to Christianity deserved a place in the Theodosian Code, instead of the indirect mention of it which seems to result from the comparison of the fifth and eighteenth titles of the ninth book.

<sup>31</sup> Eusebius in Vit. Constantin. l. i. c. 40. This statue, or at least the cross and inscription, may be ascribed with more probability to the second, or even the third, visit of Constantine to Rome. Immediately after the defeat of Maxentius, the minds of the senate and people were scarcely ripe for this public monument.

same symbol sanctified the arms of the soldiers of Constantine: the cross glittered on their helmet, was engraved on their shields, was interwoven into their banners; and the consecrated emblems which adorned the person of the emperor himself were distinguished only by richer materials and more exquisite workmanship.<sup>32</sup> But the principal standard which displayed the triumph of the cross was styled the *Labarum*<sup>33</sup>—an obscure though celebrated name, which has been vainly derived from almost all the languages of the world. It is described<sup>34</sup> as a long pike intersected by a transversal beam. The silken veil which hung down from the beam was curiously inwrought with the images of the reigning monarch and his children. The summit of the pike supported a crown of gold which enclosed the mysterious monogram at once expressive of the figure of the cross and the initial letters of the name of Christ.<sup>35</sup> The safety of the Labarum was intrusted to fifty guards of approved valor and fidelity; their station was marked by honors and emoluments; and some fortunate acci-

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Agnoscas, regina, libens mea signa necesse est;  
In quibus effigies *crucis* aut gemmata refulget  
Aut longis solido ex auro præfertur in hastis.  
Hoc signo invictus, transmissis Alpibus ultor  
Servitium solvit miserabile Constantinus.

Christus *purpureum* gemmanti textus in auro  
Signabat *Labarum*, clipeorum insignia Christus  
Scripserat; ardebat summis *crux* addita cristis.

Prudent. in Symmachum, l. i. 464, 486.

<sup>33</sup> The derivation and meaning of the word *Labarum* or *Laborum*, which is employed by Gregory Nazianzen, Ambrose, Prudentius, etc., still remain totally unknown, in spite of the efforts of the critics, who have ineffectually tortured the Latin, Greek, Spanish, Celtic, Teutonic, Illyric, Armenian, etc., in search of an etymology. See Ducange in Gloss. Med. et Infim. Latinitat. sub voce *Labarum*, and Godefroy, ad Cod. Theodos. tom. ii. p. 143.

<sup>34</sup> Euseb. in Vit. Constantin. l. i. c. 30, 34. Baronius (Annal. Eccles. A.D. 312, No. 26) has engraved a representation of the Labarum.

<sup>35</sup> Transversâ X literâ, summo capite circumflexo, Christum in scutis notat. Cæcilius de M. P. c. 44. Cupér (ad M. P. in edit. Lactant. tom. ii. p. 500) and Baronius (A.D. 312, No. 25) have engraved from ancient monuments several specimens—as thus,  or —of these monograms, which became extremely fashionable in the Christian world.

dents soon introduced an opinion that as long as the guards of the Labarum were engaged in the execution of their office they were secure and invulnerable amidst the darts of the enemy. In the second civil war, Licinius felt and dreaded the power of this consecrated banner, the sight of which in the distress of battle animated the soldiers of Constantine with an invincible enthusiasm, and scattered terror and dismay through the ranks of the adverse legions.<sup>36</sup> The Christian emperors, who respected the example of Constantine, displayed in all their military expeditions the standard of the cross; but when the degenerate successors of Theodosius had ceased to appear in person at the head of their armies, the Labarum was deposited as a venerable but useless relic in the palace of Constantinople.<sup>37</sup> Its honors are still preserved on the medals of the Flavian family. Their grateful devotion has placed the monogram of Christ in the midst of the ensigns of Rome. The solemn epithets of safety of the republic, glory of the army, restoration of public happiness, are equally applied to the religious and military trophies; and there is still extant a medal of the emperor Constantius, where the standard of the Labarum is accompanied with these memorable words, "BY THIS SIGN THOU SHALT CONQUER."<sup>38</sup>

II. In all occasions of danger or distress, it was the practice of the primitive Christians to fortify their minds and bodies by the sign of the cross, which they used in all their ecclesiastical rites, in all the daily occurrences of life, as an infallible preservative against every species of spiritual

The dream of  
Constantine.

<sup>36</sup> Euseb. in Vit. Constantin. l. ii. c. 7, 8, 9. He introduces the Labarum before the Italian expedition; but his narrative seems to indicate that it was never shown at the head of an army till Constantine, above ten years afterwards, declared himself the enemy of Licinius and the deliverer of the Church.

<sup>37</sup> See Cod. Theod. l. vi. tit. xxv. Sozomen, l. i. c. 2 [c. 4]. Theophan. Chronograph. p. 11. Theophanes lived towards the end of the eighth century, almost five hundred years after Constantine. The modern Greeks were not inclined to display in the field the standard of the empire and of Christianity; and though they depended on every superstitious hope of *defence*, the promise of *victory* would have appeared too bold a fiction.

<sup>38</sup> The Abbé du Voisin, p. 103, etc., alleges several of these medals, and quotes a particular dissertation of a Jesuit, the Père de Grainville, on this subject.

or temporal evil.<sup>39</sup> The authority of the Church might alone have had sufficient weight to justify the devotion of Constantine, who, in the same prudent and gradual progress, acknowledged the truth and assumed the symbol of Christianity. But the testimony of a contemporary writer, who in a formal treatise has avenged the cause of religion, bestows on the piety of the emperor a more awful and sublime character. He affirms with the most perfect confidence that in the night which preceded the last battle against Maxentius, Constantine was admonished in a dream<sup>a</sup> to inscribe the shields of his soldiers with the *celestial sign of God*, the sacred monogram of the name of Christ; that he executed the commands of Heaven; and that his valor and obedience were rewarded by the decisive victory of the Milvian bridge. Some considerations might perhaps incline a sceptical mind to suspect the judgment or the veracity of the rhetorician whose pen, either from zeal or interest, was devoted to the cause of the prevailing faction.<sup>40</sup> He appears to have published his Deaths of the Persecutors at Nicomedia about three years after the Roman victory; but the interval of a thousand miles and a thousand days will allow an ample latitude for the invention of declaimers, the credulity of party, and the tacit approbation of the emper-

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<sup>39</sup> Tertullian. de Coronâ, c. 3. Athanasius, tom. i. p. 101 [p. 89. edit. Bened. 1698; de Incarn. Verbi Dei, c. 48]. The learned Jesuit Petavius (Dogmata Theolog. l. xv. c. 9, 10) has collected many similar passages on the virtues of the cross, which in the last age embarrassed our Protestant disputants.

<sup>40</sup> Cæcilius de M. P. c. 44. It is certain that this historical declamation was composed and published while Licinius, sovereign of the East, still preserved the friendship of Constantine and of the Christians. Every reader of taste must perceive that the style is of a very different and inferior character to that of Lactantius; and such, indeed, is the judgment of Le Clerc and Lardner (Bibliothèque Ancienne et Moderne, tom. iii. p. 438; Credibility of the Gospel, etc., part ii. vol. vii. p. 94). Three arguments from the title of the book, and from the names of Donatus and Cæcilius, are produced by the advocates for Lactantius (see the P. Lestocq, tom. ii. p. 46-60). Each of these proofs is singly weak and defective, but their concurrence has great weight. I have often fluctuated, and shall *tamely* follow the Colbert MS. in calling the author (whoever he was) Cæcilius.<sup>b</sup>

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<sup>a</sup> Manso has observed that Gibbon ought not to have separated the vision of Constantine from the wonderful apparition in the sky, as the two wonders are closely connected in Eusebius. Manso, Leben Constantins, p. 82.—M.

<sup>b</sup> See Editor's note, vol. ii. p. 15.—S.



or himself, who might listen without indignation to a marvellous tale which exalted his fame and promoted his designs. In favor of Licinius, who still dissembled his animosity to the Christians, the same author has provided a similar vision, of a form of prayer which was communicated by an angel, and repeated by the whole army before they engaged the legions of the tyrant Maximin.<sup>41</sup> The frequent repetition of miracles serves to provoke where it does not subdue the reason of mankind; but if the dream of Constantine is separately considered, it may be naturally explained either by the policy or the enthusiasm of the emperor. Whilst his anxiety for the approaching day which must decide the fate of the empire was suspended by a short and interrupted slumber, the venerable form of Christ and the well-known symbol of his religion might forcibly offer themselves to the active fancy of a prince who revered the name and had perhaps secretly explored the power of the God of the Christians. As readily might a consummate statesman indulge himself in the use of one of those military stratagems, one of those pious frauds, which Philip and Sertorius had employed with such art and effect.<sup>42</sup> The preternatural origin of dreams was universally admitted by the nations of antiquity, and a considerable part of the Gallic army was already prepared to place their confidence in the salutary sign of the Christian religion. The secret vision of Constantine could be disproved only by the event; and the intrepid hero who had passed the Alps and the Ap-

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<sup>41</sup> Cæcilus de M. P. c. 46. There seems to be some reason in the observation of M. de Voltaire (*Cœuvres*, tom. xiv. p. 307), who ascribes to the success of Constantine the superior fame of his Labarum above the angel of Licinius. Yet even this angel is favorably entertained by Pagi, Tillemont, Fleury, etc., who are fond of increasing their stock of miracles.

<sup>42</sup> Besides these well-known examples, Tollius (preface to Boileau's translation of Longinus) has discovered a vision of Antigonus, who assured his troops that he had seen a pentagon (the symbol of safety) with these words: "In this conquer." But Tollius has most inexcusably omitted to produce his authority; and his own character, literary as well as moral, is not free from reproach (see *Chauffepié*, *Dictionnaire Critique*, tom. iv. p. 460). Without insisting on the silence of Diodorus, Plutarch, Justin, etc., it may be observed that Polyænus, who in a separate chapter (l. iv. c. 6) has collected nineteen military stratagems of Antigonus, is totally ignorant of this remarkable vision.

ennine might view with careless despair the consequences of a defeat under the walls of Rome. The senate and people, exulting in their own deliverance from an odious tyrant, acknowledged that the victory of Constantine surpassed the powers of man, without daring to insinuate that it had been obtained by the protection of the *gods*. The triumphal arch which was erected about three years after the event proclaims in ambiguous language that, by the greatness of his own mind and by an *instinct* or impulse of the Divinity, he had saved and avenged the Roman republic.<sup>43</sup> The pagan orator, who had seized an earlier opportunity of celebrating the virtues of the conqueror, supposes that he alone enjoyed a secret and intimate commerce with the Supreme Being, who delegated the care of mortals to his subordinate deities; and thus assigns a very plausible reason why the subjects of Constantine should not presume to embrace the new religion of their sovereign.<sup>44</sup>

III. The philosopher who with calm suspicion examines the dreams and omens, the miracles and prodigies, of profane or even of ecclesiastical history will probably conclude that if the eyes of the spectators have sometimes been deceived by fraud, the understanding of the readers has much more frequently been insulted by fiction. Every event or appearance or accident which seems to deviate from the ordinary course of nature has been rashly ascribed to the immediate action of the Deity; and the astonished fancy of the multitude has sometimes given shape and color, language and motion, to the fleeting but uncommon meteors of the air.<sup>45</sup> Nazarius and Eusebius are the two most

Appearance  
of a cross in  
the sky.

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<sup>43</sup> *Instinctu Divinitatis, mentis magnitudine.* The inscription on the triumphal arch of Constantine, which has been copied by Baronius, Gruter, etc., may still be perused by every curious traveller.

<sup>44</sup> *Habes profecto aliquid cum illâ mente Divinâ secretum; quæ delegatâ nostrâ Diis Minoribus curâ uni se tibi dignatur ostendere.*—Panegy. Vet. ix. [viii.] 2.

<sup>45</sup> M. Freret (*Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, tom. iv. p. 411–437) explains by physical causes many of the prodigies of antiquity; and Fabricius, who is abused by both parties, vainly tries to introduce the celestial cross of Constantine among the solar halos. *Bibliothec. Græc.* tom. vi. p. 8–29.<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup> The great difficulty in resolving it into a natural phenomenon arises from the

celebrated orators who in studied panegyrics have labored to exalt the glory of Constantine. Nine years after

A.D. 321.

the Roman victory, Nazarius<sup>46</sup> describes an army of divine warriors who seemed to fall from the sky; he marks their beauty, their spirit, their gigantic forms, the stream of light which beamed from their celestial armor, their patience in suffering themselves to be heard as well as seen by mortals, and their declaration that they were sent, that they flew, to the assistance of the great Constantine. For the truth of this prodigy the pagan orator appeals to the whole Gallic nation, in whose presence he was then speaking; and seems to hope that the ancient apparitions<sup>47</sup> would now obtain credit from

this recent and public event. The Christian fable

A.D. 338.

of Eusebius, which in the space of twenty-six years might arise from the original dream, is cast in a much more correct and elegant mould. In one of the marches of Constantine he is reported to have seen with his own eyes the luminous trophy of the cross, placed above the meridian sun and inscribed with the following words: "BY THIS CONQUER." This amazing object in the sky astonished the whole army as well as the emperor himself, who was yet undetermined in the choice of a religion; but his astonishment was converted into faith by the vision of the ensuing night. Christ appeared before his eyes; and, displaying the same celestial sign of the cross, he directed Constantine to frame a similar standard, and to march with an assurance of victory against Maxentius and all

<sup>46</sup> Nazarius inter Panegyri. Vet. x. [ix.] 14, 15. It is unnecessary to name the moderns, whose undistinguishing and ravenous appetite has swallowed even the pagan bait of Nazarius.

<sup>47</sup> The apparitions of Castor and Pollux, particularly to announce the Macedonian victory, are attested by historians and public monuments. See Cicero de Naturâ Deorum, ii. 2, iii. 5, 6. Florus, ii. 12. Valerius Maximus, l. i. c. 8, No. 1. Yet the most recent of these miracles is omitted and indirectly denied by Livy (xlv. 1).

inscription. Even the most heated or awe-struck imagination would hardly discover distinct and legible letters in a solar halo. But the inscription may have been a later embellishment, or an interpretation of the meaning which the sign was construed to convey. Compare Heinichen, Excursus in Locum Eusebii, and the authors quoted.—M.

his enemies.<sup>48</sup> The learned Bishop of Cæsarea appears to be sensible that the recent discovery of this marvellous anecdote would excite some surprise and distrust among the most pious of his readers. Yet, instead of ascertaining the precise circumstances of time and place which always serve to detect falsehood or establish truth;<sup>49</sup> instead of collecting and recording the evidence of so many living witnesses, who must have been spectators of this stupendous miracle,<sup>50</sup> Eusebius contents himself with alleging a very singular testimony, that of the deceased Constantine, who, many years after the event, in the freedom of conversation, had related to him this extraordinary incident of his own life, and had attested the truth of it by a solemn oath. The prudence and gratitude of the learned prelate forbade him to suspect the veracity of his victorious master; but he plainly intimates that in a fact of such a nature he should have refused his assent to any meaner authority. This motive of credibility could not survive the power of the Flavian family; and the celestial sign, which the infidels might afterwards deride,<sup>51</sup> was disregarded by the Christians of the age which immediately followed the conversion of Constantine.<sup>52</sup> But the Catholic Church, both of the East and of the West, has adopted a prodigy which favors, or seems to favor,

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<sup>48</sup> Eusebius [Vit. Constant.], l. i. c. 28, 29, 30. The silence of the same Eusebius in his Ecclesiastical History is deeply felt by those advocates for the miracle who are not absolutely callous.

<sup>49</sup> The narrative of Constantine seems to indicate that he saw the cross in the sky before he passed the Alps against Maxentius. The scene has been fixed by provincial vanity at Treves, Besançon, etc. See Tillemont, *Hist. des Empereurs*, tom. iv. p. 573.

<sup>50</sup> The pious Tillemont (*Mém. Ecclés.* tom. vii. p. 1317) rejects with a sigh the useful Acts of Artemius—a veteran and a martyr, who attests as an eye-witness the vision of Constantine.

<sup>51</sup> Gelasius Cyzic. in Act. Concil. Nicen. l. i. c. 4.

<sup>52</sup> The advocates for the vision are unable to produce a single testimony from the fathers of the fourth and fifth centuries, who in their voluminous writings repeatedly celebrate the triumph of the Church and of Constantine. As these venerable men had not any dislike to a miracle, we may suspect (and the suspicion is confirmed by the ignorance of Jerome) that they were all unacquainted with the Life of Constantine by Eusebius. This tract was recovered by the diligence of those who translated or continued his Ecclesiastical History, and who have represented in various colors the vision of the cross.



the popular worship of the cross. The vision of Constantine maintained an honorable place in the legend of superstition till the bold and sagacious spirit of criticism presumed to depreciate the triumph and to arraign the truth of the first Christian emperor.<sup>53</sup>

The Protestant and philosophic readers of the present age will incline to believe that in the account of his own conversion Constantine attested a wilful falsehood by a solemn and deliberate perjury. They may not hesitate to pronounce that, in the choice of a religion, his mind was determined only by a sense of interest; and that (according to the expression of a profane poet<sup>54</sup>) he used the altars of the Church as a convenient footstool to the throne of the empire. A conclusion so harsh and so absolute is not, however, warranted by our knowledge of human nature, of Constantine, or of Christianity. In an age of relig-

The conversion of Constantine might be sincere.

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<sup>53</sup> Godefroy was the first who, in the year 1643 (Not. ad Philostorgium, l. i. c. 6, p. 16), expressed any doubt of a miracle which had been supported with equal zeal by Cardinal Baronius and the Centuriators of Magdeburg. Since that time many of the Protestant critics have inclined towards doubt and disbelief. The objections are urged with great force by M. Chauffepié (Dictionnaire Critique, tom. iv. p. 6-11); and in the year 1774 a doctor of Sorbonne, the Abbé du Voisin, published an apology which deserves the praise of learning and moderation.<sup>a</sup>

Lors Constantin dit ces propres paroles :  
 J'ai renversé le culte des idoles :  
 Sur les débris de leurs temples fumans  
 Au Dieu du Ciel j'ai prodigué l'encens.  
 Mais tous mes soins pour sa grandeur suprême  
 N'eurent jamais d'autre objet que moi-même ;  
 Les saints autels n'étoient à mes regards  
 Qu'un marche-pié du trône des Césars.  
 L'ambition, la fureur, les délices  
 Étoient mes dieux, avoient mes sacrifices.  
 L'or des Chrétiens, leurs intrigues, leur sang,  
 Ont cimenté ma fortune et mon rang.

The poem which contains these lines may be read with pleasure, but cannot be named with decency.

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<sup>a</sup> The first Excursus of Heinichen (in Vitam Constantini, p. 507) contains a full summary of the opinions and arguments of the later writers who have discussed this interminable subject. As to his conversion, where interest and inclination, State policy, and, if not a sincere conviction of its truth, at least a respect, an esteem, an awe of Christianity thus coincided, Constantine himself would probably have been unable to trace the actual history of the workings of his own mind, or to assign its real influence to each concurrent motive.—M.

ious fervor, the most artful statesmen are observed to feel some part of the enthusiasm which they inspire; and the most orthodox saints assume the dangerous privilege of defending the cause of truth by the arms of deceit and falsehood. Personal interest is often the standard of our belief as well as of our practice; and the same motives of temporal advantage which might influence the public conduct and professions of Constantine would insensibly dispose his mind to embrace a religion so propitious to his fame and fortunes. His vanity was gratified by the flattering assurance that *he* had been chosen by Heaven to reign over the earth; success had justified his divine title to the throne, and that title was founded on the truth of the Christian revelation. As real virtue is sometimes excited by undeserved applause, the specious piety of Constantine, if at first it was only specious, might gradually, by the influence of praise, of habit, and of example, be matured into serious faith and fervent devotion. The bishops and teachers of the new sect, whose dress and manners had not qualified them for the residence of a court, were admitted to the imperial table; they accompanied the monarch in his expeditions; and the ascendant which one of them, an Egyptian or a Spaniard,<sup>55</sup> acquired over his mind was imputed by the pagans to the effect of magic.<sup>56</sup> Lactantius, who has adorned the precepts of the Gospel with the eloquence of Cicero,<sup>57</sup> and Eusebius, who has consecrated the learning and philosophy of the Greeks to the service of religion,<sup>58</sup> were both received into the

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<sup>55</sup> This favorite was probably the great Osius, Bishop of Cordova, who preferred the pastoral care of the whole Church to the government of a particular diocese. His character is magnificently though concisely expressed by Athanasius (tom. i. p. 703 [tom. ii. p. 535, edit. Bened. 1777]). See Tillemont, *Mém. Ecclés.* tom. vii. p. 524-561. Osius was accused, perhaps unjustly, of retiring from court with a very ample fortune.

<sup>56</sup> See Eusebius (in *Vit. Constant.* passim), and Zosimus, l. ii. [c. 29] p. 104.

<sup>57</sup> The Christianity of Lactantius was of a moral rather than of a mysterious cast. "Erat pæne rudis (says the orthodox Bull) disciplinæ Christianæ, et in rhetoricâ melius quam in theologiâ versatus." *Defensio Fidei Nicenæ*, sect. ii. c. 14.

<sup>58</sup> Fabricius, with his usual diligence, has collected a list of between three and four hundred authors quoted in the *Evangelical Preparation of Eusebius*. See *Bibl. Græc.* l. v. c. 4, tom. vi. p. 37-56.

friendship and familiarity of their sovereign; and those able masters of controversy could patiently watch the soft and yielding moments of persuasion, and dexterously apply the arguments which were the best adapted to his character and understanding. Whatever advantages might be derived from the acquisition of an imperial proselyte, he was distinguished by the splendor of his purple, rather than by the superiority of wisdom or virtue, from the many thousands of his subjects who had embraced the doctrines of Christianity. Nor can it be deemed incredible that the mind of an unlettered soldier should have yielded to the weight of evidence which, in a more enlightened age, has satisfied or subdued the reason of a Grocius, a Pascal, or a Locke. In the midst of the incessant labors of his great office, this soldier employed, or affected to employ, the hours of the night in the diligent study of the Scriptures, and the composition of theological discourses which he afterwards pronounced in the presence of a numerous and applauding audience. In a very long discourse, which is still extant, the royal preacher expatiates on the various proofs of religion;

The fourth  
eclogue of  
Virgil.

but he dwells with peculiar complacency on the Sibylline verses<sup>59</sup> and the fourth eclogue of Virgil.<sup>60</sup>

Forty years before the birth of Christ, the Mantuan bard, as if inspired by the celestial muse of Isaiah, had celebrated with all the pomp of Oriental metaphor the return of the Virgin, the fall of the serpent, the approaching birth of a godlike child, the offspring of the great Jupiter, who should expiate the guilt of humankind and govern the peaceful universe with the virtues of his father; the rise and appearance of a heavenly race, a primitive nation throughout the world; and the gradual restoration of the innocence and felicity of the Golden Age. The poet was perhaps unconscious of the

<sup>59</sup> See Constantin. Orat. ad Sanctos, c. 19, 20. He chiefly depends on a mysterious acrostic, composed in the sixth age after the Deluge, by the Erythræan Sibyl, and translated by Cicero into Latin. The initial letters of the thirty-four Greek verses form this prophetic sentence: JESUS CHRIST, SON OF GOD, SAVIOUR OF THE WORLD.

<sup>60</sup> In his paraphrase of Virgil, the emperor has frequently assisted and improved the literal sense of the Latin text. See Blondel, Des Sibylles, l. i. c. 14, 15, 16.

secret sense and object of these sublime predictions which have been so unworthily applied to the infant son of a consul or a triumvir;<sup>61</sup> but if a more splendid, and indeed specious, interpretation of the fourth eclogue contributed to the conversion of the first Christian emperor, Virgil may deserve to be ranked among the most successful missionaries of the Gospel.<sup>62</sup>

The awful mysteries of the Christian faith and worship were concealed from the eyes of strangers, and even of catechumens, with an affected secrecy, which served to excite their wonder and curiosity.<sup>63</sup> But the severe rules of discipline which the prudence of the bishops had instituted were relaxed by the same prudence in favor of an imperial proselyte, whom it was so important to allure, by every gentle condescension, into the pale of the Church; and Constantine was permitted, at least by a tacit dispensation, to enjoy *most* of the privileges, before he had contracted *any* of the obligations, of a Christian. Instead of retiring from the congregation when the voice of the deacon dismissed the profane multitude, he prayed with the faithful, disputed with the bishops, preached on the most sublime and intricate subjects of theology, celebrated with sacred rites the vigil of Easter, and publicly declared himself not only a partaker, but in some measure a priest and hierophant, of the Christian mysteries.<sup>64</sup>

Devotion and  
privileges of  
Constantine.

<sup>61</sup> The different claims of an elder and younger son of Pollio, of Julia, of Drusus, of Marcellus, are found to be incompatible with chronology, history, and the good sense of Virgil.

<sup>62</sup> See Lowth, *De Sacra Poesi Hebræorum Prælect.* xxi. p. 289-293. In the examination of the fourth eclogue, the respectable Bishop of London has displayed learning, taste, ingenuity, and a temperate enthusiasm which exalts his fancy without degrading his judgment.

<sup>63</sup> The distinction between the public and the secret parts of divine service, the *missa catechumenorum* and the *missa fidelium*, and the mysterious veil which piety or policy had cast over the latter, are very judiciously explained by Thiers, *Exposition du Saint Sacrement*, l. i. ch. 8-12, p. 59-91; but as on this subject the Papists may reasonably be suspected, a Protestant reader will depend with more confidence on the learned Bingham, *Antiquities*, l. x. ch. 5.

<sup>64</sup> See Eusebius in *Vit. Const.* l. iv. c. 15-32, and the whole tenor of Constantine's sermon. The faith and devotion of the emperor has furnished Baronius with a specious argument in favor of his early baptism.\*

\* Compare Heinichen, *Excursus iv. et v.*, where these questions are examined



The pride of Constantine might assume, and his services had deserved, some extraordinary distinction. An ill-timed rigor might have blasted the unripened fruits of his conversion; and if the doors of the Church had been strictly closed against a prince who had deserted the altars of the gods, the master of the empire would have been left destitute of any form of religious worship. In his last visit to Rome, he piously disclaimed and insulted the superstition of his ancestors by refusing to lead the military procession of the equestrian order and to offer the public vows to the Jupiter of the Capitoline Hill.<sup>66</sup> Many years before his baptism and death, Constantine had proclaimed to the world that neither his person nor his image should evermore be seen within the walls of an idolatrous temple; while he distributed through the provinces a variety of medals and pictures which represented the emperor in an humble and suppliant posture of Christian devotion.<sup>66</sup>

The pride of Constantine, who refused the privileges of a catechumen, cannot easily be explained or excused; but the delay of his baptism may be justified by the maxims and the practice of ecclesiastical antiquity. The sacrament of baptism<sup>67</sup> was regularly administered by the bishop himself, with his assistant clergy, in the cathedral church of the diocese during the fifty days between the solemn festivals of Easter and Pentecost; and this holy term admitted a numerous band of infants and adult persons into the bosom of the Church. The discretion of parents often suspended the baptism of their children till they could under-

Delay of his baptism till the approach of death.

<sup>66</sup> Zosimus, l. ii. [c. 29] p. 105.

<sup>66</sup> Eusebius in Vit. Constant. l. iv. c. 15, 16.

<sup>67</sup> The theory and practice of antiquity with regard to the sacrament of baptism have been copiously explained by Dom Chardon, *Hist. des Sacremens*, tom. i. p. 3-405; Dom Martenne, *De Ritibus Ecclesiæ Antiquis*, tom. i.; and by Bingham, in the tenth and eleventh books of his *Christian Antiquities*. One circumstance may be observed in which the modern churches have materially departed from the ancient custom. The sacrament of baptism (even when it was administered to infants) was immediately followed by confirmation and the holy communion.

with candor and acuteness, and with constant reference to the opinions of more modern writers.—M.

stand the obligations which they contracted; the severity of ancient bishops exacted from the new converts a novitiate of two or three years; and the catechumens themselves, from different motives of a temporal or a spiritual nature, were seldom impatient to assume the character of perfect and initiated Christians. The sacrament of baptism was supposed to contain a full and absolute expiation of sin; and the soul was instantly restored to its original purity and entitled to the promise of eternal salvation. Among the proselytes of Christianity there were many who judged it imprudent to precipitate a salutary rite which could not be repeated; to throw away an inestimable privilege which could never be recovered. By the delay of their baptism they could venture freely to indulge their passions in the enjoyment of this world, while they still retained in their own hands the means of a sure and easy absolution.<sup>68</sup> The sublime theory of the Gospel had made a much fainter impression on the heart than on the understanding of Constantine himself. He pursued the great object of his ambition through the dark and bloody paths of war and policy; and, after the victory, he abandoned himself, without moderation, to the abuse of his fortune. Instead of asserting his just superiority above the imperfect heroism and profane philoso-

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<sup>68</sup> The fathers, who censured this criminal delay, could not deny the certain and victorious efficacy even of a death-bed baptism. The ingenious rhetoric of Chrysostom could find only three arguments against these prudent Christians: 1. That we should love and pursue virtue for her own sake, and not merely for the reward. 2. That we may be surprised by death without an opportunity of baptism. 3. That although we shall be placed in heaven, we shall only twinkle like little stars when compared to the suns of righteousness who have run their appointed course with labor, with success, and with glory. Chrysostom, in *Epist. ad Hebræos*, Homil. xiii. apud Chardon, *Hist. des Sacremens*, tom. i. p. 49. I believe that this delay of baptism, though attended with the most pernicious consequences, was never condemned by any general or provincial council, or by any public act or declaration of the Church. The zeal of the bishops was easily kindled on much slighter occasions.<sup>a</sup>

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<sup>a</sup> This passage of Chrysostom, though not in his more forcible manner, is not quite fairly represented. He is stronger in other places, in *Act. Hom. xxiii.* and *Hom. i.* Compare likewise the sermon of Gregory of Nyssa on this subject, and Gregory Nazianzen. After all, to those who believed in the efficacy of baptism, what argument could be more conclusive than the danger of dying without it? *Orat. xl.—M.*

phy of Trajan and the Antonines, the mature age of Constantine forfeited the reputation which he had acquired in his youth. As he gradually advanced in the knowledge of truth he proportionably declined in the practice of virtue; and the same year of his reign in which he convened the Council of Nice was polluted by the execution, or rather murder, of his eldest son. This date is alone sufficient to refute the ignorant and malicious suggestions of Zosimus,<sup>69</sup> who affirms that after the death of Crispus the remorse of his father accepted from the ministers of Christianity the expiation which he had vainly solicited from the pagan pontiffs. At the time of the death of Crispus the emperor could no longer hesitate in the choice of a religion; he could no longer be ignorant that the Church was possessed of an infallible remedy, though he chose to defer the application of it till the approach of death had removed the temptation and danger of a relapse. The bishops whom he summoned in his last illness to the palace of Nicomedia were edified by the fervor with which he requested and received the sacrament of baptism, by the solemn protestation that the remainder of his life should be worthy of a disciple of Christ, and by his humble refusal to wear the imperial purple after he had been clothed in the white garment of a neophyte. The example and reputation of Constantine seemed to countenance the delay of baptism.<sup>70</sup> Future tyrants were encouraged to believe that the innocent blood which they might shed in a long reign would instantly be washed away in the waters of regeneration, and the abuse of religion dangerously undermined the foundations of moral virtue.

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<sup>69</sup> Zosimus, l. ii. [c. 29] p. 104. For this disingenuous falsehood he has deserved and experienced the harshest treatment from all the ecclesiastical writers, except Cardinal Baronius (A.D. 324, No. 15–28), who had occasion to employ the infidel on a particular service against the Arian Eusebius.<sup>a</sup>

<sup>70</sup> Eusebius [Vit. Constant.], l. iv. c. 61, 62, 63. The Bishop of Cæsarea supposes the salvation of Constantine with the most perfect confidence.

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<sup>a</sup> Heyne, in a valuable note on this passage of Zosimus, has shown decisively that this malicious way of accounting for the conversion of Constantine was not an invention of Zosimus. It appears to have been the current calumny, eagerly adopted and propagated by the exasperated pagan party.—M. See also Lasaulx, *Der Untergang des Hellenismus*, p. 37 seq.—S.

The gratitude of the Church has exalted the virtues and excused the failings of a generous patron, who seated Christianity on the throne of the Roman world; and the Greeks, Propagation  
of Christian-  
ity. who celebrate the festival of the imperial saint, seldom mention the name of Constantine without adding the title of *equal to the apostles*.<sup>71</sup> Such a comparison, if it alludes to the character of those divine missionaries, must be imputed to the extravagance of impious flattery. But if the parallel is confined to the extent and number of their evangelic victories, the success of Constantine might perhaps equal that of the apostles themselves. By the edicts of toleration he removed the temporal disadvantages which had hitherto retarded the progress of Christianity; and its active and numerous ministers received a free permission, a liberal encouragement, to recommend the salutary truths of revelation by every argument which could affect the reason or piety of mankind. The exact balance of the two religions continued but a moment; and the piercing eye of ambition and avarice soon discovered that the profession of Christianity might contribute to the interest of the present as well as of a future life.<sup>72</sup> The hopes of wealth and honors, the example of an emperor, his exhortations, his irresistible smiles, diffused conviction among the venal and obsequious crowds which usually fill the apartments of a palace. The cities which signalized a forward zeal by the voluntary destruction of their temples were distinguished by municipal privileges and rewarded with popular donatives; and the new capital of the East gloried in the singular advantage that Constantinople was never profaned by the worship of idols.<sup>73</sup> As the lower ranks of so-

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<sup>71</sup> See Tillemont, *Hist. des Empereurs*, tom. iv. p. 429. The Greeks, the Russians, and, in the darker ages, the Latins themselves, have been desirous of placing Constantine in the catalogue of saints.

<sup>72</sup> See the third and fourth books of his *Life*. He was accustomed to say that, whether Christ was preached in pretence or in truth, he should still rejoice (l. iii. c. 58).<sup>a</sup>

<sup>73</sup> M. de Tillemont (*Hist. des Empereurs*, tom. iv. p. 374, 616) has defended with strength and spirit the virgin purity of Constantinople against some malevolent insinuations of the pagan Zosimus.

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<sup>a</sup> This is rather a strained inference from the words of Eusebius, who merely



ciety are governed by imitation, the conversion of those who possessed any eminence of birth, of power, or of riches was soon followed by dependent multitudes.<sup>74</sup> The salvation of the common people was purchased at an easy rate, if it be true that in one year twelve thousand men were baptized at Rome, besides a proportionable number of women and children, and that a white garment, with twenty pieces of gold, had been promised by the emperor to every convert.<sup>75</sup> The powerful influence of Constantine was not circumscribed by the narrow limits of his life or of his dominions. The education which he bestowed on his sons and nephews secured to the empire a race of princes whose faith was still more lively and sincere, as they imbibed, in their earliest infancy, the spirit, or at least the doctrine, of Christianity. War and commerce had spread the knowledge of the Gospel beyond the confines of the Roman provinces; and the barbarians, who had disdained an humble and proscribed sect, soon learned to esteem a religion which had been so lately embraced by the greatest monarch and the most civilized nation of the globe.<sup>76</sup> The Goths and

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<sup>74</sup> The author of the *Histoire Politique et Philosophique des Deux Indes* (tom. i. p. 9) condemns a law of Constantine which gave freedom to all the slaves who should embrace Christianity. The emperor did indeed publish a law which restrained the Jews from circumcising, perhaps from keeping, any Christian slaves (see Euseb. in Vit. Constant. l. iv. c. 27, and Cod. Theod. l. xvi. tit. ix., with Godefroy's Commentary, tom. vi. p. 247). But this imperfect exception related only to the Jews; and the great body of slaves, who were the property of Christian or pagan masters, could not improve their temporal condition by changing their religion. I am ignorant by what guides the Abbé Raynal was deceived, as the total absence of quotations is the unpardonable blemish of his entertaining history.

<sup>75</sup> See *Acta S<sup>ci</sup> Silvestri*, and *Hist. Eccles. Nicephor. Callist.* l. vii. c. 34, ap. Baronium, *Annal. Eccles.* A.D. 324, No. 67, 74. Such evidence is contemptible enough; but these circumstances are in themselves so probable that the learned Dr. Howell (*History of the World*, vol. iii. p. 14) has not scrupled to adopt them.

<sup>76</sup> The conversion of the barbarians under the reign of Constantine is celebrated by the ecclesiastical historians (see Sozomen, l. ii. c. 6, and Theodoret, l. i. c. 23, 24). But Rufinus, the Latin translator of Eusebius, deserves to be considered as an original authority. His information was curiously collected from one of the companions of the Apostle of Æthiopia, and from Bacurius, an Iberian prince, who was count of the domestics. Father Mamachi has given an ample compila-

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says that he gave much to relieve the poor, inviting and enticing men to the salutary doctrine even by this means, and *all but* saying, in the words of Paul, "whether through opportunity or through truth, let Christ be preached."—S.

Germans, who enlisted under the standard of Rome, revered the cross which glittered at the head of the legions, and their fierce countrymen received at the same time the lessons of faith and of humanity. The kings of Iberia and Armenia<sup>a</sup> worshipped the God of their protector; and their subjects, who have invariably preserved the name of Christians, soon formed a sacred and perpetual connection with their Roman brethren. The Christians of Persia were suspected, in time of war, of preferring their religion to their country; but as long as peace subsisted between the two empires, the persecuting spirit of the Magi was effectually restrained by the interposition of Constantine.<sup>77</sup> The rays of the Gospel illuminated the coast of India. The colonies of Jews who had penetrated into Arabia and Æthiopia<sup>78</sup> opposed the progress of Christianity; but the labor of the missionaries was in some measure facilitated by a previous knowledge of the Mosaic revelation; and Abyssinia still reveres the memory of Frumentius,<sup>b</sup> who, in the time of Constantine, devoted his life to the conversion of those sequestered regions. Under the reign

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tion on the progress of Christianity, in the first and second volumes of his great but imperfect work.

<sup>77</sup> See in Eusebius (in Vit. Constant. l. iv. c. 9 seq.) the pressing and pathetic epistle of Constantine in favor of his Christian brethren of Persia.

<sup>78</sup> See Basnage, Hist. des Juifs, tom. vii. p. 182, tom. viii. p. 333, tom. ix. p. 810. The curious diligence of this writer pursues the Jewish exiles to the extremities of the globe.

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<sup>a</sup> According to the Georgian chronicles, Iberia (Georgia) was converted by the virgin Nino, who effected an extraordinary cure on the wife of the king, Mihran. The temple of the god Aramazt or Armaz, not far from the capital, Mtskhitha, was destroyed, and the cross erected in its place. Le Beau, i. 292; with St. Martin's Notes.

St. Martin has likewise clearly shown (Addition to Le Beau, i. 291) that Armenia was the first nation which embraced Christianity (Addition to Le Beau, i. 76, and Mémoires sur l'Arménie, i. 305). Gibbon himself suspected this truth.—“Instead of maintaining that the conversion of Armenia was not attempted with any degree of success till the sceptre was in the hands of an orthodox emperor, I ought to have said that the seeds of the faith were deeply sown during the season of the last and greatest persecution, that many Roman exiles might assist the labors of Gregory, and that the renowned Tiridates, the hero of the East, may dispute with Constantine the honor of being the first sovereign who embraced the Christian religion.”—Vindication, Misc. Works, iv. 577.—M.

<sup>b</sup> Abba Salama, or Fremonatos, is mentioned in the Tareek Negushti, or Chronicle of the Kings of Abyssinia. Salt's Travels, vol. ii. p. 464.—M.

of his son Constantius, Theophilus," who was himself of Indian extraction, was invested with the double character of ambassador and bishop. He embarked on the Red Sea with two hundred horses of the purest breed of Cappadocia, which were sent by the emperor to the prince of the Sabæans, or Homerites. Theophilus was intrusted with many other useful or curious presents, which might raise the admiration and conciliate the friendship of the barbarians; and he successfully employed several years in a pastoral visit to the churches of the torrid zone.<sup>79</sup>

The irresistible power of the Roman emperors was displayed in the important and dangerous change of the national religion. The terrors of a military force silenced the faint and unsupported murmurs of the pagans, and there was reason to expect that the cheerful submission of the Christian clergy as well as people would be the result of conscience and gratitude. It was long since established as a fundamental maxim of the Roman constitution that every rank of citizens was alike subject to the laws, and that the care of religion was the right as well as duty of the civil magistrate. Constantine and his successors could not easily persuade themselves that they had forfeited, by their conversion, any branch of the imperial prerogatives, or that they were incapable of giving laws to a religion which they had protected and embraced. The emperors still continued to

Change of  
the national  
religion.

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<sup>79</sup> Theophilus had been given in his infancy as a hostage by his countrymen of the isle of Diva, and was educated by the Romans in learning and piety. The Maldives, of which Male, or *Diva*, may be the capital, are a cluster of 1900 or 2000 minute islands in the Indian Ocean. The ancients were imperfectly acquainted with the Maldives, but they are described in the two Mahometan travellers of the ninth century, published by Renaudot, *Geograph. Nubiensis*, p. 30, 31. D'Herbelot, *Bibliothèque Orientale*, p. 704. *Hist. Générale des Voyages*, tom. viii.<sup>a</sup>

<sup>80</sup> Philostorgius, l. iii. c. 4, 5, 6, with Godefroy's learned observations. The historical narrative is soon lost in an inquiry concerning the seat of paradise, strange monsters, etc.

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<sup>a</sup> See the dissertation of M. Letronne on this question. He conceives that Theophilus was born in the island of Dahlak, in the Arabian Gulf. His embassy was to Abyssinia rather than to India. Letronne, *Matériaux pour l'Hist. du Christianisme en Égypte, Inde, et Abyssinie* (Paris, 1832), 3d Dissert.—M.

exercise a supreme jurisdiction over the ecclesiastical order ; and the sixteenth book of the Theodosian Code represents, under a variety of titles, the authority which they assumed in the government of the Catholic Church.

A.D. 312-438.

But the distinction of the spiritual and temporal powers,<sup>81</sup> which had never been imposed on the free spirit of Greece and Rome, was introduced and confirmed by the legal establishment of Christianity. The office of supreme pontiff, which, from the time of Numa to that of Augustus, had always been exercised by one of the most eminent of the senators, was at length united to the imperial dignity. The first magistrate of the State, as often as he was prompted by superstition or policy, performed with his own hands the sacerdotal functions ;<sup>82</sup> nor was there any order of priests, either at Rome or in the provinces, who claimed a more sacred character among men, or a more intimate communication with the gods. But in the Christian Church, which intrusts the service of the altar to a perpetual succession of consecrated ministers, the monarch, whose spiritual rank is less honorable than that of the meanest deacon, was seated below the rails of the sanctuary, and confounded with the rest of the faithful multitude.<sup>83</sup> The emperor might be saluted as the father of his people, but he owed a filial duty and reverence to the fathers of the Church ; and the same marks of respect which Constantine had paid to the persons of saints and confessors were soon exacted by the pride of the episcopal order.<sup>84</sup> A secret conflict between the civil and ecclesiastical

Distinction  
of the spir-  
itual and tem-  
poral powers.

<sup>81</sup> See the epistle of Osius, ap. Athanasium, vol. i. p. 840. The public remonstrance which Osius was forced to address to the son contained the same principles of ecclesiastical and civil government which he had secretly instilled into the mind of the father.

<sup>82</sup> M. de la Bastie (*Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, tom. xv. p. 38-61) has evidently proved that Augustus and his successors exercised in person all the sacred functions of pontifex maximus, or high-priest, of the Roman empire.

<sup>83</sup> Something of a contrary practice had insensibly prevailed in the Church of Constantinople ; but the rigid Ambrose commanded Theodosius to retire below the rails, and taught him to know the difference between a king and a priest. See Theodoret, l. v. c. 18.

<sup>84</sup> At the table of the Emperor Maximus, Martin, Bishop of Tours, received the cup from an attendant, and gave it to the presbyter, his companion, before he al-



jurisdictions embarrassed the operations of the Roman government ; and a pious emperor was alarmed by the guilt and danger of touching with a profane hand the ark of the covenant. The separation of men into the two orders of the clergy and of the laity was, indeed, familiar to many nations of antiquity ; and the priests of India, of Persia, of Assyria, of Judæa, of Æthiopia, of Egypt, and of Gaul derived from a celestial origin the temporal power and possessions which they had acquired. These venerable institutions had gradually assimilated themselves to the manners and government of their respective countries ;<sup>85</sup> but the opposition or contempt of the civil power served to cement the discipline of the primitive Church. The Christians had been obliged to elect their own magistrates, to raise and distribute a peculiar revenue, and to regulate the internal policy of their republic by a code of laws which were ratified by the consent of the people and the practice of three hundred years. When Constantine embraced the faith of the Christians, he seemed to contract a perpetual alliance with a distinct and independent society ; and the privileges granted or confirmed by that emperor, or by his successors, were accepted, not as the precarious favors of the court, but as the just and inalienable rights of the ecclesiastical order.

The Catholic Church was administered by the spiritual and legal jurisdiction of eighteen hundred bishops,<sup>86</sup> of whom one thousand were seated in the Greek and eight hundred in the Latin provinces of the empire. The extent and boundaries of their respective dioceses had been variously and accidentally decided by the

State of  
the bishops  
under the  
Christian  
emperors.

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lowed the emperor to drink ; the empress waited on Martin at table. Sulpicius Severus, in Vit. S<sup>t</sup> Martin. c. 23, and Dialogue ii. 7. Yet it may be doubted whether these extraordinary compliments were paid to the bishop or the saint. The honors usually granted to the former character may be seen in Bingham's Antiquities, l. ii. ch. 9, and Vales. ad Theodoret. l. iv. c. 6. See the haughty ceremonial which Leontius, Bishop of Tripoli, imposed on the empress. Tillemont, Hist. des Empereurs, tom. iv. p. 754. (Patres Apostol. tom. ii. p. 179.)

<sup>85</sup> Plutarch, in his treatise of Isis and Osiris, informs us that the kings of Egypt, who were not already priests, were initiated, after their election, into the sacerdotal order.

<sup>86</sup> The numbers are not ascertained by any ancient writer or original catalogue ;

zeal and success of the first missionaries, by the wishes of the people, and by the propagation of the Gospel. Episcopal churches were closely planted along the banks of the Nile, on the sea-coast of Africa, in the proconsular Asia, and through the southern provinces of Italy. The bishops of Gaul and Spain, of Thrace and Pontus, reigned over an ample territory, and delegated their rural suffragans to execute the subordinate duties of the pastoral office.<sup>87</sup> A Christian diocese might be spread over a province or reduced to a village; but all the bishops possessed an equal and indelible character; they all derived the same powers and privileges from the apostles, from the people, and from the laws. While the *civil* and *military* professions were separated by the policy of Constantine, a new and perpetual order of *ecclesiastical* ministers, always respectable, sometimes dangerous, was established in the Church and State. The important review of their station and attributes may be distributed under the following heads: I. Popular election. II. Ordination of the clergy. III. Property. IV. Civil jurisdiction. V. Spiritual censures. VI. Exercise of public oratory. VII. Privilege of legislative assemblies.

I. The freedom of elections subsisted long after the legal establishment of Christianity,<sup>88</sup> and the subjects of Rome en-

for the partial lists of the Eastern churches are comparatively modern. The patient diligence of Charles a S<sup>to</sup> Paolo, of Luke Holstenius, and of Bingham has laboriously investigated all the episcopal sees of the Catholic Church, which was almost commensurate with the Roman empire. The ninth book of the *Christian Antiquities* is a very accurate map of ecclesiastical geography.

<sup>87</sup> On the subject of the rural bishops, or *chorepiscopi*, who voted in synods and conferred the minor orders, see Thomassin, *Discipline de l'Église*, tom. i. p. 447, etc., and Chardon, *Hist. des Sacrements*, tom. v. p. 395, etc. They do not appear till the fourth century; and this equivocal character, which had excited the jealousy of the prelates, was abolished before the end of the tenth, both in the East and the West.

<sup>88</sup> Thomassin (*Discipline de l'Église*, tom. ii. l. ii. ch. 1-8, p. 673-721) has copiously treated of the election of bishops during the five first centuries, both in the East and in the West; but he shows a very partial bias in favor of the episcopal aristocracy. Bingham (l. iv. ch. 2) is moderate; and Chardon (*Hist. des Sacrements*, tom. v. p. 108-128) is very clear and concise.<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup> This freedom was extremely limited, and soon annihilated. Already, from the third century, the deacons were no longer nominated by the members of the com-

joyed in the Church the privilege which they had lost in the republic, of choosing the magistrates whom they were bound to obey. As soon as a bishop had closed his eyes, the metropolitan issued a commission to one of his suffragans to administer the vacant see, and prepare, within a limited time, the future election. The right of voting was vested in the inferior clergy, who were best qualified to judge of the merit of the candidates; in the senators or nobles of the city; all those who were distinguished by their rank or property; and, finally, in the whole body of the people, who on the appointed day flocked in multitudes from the most remote parts of the diocese,<sup>69</sup> and sometimes silenced by their tumultuous acclamations the voice of reason and the laws of discipline. These acclamations might accidentally fix on the head of the most deserving competitor, of some ancient presbyter, some holy monk, or some layman conspicuous for his zeal and piety. But the episcopal chair was solicited, especially in the great and opulent cities of the empire, as a temporal rather than as a spiritual dignity. The interested views, the selfish and angry passions, the arts of perfidy and dissimulation, the secret corruption, the open and even bloody violence which had formerly disgraced the freedom of election in the commonwealths of Greece and Rome, too often influenced the choice of the successors of the apostles. While one of the candidates boasted the honors of his family, a second allured his judges by the delicacies of a plentiful table, and a third, more guilty than his rivals, offered to share the plunder of the Church among the accomplices of his sacrilegious

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<sup>69</sup> *Incredibilis multitudo, non solum ex eo oppido (Tours), sed etiam ex vicinis urbibus ad suffragia ferenda convenerat, etc.*—Sulpicius Severus, in Vit. Martin. c. 7. The Council of Laodicea (canon xiii.) prohibits mobs and tumults; and Justinian confines the right of election to the nobility. Novell. cxxiii. 1.

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munity, but by the bishops. Although it appears, by the letters of Cyprian, that even in his time no priest could be elected without the consent of the community (Ep. 68), that election was far from being altogether free. The bishop proposed to his parishioners the candidate whom he had chosen, and they were permitted to make such objections as might be suggested by his conduct and morals (St. Cyprian, Ep. 33). They lost this last right towards the middle of the fourth century.—G.

hopes.<sup>90</sup> The civil as well as ecclesiastical laws attempted to exclude the populace from this solemn and important transaction. The canons of ancient discipline, by requiring several episcopal qualifications of age, station, etc., restrained in some measure the indiscriminate caprice of the electors. The authority of the provincial bishops, who were assembled in the vacant Church to consecrate the choice of the people, was interposed to moderate their passions and to correct their mistakes. The bishops could refuse to ordain an unworthy candidate, and the rage of contending factions sometimes accepted their impartial mediation. The submission or the resistance of the clergy and people, on various occasions, afforded different precedents, which were insensibly converted into positive laws and provincial customs;<sup>91</sup> but it was everywhere admitted as a fundamental maxim of religious policy that no bishop could be imposed on an orthodox church without the consent of its members. The emperors, as the guardians of the public peace and as the first citizens of Rome and Constantinople, might effectually declare their wishes in the choice of a primate; but those absolute monarchs respected the freedom of ecclesiastical elections, and, while they distributed and resumed the honors of the State and army, they allowed eighteen hundred perpetual magistrates to receive their important offices from the free suffrages of the people.<sup>92</sup> It was agreeable to the dictates of justice that these magistrates should not

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<sup>90</sup> The epistles of Sidonius Apollinaris (iv. 25, vii. 5, 9) exhibit some of the scandals of the Gallican Church; and Gaul was less polished and less corrupt than the East.

<sup>91</sup> A compromise was sometimes introduced by law or by consent; either the bishops or the people chose one of the three candidates who had been named by the other party.

<sup>92</sup> All the examples quoted by Thomassin (*Discipline de l'Église*, tom. ii. l. ii. ch. vi. p. 704-714) appear to be extraordinary acts of power, and even of oppression. The confirmation of the Bishop of Alexandria is mentioned by Philostorgius as a more regular proceeding (*Hist. Eccles.* l. ii. c. 11).<sup>a</sup>

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<sup>a</sup> The statement of Planck is more consistent with history: "From the middle of the fourth century, the bishops of some of the larger churches, particularly those of the imperial residence, were almost always chosen under the influence of the court, and often directly and immediately nominated by the emperor."—Planck, *Geschichte der christlich-kirchlichen Gesellschafts-verfassung*, vol. i. p. 263.—M.



desert an honorable station from which they could not be removed; but the wisdom of councils endeavored, without much success, to enforce the residence and to prevent the translation of bishops. The discipline of the West was indeed less relaxed than that of the East; but the same passions which made those regulations necessary rendered them ineffectual. The reproaches which angry prelates have so vehemently urged against each other serve only to expose their common guilt and their mutual indiscretion.

II. The bishops alone possessed the faculty of *spiritual* generation, and this extraordinary privilege might compensate, in some degree, for the painful celibacy<sup>93</sup> which was imposed as a virtue, as a duty, and at length as a positive obligation. The religions of antiquity, which established a separate order of priests, dedicated a holy race, a tribe or family, to the perpetual service of the gods.<sup>94</sup> Such institutions were founded for possession rather than conquest. The children of the priests enjoyed, with proud and indolent security, their sacred inheritance; and the fiery spirit of enthusiasm was abated by the cares, the pleasures, and the endearments of domestic life. But the Christian sanctuary was open to every ambitious candidate who aspired to its heavenly promises or temporal possessions. The office of priests,

II. Ordination of the clergy.

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<sup>93</sup> The celibacy of the clergy during the first five or six centuries is a subject of discipline, and indeed of controversy, which has been very diligently examined. See in particular Thomassin, *Discipline de l'Église*, tom. i. l. ii. ch. lx. lxi. p. 886-902; and Bingham's *Antiquities*, l. iv. ch. 5. By each of these learned but partial critics one half of the truth is produced and the other is concealed.<sup>a</sup>

<sup>94</sup> Diodorus Siculus attests and approves the hereditary succession of the priesthood among the Egyptians, the Chaldeans, and the Indians (l. i. [c. 73] p. 84, l. ii. [c. 29 and 40] p. 142, 153, edit. Wesseling). The Magi are described by Ammianus as a very numerous family: "Per sæcula multa ad præsens unâ eâdemque prosapiâ multitudo creata, Deorum cultibus dedicatur" (xxiii. 6). Ausonius celebrates the *Stirps Druidarum* (*De Professorib.* Burdigal. iv. [7]); but we may infer from the remark of Cæsar (*Bell. Gall.* vi. 13) that in the Celtic hierarchy some room was left for choice and emulation.

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<sup>a</sup> Compare Planck (vol. i. p. 348). This century, the third, first brought forth the monks, and the monks, or the spirit of monkery, the celibacy of the clergy. Planck likewise observes that from the history of Eusebius alone names of married bishops and presbyters may be adduced by dozens.—M.

like that of soldiers or magistrates, was strenuously exercised by those men whose temper and abilities had prompted them to embrace the ecclesiastical profession, or who had been selected by a discerning bishop as the best qualified to promote the glory and interest of the Church. The bishops<sup>95</sup> (till the abuse was restrained by the prudence of the laws) might constrain the reluctant and protect the distressed, and the imposition of hands forever bestowed some of the most valuable privileges of civil society. The whole body of the Catholic clergy, more numerous, perhaps, than the legions, was exempted<sup>a</sup> by the emperors from all service, private or public, all municipal offices, and all personal taxes and contributions, which pressed on their fellow-citizens with intolerable weight; and the duties of their holy profession were accepted as a full discharge of their obligations to the republic.<sup>96</sup> Each bishop acquired an absolute and indefeasible right to the perpetual obedience of the clerk whom he ordained; the clergy of each episcopal Church, with its dependent parishes, formed a reg-

<sup>95</sup> The subject of the vocation, ordination, obedience, etc., of the clergy is laboriously discussed by Thomassin (*Discipline de l'Église*, tom. ii. p. 1-83) and Bingham (in the fourth book of his *Antiquities*, more especially the fourth, sixth, and seventh chapters). When the brother of St. Jerome was ordained in Cyprus, the deacons forcibly stopped his mouth, lest he should make a solemn protestation which might invalidate the holy rites.

<sup>96</sup> The charter of immunities which the clergy obtained from the Christian emperors is contained in the sixteenth book of the Theodosian Code; and is illustrated with tolerable candor by the learned Godefroy, whose mind was balanced by the opposite prejudices of a civilian and a Protestant.

<sup>a</sup> This exemption was very much limited. The municipal offices were of two kinds: the one attached to the individual in his character of inhabitant, the other in that of *proprietor*. Constantine had exempted ecclesiastics from offices of the first description. (Cod. Theod. xvi. tit. ii. leg. 1, 2; Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.* l. x. c. 7.) They sought also to be exempted from those of the second (*munera patrimoniorum*). The rich, to obtain this privilege, obtained subordinate situations among the clergy. Constantine published in 320 an edict by which he prohibited the more opulent citizens (*decuriones* and *curiales*) from embracing the ecclesiastical profession, and the bishops from admitting new ecclesiastics before a place should be vacant by the death of the occupant (Godefroy ad Cod. Theod. l. xii. tit. i. De Decur.). Valentinian the First, by a rescript still more general, enacted that no rich citizen should obtain a situation in the Church (De Episc. l. lxxvii.). He also enacted that ecclesiastics who wished to be exempt from offices which they were bound to discharge as proprietors should be obliged to give up their property to their relations. Cod. Theodos. l. xii. tit. i. leg. 49.—G.

ular and permanent society; and the cathedrals of Constantinople<sup>97</sup> and Carthage<sup>98</sup> maintained their peculiar establishment of five hundred ecclesiastical ministers. Their ranks<sup>99</sup> and numbers were insensibly multiplied by the superstition of the times, which introduced into the Church the splendid ceremonies of a Jewish or pagan temple; and a long train of priests, deacons, subdeacons, acolytes, exorcists, readers, singers, and door-keepers contributed, in their respective stations, to swell the pomp and harmony of religious worship. The clerical name and privilege were extended to many pious fraternities, who devoutly supported the ecclesiastical throne.<sup>100</sup> Six hundred *parabolani*, or adventurers, visited the sick at Alexandria; eleven hundred *copiatæ*, or grave-diggers, buried the dead at Constantinople; and the swarms of monks who arose from the Nile overspread and darkened the face of the Christian world.

III. The edict of Milan secured the revenue as well as the peace of the Church.<sup>101</sup> The Christians not only recovered the lands and houses of which they had been stripped by the persecuting laws of Diocletian, but they acquired a perfect title to all the possessions which they had

III. Property.  
A.D. 313.

<sup>97</sup> Justinian. Novell. ciii. Sixty presbyters or priests, one hundred deacons, forty deaconesses, ninety subdeacons, one hundred and ten readers, twenty-five chanters, and one hundred door-keepers; in all, five hundred and twenty-five. This moderate number was fixed by the emperor to relieve the distress of the Church, which had been involved in debt and usury by the expense of a much higher establishment.

<sup>98</sup> *Universus clerus ecclesiæ Carthaginiensis . . . fere quingenti vel amplius; inter quos quamplurimi erant lectores infantuli.* Victor Vitensis de Persecut. Vandal. v. 9, p. 78, edit. Ruinart. This remnant of a more prosperous state still subsisted under the oppression of the Vandals.

<sup>99</sup> The number of *seven* orders has been fixed in the Latin Church, exclusive of the episcopal character. But the four inferior ranks, the minor orders, are now reduced to empty and useless titles.

<sup>100</sup> See Cod. Theodos. l. xvi. tit. ii. leg. 42, 43. Godefroy's Commentary, and the Ecclesiastical History of Alexandria, show the danger of these pious institutions, which often disturbed the peace of that turbulent capital.

<sup>101</sup> The edict of Milan (de M. P. c. 48) acknowledges, by reciting, that there existed a species of landed property, "*ad jus corporis eorum, id est, ecclesiarum non hominum singulorum pertinentia.*" Such a solemn declaration of the supreme magistrate must have been received in all the tribunals as a *maxim* of civil law.

hitherto enjoyed by the connivance of the magistrate. As soon as Christianity became the religion of the emperor and the empire, the national clergy might claim a decent and honorable maintenance; and the payment of an annual tax might have delivered the people from the more oppressive tribute which superstition imposes on her votaries. But as the wants and expenses of the Church increased with her prosperity, the ecclesiastical order was still supported and enriched by the

voluntary oblations of the faithful. Eight years  
A.D. 321.

after the edict of Milan, Constantine granted to all his subjects the free and universal permission of bequeathing their fortunes to the holy Catholic Church;<sup>102</sup> and their devout liberality, which during their lives was checked by luxury or avarice, flowed with a profuse stream at the hour of their death. The wealthy Christians were encouraged by the example of their sovereign. An absolute monarch, who is rich without patrimony, may be charitable without merit; and Constantine too easily believed that he should purchase the favor of Heaven if he maintained the idle at the expense of the industrious, and distributed among the saints the wealth of the republic. The same messenger who carried over to Africa the head of Maxentius might be intrusted with an epistle to Cæcilian, Bishop of Carthage. The emperor acquaints him that the treasurers of the province are directed to pay into his hands the sum of three thousand *folles*, or eighteen thousand pounds sterling, and to obey his further requisitions for the relief of the churches of Africa, Numidia, and Mauritania.<sup>103</sup> The liberality of Constantine increased in a just proportion to his faith and to his vices. He assigned in each city a regular allowance of corn to supply the fund of ecclesiastical charity; and the persons of both sexes who em-

<sup>102</sup> *Habeat unusquisque licentiam sanctissimo Catholicæ (ecclesiæ) venerabilique concilio, decedens bonorum quod optavit relinquere.*—Cod. Theodos. l. xvi. tit. ii. leg. 4. This law was published at Rome, A.D. 321, at a time when Constantine might foresee the probability of a rupture with the Emperor of the East.

<sup>103</sup> Eusebius, Hist. Eccles. l. x. c. 6, in Vit. Constant. l. iv. c. 28. He repeatedly expatiates on the liberality of the Christian hero, which the bishop himself had an opportunity of knowing and even of tasting.



braced the monastic life became the peculiar favorites of their sovereign. The Christian temples of Antioch, Alexandria, Jerusalem, Constantinople, etc., displayed the ostentatious piety of a prince ambitious in a declining age to equal the perfect labors of antiquity.<sup>104</sup> The form of these religious edifices was simple and oblong, though they might sometimes swell into the shape of a dome, and sometimes branch into the figure of a cross. The timbers were framed for the most part of cedars of Libanus; the roof was covered with tiles—perhaps of gilt brass; and the walls, the columns, the pavement, were incrustated with variegated marbles. The most precious ornaments of gold and silver, of silk and gems, were profusely dedicated to the service of the altar; and this specious magnificence was supported on the solid and perpetual basis of landed property. In the space of two centuries, from the reign of Constantine to that of Justinian, the eighteen hundred churches of the empire were enriched by the frequent and unalienable gifts of the prince and people. An annual income of six hundred pounds sterling may be reasonably assigned to the bishops, who were placed at an equal distance between riches and poverty;<sup>105</sup> but the standard of their wealth insensibly rose with the dignity and opulence of the cities which they governed. An authentic but imperfect<sup>106</sup> rent-roll specifies some houses, shops, gardens, and farms which belonged to the three *Basilicæ* of Rome—St. Peter, St. Paul, and St. John Lateran—in the provinces of Italy, Africa, and the East. They produce, be-

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<sup>104</sup> Eusebius, Hist. Eccles. l. x. c. 2, 3, 4. The Bishop of Cæsarea, who studied and gratified the taste of his master, pronounced in public an elaborate description of the Church of Jerusalem (in Vit. Const. l. iv. c. 46). It no longer exists; but he has inserted in the Life of Constantine (l. iii. c. 36) a short account of the architecture and ornaments. He likewise mentions the Church of the Holy Apostles at Constantinople (l. iv. c. 58).

<sup>105</sup> See Justinian. Novell. cxxiii. 3. The revenue of the patriarchs and the most wealthy bishops is not expressed; the highest annual valuation of a bishopric is stated at *thirty*, and the lowest at *two*, pounds of gold; the medium might be taken at *sixteen*, but these valuations are much below the real value.

<sup>106</sup> See Baronius (Annal. Eccles. A.D. 324, No. 58, 65, 70, 71). Every record which comes from the Vatican is justly suspected, yet these rent-rolls have an ancient and authentic color; and it is at least evident that if forged, they were forged in a period when *farms*, not *kingdoms*, were the objects of papal avarice.

sides a reserved rent of oil, linen, paper, aromatics, etc., a clear annual revenue of twenty-two thousand pieces of gold, or twelve thousand pounds sterling. In the age of Constantine and Justinian, the bishops no longer possessed (perhaps they no longer deserved) the unsuspecting confidence of their clergy and people. The ecclesiastical revenues of each diocese were divided into four parts—for the respective uses of the bishop himself, of his inferior clergy, of the poor, and of the public worship; and the abuse of this sacred trust was strictly and repeatedly checked.<sup>107</sup> The patrimony of the Church was still subject to all the public impositions of the State.<sup>108</sup> The clergy of Rome, Alexandria, Thessalonica, etc., might solicit and obtain some partial exemptions; but the premature attempt of the great council of Rimini, which aspired to universal freedom, was successfully resisted by the son of Constantine.<sup>109</sup>

IV. The Latin clergy, who erected their tribunal on the ruins of the civil and common law, have modestly accepted as the gift of Constantine<sup>110</sup> the indepen-

IV. Civil jurisdiction.

<sup>107</sup> See Thomassin, *Discipline de l'Église*, tom. iii. l. ii. ch. 13, 14, 15, p. 689-706. The legal division of the ecclesiastical revenue does not appear to have been established in the time of Ambrose and Chrysostom. Simplicius and Gelasius, who were bishops of Rome in the latter part of the fifth century, mention it in their pastoral letters as a general law which was already confirmed by the custom of Italy.

<sup>108</sup> Ambrose, the most strenuous assertor of ecclesiastical privileges, submits without a murmur to the payment of the land-tax. “Si tributum petit Imperator, non negamus; agri ecclesiæ solvunt tributum; solvimus quæ sunt Cæsaris Cæsari, et quæ sunt Dei Deo; tributum Cæsaris est; non negatur.” Baronius labors to interpret this tribute as an act of charity rather than of duty (*Annal. Eccles. A. D.* 387); but the words, if not the intentions, of Ambrose are more candidly explained by Thomassin, *Discipline de l'Église*, tom. iii. l. i. ch. 34, p. 268.

<sup>109</sup> In Ariminensi synodo super ecclesiarum et clericorum privilegiis tractatû habito, usque eo dispositio progressa est, ut juga quæ viderentur ad ecclesiam pertinere, a publicâ functione cessarent inquietudine desistente; quod nostra videtur dudum sanctio repulsiisse.—*Cod. Theod. l. xvi. tit. ii. leg. 15.* Had the Synod of Rimini carried this point, such practical merit might have atoned for some speculative heresies.

<sup>110</sup> From Eusebius (in *Vit. Constant. l. iv. c. 27*) and Sozomen (*l. i. c. 9*) we are assured that the episcopal jurisdiction was extended and confirmed by Constantine; but the forgery of a famous edict, which was never fairly inserted in the Theodosian Code (see at the end, tom. vi. p. 303), is demonstrated by Godefroy in the most satisfactory manner. It is strange that M. de Montesquieu, who was a law-

dent jurisdiction which was the fruit of time, of accident, and of their own industry. But the liberality of the Christian emperors had actually endowed them with some legal prerogatives which secured and dignified the sacerdotal character.<sup>111</sup>

1. Under a despotic government the bishops alone enjoyed and asserted the inestimable privilege of being tried only by their *peers*; and even in a capital accusation, a synod of their brethren were the sole judges of their guilt or innocence. Such a tribunal, unless it was inflamed by personal resentment or religious discord, might be favorable, or even partial, to the sacerdotal order; but Constantine was satisfied<sup>112</sup> that secret impunity would be less pernicious than public scandal, and the Nicene Council was edified by his public declaration that if he surprised a bishop in the act of adultery, he should cast his imperial mantle over the episcopal sinner. 2. The domestic jurisdiction of the bishops was at once a privilege and a restraint of the ecclesiastical order, whose civil causes were decently withdrawn from the cognizance of a secular judge. Their venial offences were not exposed to the shame of a public trial or punishment; and the gentle correction which the tenderness of youth may endure from its parents or instructors was inflicted by the temperate severity of the bishops. But if the clergy were guilty of any crime which could not be sufficiently expiated by their degradation from an honorable and beneficial profession, the Roman magistrate drew the sword of justice without any regard to ecclesiastical immunities. 3. The

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yer as well as a philosopher, should allege this edict of Constantine (*Esprit des Loix*, l. xxix. ch. 16) without intimating any suspicion.

<sup>111</sup> The subject of ecclesiastical jurisdiction has been involved in a mist of passion, of prejudice, and of interest. Two of the fairest books which have fallen into my hands are the *Institutes of Canon Law*, by the Abbé de Fleury, and the *Civil History of Naples*, by Giannone. Their moderation was the effect of situation as well as of temper. Fleury was a French ecclesiastic who respected the authority of the parliaments; Giannone was an Italian lawyer who dreaded the power of the Church. And here let me observe that as the general propositions which I advance are the result of *many* particular and imperfect facts, I must either refer the reader to those modern authors, who have expressly treated the subject, or swell these notes to a disagreeable and disproportioned size.

<sup>112</sup> Tillemont has collected from Rufinus, Theodoret, etc., the sentiments and language of Constantine. *Mém. Ecclés.* tom. iii. p. 749, 750.

arbitration of the bishops was ratified by a positive law; and the judges were instructed to execute, without appeal or delay, the episcopal decrees, whose validity had hitherto depended on the consent of the parties. The conversion of the magistrates themselves and of the whole empire might gradually remove the fears and scruples of the Christians. But they still resorted to the tribunal of the bishops, whose abilities and integrity they esteemed; and the venerable Austin enjoyed the satisfaction of complaining that his spiritual functions were perpetually interrupted by the invidious labor of deciding the claim or the possession of silver and gold, of lands and cattle. 4. The ancient privilege of sanctuary was transferred to the Christian temples, and extended, by the liberal piety of the younger Theodosius, to the precincts of consecrated ground.<sup>113</sup> The fugitive and even guilty suppliants were permitted to implore either the justice or the mercy of the Deity and his ministers. The rash violence of despotism was suspended by the mild interposition of the Church, and the lives or fortunes of the most eminent subjects might be protected by the mediation of the bishop.

V. The bishop was the perpetual censor of the morals of his people. The discipline of penance was digested into a system of canonical jurisprudence<sup>114</sup> which accurately defined the duty of private or public confession, the rules of evidence, the degrees of guilt, and the measure of punishment. It was impossible to execute this spiritual censure if the Christian pontiff, who punished the obscure sins of the

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<sup>113</sup> See Cod. Theod. l. ix. tit. xlv. leg. 4. In the works of Fra Paolo (tom. iv. p. 192, etc.) there is an excellent discourse on the origin, claims, abuses, and limits of sanctuaries. He justly observes that ancient Greece might perhaps contain fifteen or twenty *asyla*, or sanctuaries, a number which at present may be found in Italy within the walls of a single city.

<sup>114</sup> The penitential jurisprudence was continually improved by the canons of the councils. But as many cases were still left to the discretion of the bishops, they occasionally published, after the example of the Roman prætor, the rules of discipline which they proposed to observe. Among the canonical epistles of the fourth century those of Basil the Great were the most celebrated. They are inserted in the Pandects of Beveridge (tom. ii. p. 47-151), and are translated by Chardon, *Hist. des Sacremens*, tom. iv. p. 219-277.



multitude, respected the conspicuous vices and destructive crimes of the magistrate; but it was impossible to arraign the conduct of the magistrate without controlling the administration of civil government. Some considerations of religion or loyalty or fear protected the sacred persons of the emperors from the zeal or resentment of the bishops; but they boldly censured and excommunicated the subordinate tyrants who were not invested with the majesty of the purple. St. Athanasius excommunicated one of the ministers of Egypt, and the interdict which he pronounced of fire and water was solemnly transmitted to the churches of Cappadocia.<sup>115</sup> Under the reign of the younger Theodosius the polite and eloquent Synesius, one of the descendants of Hercules,<sup>116</sup> filled the episcopal seat of Ptolemais, near the ruins of ancient Cyrene,<sup>117</sup> and the philosophic bishop supported with dignity the character which he had assumed with reluctance.<sup>118</sup> He vanquished the monster

<sup>115</sup> Basil. Epistol. xlvii. in Baronius (Annal. Eccles. A.D. 370, No. 91), who declares that he purposely relates it to convince governors that they were not exempt from a sentence of excommunication. In his opinion, even a royal head is not safe from the thunders of the Vatican; and the cardinal shows himself much more consistent than the lawyers and theologians of the Gallican Church.

<sup>116</sup> The long series of his ancestors, as high as Eurysthenes, the first Doric king of Sparta, and the fifth in lineal descent from Hercules, was inscribed in the public registers of Cyrene, a Lacedæmonian colony (Synes. Epist. lvii. p. 197, edit. Petav.). Such a pure and illustrious pedigree of seventeen hundred years, without adding the royal ancestors of Hercules, cannot be equalled in the history of mankind.

<sup>117</sup> Synesius (de Regno, p. 2 [edit. Par. 1612]) pathetically deplores the fallen and ruined state of Cyrene, πόλις Ἑλληνίς, παλαιὸν ὄνομα καὶ σεμνὸν, καὶ ἐν ὁδῷ μυρία τῶν πάλοι σοφῶν, νῦν πένης καὶ κατηφής, καὶ μέγα ἐρείπιον. Ptolemais, a new city, eighty-two miles to the westward of Cyrene, assumed the metropolitan honors of the Pentapolis, or Upper Libya, which were afterwards transferred to Sozusa. See Wesseling, Itinerar. p. 67, 68, 732. Cellarius Geograph. tom. ii. part ii. p. 72, 74. Carolus a S<sup>to</sup> Paulo, Geograph. Sacra, p. 273. D'Anville, Géographie Ancienne, tom. iii. p. 43, 44. Mémoires de l'Acad. des Inscriptions, tom. xxxvii. p. 363-391.

<sup>118</sup> Synesius had previously represented his own disqualifications (Epist. cv. p. 246-250). He loved profane studies and profane sports; he was incapable of supporting a life of celibacy; he disbelieved the resurrection; and he refused to preach *fables* to the people unless he might be permitted to *philosophize* at home. Theophilus, Primate of Egypt, who knew his merit, accepted this extraordinary compromise. See the Life of Synesius in Tillemont, Mém. Ecclés. tom. xii. p. 499-554.

of Libya—the president Andronicus—who abused the authority of a venal office, invented new modes of rapine and torture, and aggravated the guilt of oppression by that of sacrilege.<sup>119</sup> After a fruitless attempt to reclaim the haughty magistrate by mild and religious admonition, Synesius proceeds to inflict the last sentence of ecclesiastical justice,<sup>120</sup> which devotes Andronicus, with his associates and their *families*, to the abhorrence of earth and heaven. The impenitent sinners, more cruel than Phalaris or Sennacherib, more destructive than war, pestilence, or a cloud of locusts, are deprived of the name and privileges of Christians, of the participation of the sacraments, and of the hope of paradise. The bishop exhorts the clergy, the magistrates, and the people to renounce all society with the enemies of Christ, to exclude them from their houses and tables, and to refuse them the common offices of life and the decent rites of burial. The Church of Ptolemais, obscure and contemptible as she may appear, addresses this declaration to all her sister churches of the world; and the profane who reject her decrees will be involved in the guilt and punishment of Andronicus and his impious followers. These spiritual terrors were enforced by a dexterous application to the Byzantine court. The trembling president implored the mercy of the Church, and the descendant of Hercules enjoyed the satisfaction of raising a prostrate tyrant from the ground.<sup>121</sup> Such principles and such examples insensibly prepared the triumph of the Roman pontiffs, who have trampled on the necks of kings.

VI. Every popular government has experienced the effects of rude or artificial eloquence. The coldest nature is animat-

<sup>119</sup> See the invective of Synesius, Epist. lvii. p. 191–201. The promotion of Andronicus was illegal, since he was a native of Berenice, in the same province. The instruments of torture are curiously specified—the *πιστήριον*, or press, the *δακτυλῆθρα*, the *ποδοστράβη*, the *ῥινολάβις*, the *ὠτάγρα*, and the *χειλοστροφίον*, that variously pressed or distended the fingers, the feet, the nose, the ears, and the lips of the victims.

<sup>120</sup> The sentence of excommunication is expressed in a rhetorical style (Synesius, Epist. lviii. p. 201–203). The method of involving whole families, though somewhat unjust, was improved into national interdicts.

<sup>121</sup> See Synesius, Epist. xlvii. p. 186, 187; Epist. lxxii. p. 218, 219; Epist. lxxxix. p. 230, 231.

ed, the firmest reason is moved, by the rapid communication of the prevailing impulse; and each hearer is affected by his own passions and by those of the surrounding multitude. The ruin of civil liberty had silenced the demagogues of Athens and the tribunes of Rome; the custom of preaching, which seems to constitute a considerable part of Christian devotion, had not been introduced into the temples of antiquity; and the ears of monarchs were never invaded by the harsh sound of popular eloquence till the pulpits of the empire were filled with sacred orators, who possessed some advantages unknown to their profane predecessors.<sup>122</sup> The arguments and rhetoric of the tribune were instantly opposed, with equal arms, by skilful and resolute antagonists; and the cause of truth and reason might derive an accidental support from the conflict of hostile passions. The bishop, or some distinguished presbyter to whom he cautiously delegated the powers of preaching, harangued, without the danger of interruption or reply, a submissive multitude, whose minds had been prepared and subdued by the awful ceremonies of religion. Such was the strict subordination of the Catholic Church that the same concerted sounds might issue at once from a hundred pulpits of Italy or Egypt, if they were *tuned*<sup>123</sup> by the master-hand of the Roman or Alexandrian primate. The design of this institution was laudable, but the fruits were not always salutary. The preachers recommended the practice of the social duties; but they exalted the perfection of monastic virtue, which is painful to the individual and useless to mankind. Their charitable exhortations betrayed a secret wish that the clergy might be permitted to manage the wealth of the faithful for the benefit of the poor. The most sublime

<sup>122</sup> See Thomassin (*Discipline de l'Église*, tom. ii. l. iii. ch. 83, p. 1761–1770) and Bingham (*Antiquities*, vol. i. l. xiv. ch. 4, p. 688–717). Preaching was considered as the most important office of the bishop; but this function was sometimes intrusted to such presbyters as Chrysostom and Augustine.

<sup>123</sup> Queen Elizabeth used this expression and practised this art whenever she wished to prepossess the minds of her people in favor of any extraordinary measure of government. The hostile effects of this *music* were apprehended by her successor and severely felt by his son. “When pulpit, drum ecclesiastic,” etc. See Heylin’s *Life of Archbishop Laud*, p. 153.

representations of the attributes and laws of the Deity were sullied by an idle mixture of metaphysical subtleties, puerile rites, and fictitious miracles; and they expatiated with the most fervent zeal on the religious merit of hating the adversaries and obeying the ministers of the Church. When the public peace was distracted by heresy and schism, the sacred orators sounded the trumpet of discord, and perhaps of sedition. The understandings of their congregations were perplexed by mystery; their passions were inflamed by invectives; and they rushed from the Christian temples of Antioch or Alexandria prepared either to suffer or to inflict martyrdom. The corruption of taste and language is strongly marked in the vehement declamations of the Latin bishops; but the compositions of Gregory and Chrysostom have been compared with the most splendid models of Attic, or at least of Asiatic, eloquence.<sup>124</sup>

VII. The representatives of the Christian republic were regularly assembled in the spring and autumn of each year; and

VII. Privilege  
of legislative  
assemblies.

these synods diffused the spirit of ecclesiastical discipline and legislation through the hundred and twenty provinces of the Roman world.<sup>125</sup> The archbishop or metropolitan was empowered by the laws to summon the suffragan bishops of his province; to revise their conduct; to vindicate their rights; to declare their faith; and to examine the merit of the candidates who were elected by the clergy and people to supply the vacancies of the episcopal college. The primates of Rome, Alexandria, Antioch, Carthage, and afterwards Constantinople, who exercised a more ample jurisdiction, convened the numerous assembly of their dependent bishops. But the convocation of great and extraordinary synods was the prerogative of the emperor alone. Whenever the

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<sup>124</sup> Those modest orators acknowledged that as they were destitute of the gift of miracles, they endeavored to acquire the arts of eloquence.

<sup>125</sup> The Council of Nice, in the fourth, fifth, sixth, and seventh canons, has made some fundamental regulations concerning synods, metropolitans, and primates. The Nicene canons have been variously tortured, abused, interpolated, or forged, according to the interest of the clergy. The *Suburbicarian* churches assigned (by Rufinus) to the Bishop of Rome have been made the subject of vehement controversy. (See Sirmond, Opera, tom. iv. p. 1-238.)



emergencies of the Church required this decisive measure, he despatched a peremptory summons to the bishops or the deputies of each province, with an order for the use of post-horses and a competent allowance for the expenses of their journey.

A.D. 314. At an early period, when Constantine was the protector rather than the proselyte of Christianity, he referred the African controversy to the Council of Arles, in which the bishops of York, of Treves, of Milan, and of Carthage met as friends and brethren to debate in their native tongue on the common interest of the Latin or Western

A.D. 325. Church.<sup>126</sup> Eleven years afterwards a more numerous and celebrated assembly was convened at Nice, in Bithynia, to extinguish, by their final sentence, the subtle disputes which had arisen in Egypt on the subject of the Trinity. Three hundred and eighteen bishops obeyed the summons of their indulgent master. The ecclesiastics, of every rank and sect and denomination, have been computed at two thousand and forty-eight persons.<sup>127</sup> The Greeks appeared in person; and the consent of the Latins was expressed by the legates of the Roman pontiff. The session, which lasted about two months, was frequently honored by the presence of the emperor. Leaving his guards at the door, he seated himself (with the permission of the council) on a low stool in the midst of the hall. Constantine listened with patience and spoke with modesty; and while he influenced the debates, he humbly professed that he was the minister, not the judge, of the successors of the apostles, who had been established as priests and as gods upon earth.<sup>128</sup> Such profound reverence of an absolute monarch towards a feeble and unarmed assembly of his own subjects can only be compared to the respect with which the

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<sup>126</sup> We have only thirty-three or forty-seven episcopal subscriptions; but Ado, a writer indeed of small account, reckons six hundred bishops in the Council of Arles. Tillemont, *Mém. Ecclés.* tom. vi. p. 422.

<sup>127</sup> See Tillemont, tom. vi. p. 915, and Beausobre, *Hist. du Manichéisme*, tom. i. p. 529. The name of *bishop*, which is given by Eutychius to the 2048 ecclesiastics (*Annal.* tom. i. p. 440, vers. Pocock), must be extended far beyond the limits of an orthodox or even episcopal ordination.

<sup>128</sup> See Euseb. in *Vit. Constantin.* l. iii. c. 6–21. Tillemont, *Mém. Ecclésiastiques*, tom. vi. p. 669–759.

senate had been treated by the Roman princes who adopted the policy of Augustus. Within the space of fifty years, a philosophic spectator of the vicissitudes of human affairs might have contemplated Tacitus in the Senate of Rome, and Constantine in the Council of Nice. The fathers of the Capitol and those of the Church had alike degenerated from the virtues of their founders; but as the bishops were more deeply rooted in the public opinion, they sustained their dignity with more decent pride, and sometimes opposed with a manly spirit the wishes of their sovereign. The progress of time and superstition erased the memory of the weakness, the passion, the ignorance, which disgraced these ecclesiastical synods; and the Catholic world has unanimously submitted<sup>129</sup> to the *infallible* decrees of the general councils.<sup>130</sup>

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<sup>129</sup> Sancimus igitur vicem legum obtinere, quæ a quatuor Sanctis Conciliis . . . expositæ sunt aut firmatæ. Prædictarum enim quatuor synodorum dogmata sicut sanctas Scripturas et regulas sicut leges observamus.—Justinian. Novell. cxxxi. Beveridge (ad Pandect. proleg. p. 2) remarks that the emperors never made new laws in ecclesiastical matters; and Giannone observes, in a very different spirit, that they gave a legal sanction to the canons of councils (Istoria Civile di Napoli, tom. i. p. 136).

<sup>130</sup> See the article *Concile* in the Encyclopédie, tom. iii. p. 668–679, édition de Lucques. The author, M. le Docteur Bouchaud, has discussed, according to the principles of the Gallican Church, the principal questions which relate to the form and constitution of general, national, and provincial councils. The editors (see preface, p. xvi.) have reason to be proud of *this* article. Those who consult their immense compilation seldom depart so well satisfied.

## CHAPTER XXI.

Persecution of Heresy.—The Schism of the Donatists.—The Arian Controversy.  
—Athanasius.—Distracted State of the Church and Empire under Constantine and his Sons.—Toleration of Paganism.

THE grateful applause of the clergy has consecrated the memory of a prince who indulged their passions and promoted their interest. Constantine gave them security, wealth, honors, and revenge; and the support of the orthodox faith was considered as the most sacred and important duty of the civil magistrate. The edict of Milan, the great charter of toleration, had confirmed to each individual of the Roman world the privilege of choosing and professing his own religion. But this inestimable privilege was soon violated: with the knowledge of truth the emperor imbibed the maxims of persecution; and the sects which dissented from the Catholic Church were afflicted and oppressed by the triumph of Christianity. Constantine easily believed that the heretics who presumed to dispute *his* opinions or to oppose *his* commands were guilty of the most absurd and criminal obstinacy, and that a seasonable application of moderate severities might save those unhappy men from the danger of an everlasting condemnation. Not a moment was lost in excluding the ministers and teachers of the separated congregations from any share of the rewards and immunities which the emperor had so liberally bestowed on the orthodox clergy. But, as the sectaries might still exist under the cloud of royal disgrace, the conquest of the East was immediately followed by an edict which announced their total destruction.<sup>1</sup> After a preamble filled with passion and reproach, Constantine absolutely prohibits the assemblies of the heretics, and confiscates their public property to the use

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<sup>1</sup> Eusebius in Vit. Constantin. l. iii. c. 63, 64, 65, 66.

either of the revenue or of the Catholic Church. The sects against whom the imperial severity was directed appear to have been the adherents of Paul of Samosata; the Montanists of Phrygia, who maintained an enthusiastic succession of prophecy; the Novatians, who sternly rejected the temporal efficacy of repentance; the Marcionites and Valentinians, under whose leading banners the various Gnostics of Asia and Egypt had insensibly rallied; and perhaps the Manichæans, who had recently imported from Persia a more artful composition of Oriental and Christian theology.<sup>2</sup> The design of extirpating the name, or at least of restraining the progress, of these odious heretics was prosecuted with vigor and effect. Some of the penal regulations were copied from the edicts of Diocletian; and this method of conversion was applauded by the same bishops who had felt the hand of oppression and had pleaded for the rights of humanity. Two immaterial circumstances may serve, however, to prove that the mind of Constantine was not entirely corrupted by the spirit of zeal and bigotry. Before he condemned the Manichæans and their kindred sects, he resolved to make an accurate inquiry into the nature of their religious principles. As if he distrusted the impartiality of his ecclesiastical counsellors, this delicate commission was intrusted to a civil magistrate, whose learning and moderation he justly esteemed, and of whose venal character he was probably ignorant.<sup>3</sup> The emperor was soon convinced that he had too hastily proscribed the orthodox faith and the exemplary morals of the Novatians, who had dissented from the Church in some articles of discipline which were not perhaps essential

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<sup>2</sup> After some examination of the various opinions of Tillemont, Beausobre, Lardner, etc., I am convinced that Manes did not propagate his sect, even in Persia, before the year 270. It is strange that a philosophic and foreign heresy should have penetrated so rapidly into the African provinces; yet I cannot easily reject the edict of Diocletian against the Manichæans, which may be found in Baronius (Annal. Eccl. A.D. 287).

<sup>3</sup> Constantinus enim, cum limatius superstitionum quæreretur sectas, Manichæorum et similium, etc.—Ammian. xv. 13. Strategius, who from this commission obtained the surname of *Musonianus*, was a Christian of the Arian sect. He acted as one of the counts at the Council of Sardica. Libanius praises his mildness and prudence. Vales. ad locum Ammian.



to salvation. By a particular edict he exempted them from the general penalties of the law;<sup>4</sup> allowed them to build a church at Constantinople; respected the miracles of their saints; invited their bishop, Acesius, to the Council of Nice; and gently ridiculed the narrow tenets of his sect by a familiar jest, which from the mouth of a sovereign must have been received with applause and gratitude.<sup>5</sup>

The complaints and mutual accusations which assailed the throne of Constantine as soon as the death of Maxentius had submitted Africa to his victorious arms were ill adapted to edify an imperfect proselyte. He learned with surprise that the provinces of that great country, from the confines of Cyrene to the Columns of Hercules, were distracted with religious discord.<sup>6</sup> The source of the division was derived from a double election in the Church of Carthage, the second in rank and opulence of the ecclesiastical thrones of the West. Cæcilian and Majorinus were the two rival primates of Africa; and the death of the latter soon made room for Donatus, who, by his superior abilities and apparent virtues, was the firmest support of his party. The advantage which Cæcilian might claim from the priority of his ordination was destroyed by the illegal, or at least indecent, haste with which it had been performed, without expecting the arrival of the bishops of Numidia. The authority of these bishops, who, to the number of seventy, condemned Cæcilian

African controversy.  
A.D. 312.

<sup>4</sup> Cod. Theod. l. xvi. tit. v. leg. 2. As the general law is not inserted in the Theodosian Code, it is probable that, in the year 438, the sects which it had condemned were already extinct.

<sup>5</sup> Sozomen, l. i. c. 22. Socrates, l. i. c. 10. These historians have been suspected, but I think without reason, of an attachment to the Novatian doctrine. The emperor said to the bishop, "Acesius, take a ladder, and get up to heaven by yourself." Most of the Christian sects have, by turns, borrowed the ladder of Acesius.

<sup>6</sup> The best materials for this part of ecclesiastical history may be found in the edition of Optatus Milevitanus, published (Paris, 1700) by M. Dupin, who has enriched it with critical notes, geographical discussions, original records, and an accurate abridgment of the whole controversy. M. de Tillemont has bestowed on the Donatists the greatest part of a volume (tom. vi. part i.); and I am indebted to him for an ample collection of all the passages of his favorite, St. Augustine, which relate to those heretics.

and consecrated Majorinus, is again weakened by the infamy of some of their personal characters, and by the female intrigues, sacrilegious bargains, and tumultuous proceedings which are imputed to this Numidian council.\* The bishops of the contending factions maintained, with equal ardor and obstinacy, that their adversaries were degraded, or at least dishonored, by the odious crime of delivering the Holy Scriptures to the officers of Diocletian. From their mutual reproaches, as well as from the story of this dark transaction, it may justly be inferred that the late persecution had embittered the zeal, without reforming the manners, of the African Christians. That divided Church was incapable of affording an impartial judicature. The controversy was solemnly tried in five successive tribunals, which were appointed by the emperor; and the whole proceeding, from the first appeal to the final sentence, lasted above three years. A severe inquisition, which was taken by the Prætorian vicar and the Proconsul of Africa, the report of two episcopal visitors who had been sent to Carthage, the decrees of the councils of Rome and of Arles, and the supreme judgment of Constantine himself in his sacred consistory were all favorable to the cause of Cæcilian, and he was unanimously acknowledged by the civil and ecclesiastical powers as the true and lawful primate of Africa. The honors and estates of the Church were attributed to *his* suffragan bishops, and it was not without difficulty that Constantine was satisfied with inflicting the punishment of exile on the principal leaders of the Donatist faction. As their cause was examined with attention, perhaps it was determined with justice. Perhaps their complaint was not without foundation that the credulity of the emperor had been abused by the insidious

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\* Schisma igitur illo tempore confusæ mulieris iracundia peperit; ambitus nutritiv; avaritia roboravit.—Optatus, l. i. c. 19. The language of Purpurius is that of a furious madman: Dicitur te necasse filios sororis tuæ duos. Purpurius respondit: Putas me terreri à te . . . occidi; et occido eos qui contra me faciunt.—Acta Concil. Cirtensis, ad calc. Optat. p. 274. When Cæcilian was invited to an assembly of bishops, Purpurius said to his brethren, or rather to his accomplices, "Let him come hither to receive our imposition of hands, and we will break his head by way of penance." Optat. l. i. c. 19.

arts of his favorite Osius. The influence of falsehood and corruption might procure the condemnation of the innocent or aggravate the sentence of the guilty. Such an act, however, of injustice, if it concluded an importunate dispute, might be numbered among the transient evils of a despotic administration, which are neither felt nor remembered by posterity.

But this incident, so inconsiderable that it scarcely deserves a place in history, was productive of a memorable schism,

Schism of the Donatists. A.D. 315. which afflicted the provinces of Africa above three hundred years, and was extinguished only with

Christianity itself. The inflexible zeal of freedom and fanaticism animated the Donatists to refuse obedience to the usurpers, whose election they disputed, and whose spiritual powers they denied. Excluded from the civil and religious communion of mankind, they boldly excommunicated the rest of mankind who had embraced the impious party of Cæcilian, and of the Traditors, from whom he derived his pretended ordination. They asserted with confidence, and almost with exultation, that the apostolical succession was interrupted; that *all* the bishops of Europe and Asia were infected by the contagion of guilt and schism; and that the prerogatives of the Catholic Church were confined to the chosen portion of the African believers, who alone had preserved inviolate the integrity of their faith and discipline. This rigid theory was supported by the most uncharitable conduct. Whenever they acquired a proselyte, even from the distant provinces of the East, they carefully repeated the sacred rites of baptism\* and ordination; as they rejected the validity of those which he had already received from the hands of heretics or schismatics. Bishops, virgins, and even spotless infants were subjected to the disgrace of a public penance before they could be admitted to the communion of the Donatists. If they obtained posses-

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\* The councils of Arles, of Nice, and of Trent confirmed the wise and moderate practice of the Church of Rome. The Donatists, however, had the advantage of maintaining the sentiment of Cyprian, and of a considerable part of the primitive Church. Vincentius Lirinensis (p. 332, ap. Tillemont, *Mém. Ecclés.* tom. vi. p. 138) has explained why the Donatists are eternally burning with the Devil, while St. Cyprian reigns in heaven with Jesus Christ.

sion of a church which had been used by their Catholic adversaries, they purified the unhallowed building with the same jealous care which a temple of idols might have required. They washed the pavement, scraped the walls, burned the altar (which was commonly of wood), melted the consecrated plate, and cast the holy eucharist to the dogs, with every circumstance of ignominy which could provoke and perpetuate the animosity of religious factions.\* Notwithstanding this irreconcilable aversion, the two parties, who were mixed and separated in all the cities of Africa, had the same language and manners, the same zeal and learning, the same faith and worship. Proscribed by the civil and ecclesiastical powers of the empire, the Donatists still maintained in some provinces, particularly in Numidia, their superior numbers; and four hundred bishops acknowledged the jurisdiction of their primate. But the invincible spirit of the sect sometimes preyed on its own vitals; and the bosom of their schismatical Church was torn by intestine divisions. A fourth part of the Donatist bishops followed the independent standard of the Maximianists. The narrow and solitary path which their first leaders had marked out continued to deviate from the great society of mankind. Even the imperceptible sect of the Rogatians could affirm, without a blush, that when Christ should descend to judge the earth, he would find his true religion preserved only in a few nameless villages of the Cæsarean Mauritania.<sup>10</sup>

The schism of the Donatists was confined to Africa; the more diffusive mischief of the Trinitarian controversy successively penetrated into every part of the Christian world. The former was an accidental quarrel occasioned by the abuse of freedom; the latter was a high and mysterious argument derived from the abuse of philosophy. From the age of Constantine to that of Clovis and Theodoric, the temporal interests both of the Romans and bar-

The Trinitarian controversy.

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\* See the sixth book of Optatus Milevitanus, p. 91–100.

<sup>10</sup> Tillemont, *Mém. Ecclésiastiques*, tom. vi. part i. p. 253. He laughs at their partial credulity. He revered Augustine, the great doctor of the system of predestination.



barians were deeply involved in the theological disputes of Arianism. The historian may therefore be permitted respectfully to withdraw the veil of the sanctuary, and to deduce the progress of reason and faith, of error and passion, from the school of Plato to the decline and fall of the empire.

The genius of Plato, informed by his own meditation or by the traditional knowledge of the priests of Egypt," had ventured to explore the mysterious nature of the Deity.

The system  
of Plato.  
Before Christ,  
360.

When he had elevated his mind to the sublime contemplation of the first self-existent necessary cause

of the universe, the Athenian sage was incapable of conceiving *how* the simple unity of his essence could admit the infinite variety of distinct and successive ideas which compose the model of the intellectual world; *how* a Being purely incorporeal could execute that perfect model, and mould with a plastic hand the rude and independent chaos. The vain hope of extricating himself from these difficulties, which must ever oppress the feeble powers of the human mind, might induce Plato to consider the divine nature under the threefold mod-

The Logos

ification of the first cause—the reason, or *Logos*, and the soul or spirit of the universe. His poetical im-

agination sometimes fixed and animated these metaphysical abstractions; the three *archical* or original principles were represented in the Platonic system as three Gods, united with each other by a mysterious and ineffable generation; and the Logos was particularly considered under the more accessible character of the Son of an Eternal Father, and the Creator and Governor of the world. Such appear to have been the secret doctrines which were cautiously whispered in the gardens of the Academy, and which, according to the more re-

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<sup>11</sup> Plato *Ægyptum peragravit ut a sacerdotibus barbaris numeros et cœlestia acciperet.*—Cicero de Finibus, v. 29. The Egyptians might still preserve the traditional creed of the patriarchs. Josephus has persuaded many of the Christian fathers that Plato derived a part of his knowledge from the Jews; but this vain opinion cannot be reconciled with the obscure state and unsocial manners of the Jewish people, whose Scriptures were not accessible to Greek curiosity till more than one hundred years after the death of Plato. See Marsham, Canon. Chron. p. 144. Le Clerc, Epistol. Critic. vii. p. 177–194.

cent disciples of Plato, could not be perfectly understood till after an assiduous study of thirty years.<sup>12</sup>

The arms of the Macedonians diffused over Asia and Egypt the language and learning of Greece; and the theological system of Plato was taught with less reserve, and perhaps with some improvements, in the celebrated school of Alexandria.<sup>13</sup> A numerous colony of Jews had been invited, by the favor of the Ptolemies, to settle in their new capital.<sup>14</sup> While the bulk of the nation practised the legal ceremonies and pursued the lucrative occupations of commerce, a few Hebrews of a more liberal spirit devoted their lives to religious and philosophical contemplation.<sup>15</sup> They cultivated with diligence and embraced with ardor the theological system of the Athenian sage. But their national pride would have been mortified by a fair confession of their former poverty; and they boldly marked as the sacred inheritance of their ancestors the gold and jewels which they had so lately stolen from their Egyptian masters.

One hundred years before the birth of Christ, a philosophical treatise which manifestly betrays the style and sentiments of the school of Plato was produced by the Alexandrian Jews, and unanimously received as a genuine and valuable relic of the inspired Wisdom of Solomon.<sup>16</sup> A simi-

Before Christ,  
100.

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<sup>12</sup> The modern guides who lead me to the knowledge of the Platonic system are Cudworth (*Intellectual System*, p. 568–620), Basnage (*Hist. des Juifs*, l. iv. ch. 4, p. 53–86), Le Clerc (*Epist. Crit.* vii. p. 194–209), and Brucker (*Hist. Philosoph. tom. i. p. 675–706*). As the learning of these writers was equal and their intention different, an inquisitive observer may derive instruction from their disputes, and certainty from their agreement.

<sup>13</sup> Brucker, *Hist. Philosoph. tom. i. p. 1349–1357*. The Alexandrian school is celebrated by Strabo (*l. xvii. [p. 794, edit. Casaub.]*) and Ammianus (*xxii. 16*).

<sup>14</sup> Joseph. *Antiquitat. l. xii. c. 1, 3*. Basnage, *Hist. des Juifs*, l. vii. ch. 7.

<sup>15</sup> For the origin of the Jewish philosophy, see Eusebius, *Præparat. Evangel. viii. 9, 10*. According to Philo, the Therapeutæ studied philosophy; and Brucker has proved (*Hist. Philosoph. tom. ii. p. 787*) that they gave the preference to that of Plato.

<sup>16</sup> See Calmet, *Dissertations sur la Bible*, tom. ii. p. 277. The book of the Wisdom of Solomon was received by many of the fathers as the work of that monarch; and although rejected by the Protestants for want of a Hebrew original, it has obtained, with the rest of the Vulgate, the sanction of the Council of Trent.

lar union of the Mosaic faith and the Grecian philosophy distinguishes the works of Philo, which were composed, for the most part, under the reign of Augustus.<sup>17</sup> The material soul of the universe<sup>18</sup> might offend the piety of the Hebrews, but they applied the character of the *Logos* to the Jehovah of Moses and the patriarchs; and the Son of God was introduced upon earth, under a visible and even human appearance, to perform those familiar offices which seem incompatible with the nature and attributes of the Universal Cause.<sup>19</sup>

The eloquence of Plato, the name of Solomon, the authority of the school of Alexandria, and the consent of the Jews and Greeks were insufficient to establish the truth of a mysterious doctrine which might please, but could not satisfy, a rational mind. A prophet or apostle inspired by the Deity can alone exercise a lawful dominion over the faith of mankind; and the theology of Plato might have been forever confounded with the philosophical visions of the Academy, the Porch, and the Lyceum if the

Revealed by  
the apostle  
St. John.  
A.D. 97.

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<sup>17</sup> The Platonism of Philo, which was famous to a proverb, is proved beyond a doubt by Le Clerc (Epist. Crit. viii. p. 211–228). Basnage (Hist. des Juifs, l. iv. ch. 5) has clearly ascertained that the theological works of Philo were composed before the death, and most probably before the birth, of Christ.<sup>a</sup> In such a time of darkness the knowledge of Philo is more astonishing than his errors. Bull, Defens. Fid. Nicen. s. i. c. i. p. 12.

<sup>18</sup> *Mens agitat molem, et magno se corpore miscet.*  
Besides this material soul, Cudworth has discovered (p. 562) in Amelius, Porphyry, Plotinus, and, as he thinks, in Plato himself, a superior spiritual *hypercosmian* soul of the universe. But this double soul is exploded by Brucker, Basnage, and Le Clerc as an idle fancy of the latter Platonists.

<sup>19</sup> Petav. Dogmata Theologica, tom. ii. l. viii. c. 2, p. 791. Bull, Defens. Fid. Nicen. s. i. c. i. p. 8, 13. This notion, till it was abused by the Arians, was freely adopted in the Christian theology. Tertullian (adv. Praxeas, c. 16) has a remarkable and dangerous passage. After contrasting with indiscreet wit the nature of God and the actions of Jehovah, he concludes: “Scilicet ut hæc de filio Dei non credenda fuisse, si non scripta essent; fortasse non credenda de Patre licet scripta.”<sup>b</sup>

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<sup>a</sup> Scarcely before the birth of Christ. Philo was one of the ambassadors to Caligula in A.D. 40; and though he was an old man at that time, we cannot place his birth much earlier than B.C. 20. See Clinton, Fast. Rom. vol. i. p. 25; Smith's Dict. of Greek and Rom. Biogr. vol. iii. p. 310.—S.

<sup>b</sup> Tertullian is here arguing against the Patripassians—those who asserted that the Father was born of the Virgin, died, and was buried.—M.

name and divine attributes of the *Logos* had not been confirmed by the celestial pen of the last and most sublime of the evangelists.<sup>20</sup> The Christian Revelation, which was consummated under the reign of Nerva, disclosed to the world the amazing secret that the *Logos*, who was with God from the beginning, and was God, who had made all things, and for whom all things had been made, was incarnate in the person of Jesus of Nazareth, who had been born of a virgin and suffered death on the cross. Besides the general design of fixing on a perpetual basis the divine honors of Christ, the most ancient and respectable of the ecclesiastical writers have ascribed to the evangelic theologian a particular intention to confute two opposite heresies which disturbed the peace of the primitive Church.<sup>21</sup>

The Ebionites and Docetes.

I. The faith of the Ebionites,<sup>22</sup> perhaps of the Nazarenes,<sup>23</sup> was gross and imperfect. They revered Jesus as the greatest of the prophets, endowed with supernatural virtue and power. They ascribed to his person and to his future reign all the predictions of the Hebrew oracles which relate to the spiritual and everlasting kingdom of the promised Messiah.<sup>24</sup> Some of them might confess that he was born of a virgin; but they obstinately rejected the preceding existence and divine perfections of the

<sup>20</sup> The Platonists admired the beginning of the Gospel of St. John as containing an exact transcript of their own principles. Augustin. de Civitat. Dei, x. 29. Amelius apud Cyril. advers. Julian. l. viii. p. 283. But in the third and fourth centuries the Platonists of Alexandria might improve their Trinity by the secret study of the Christian theology.

<sup>21</sup> See Beausobre, Hist. Critique du Manichéisme, tom. i. p. 377. The Gospel according to St. John is supposed to have been published about seventy years after the death of Christ.

<sup>22</sup> The sentiments of the Ebionites are fairly stated by Mosheim (p. 331) and Le Clerc (Hist. Ecclési. p. 535). The Clementines published among the apostolica' fathers are attributed by the critics to one of these sectaries.

<sup>23</sup> Stanch polemics like Bull (Judicium Eccles. Cathol. c. 2) insist on the orthodoxy of the Nazarenes, which appears less pure and certain in the eyes of Mosheim (p. 330).

<sup>24</sup> The humble condition and sufferings of Jesus have always been a stumbling-block to the Jews. "Deus . . . contrariis coloribus Messiam depinxerat; futurus erat Rex, Judex, Pastor," etc. See Limborch et Orobio Amica Collat. p. 8, 19, 53-76, 192-234. But this objection has obliged the believing Christians to lift up their eyes to a spiritual and everlasting kingdom.



*Logos*, or Son of God, which are so clearly defined in the Gospel of St. John. About fifty years afterwards, the Ebionites, whose errors are mentioned by Justin Martyr with less severity than they seem to deserve,<sup>25</sup> formed a very inconsiderable portion of the Christian name. II. The Gnostics, who were distinguished by the epithet of *Docetes*, deviated into the contrary extreme, and betrayed the human while they asserted the divine nature of Christ. Educated in the school of Plato, accustomed to the sublime idea of the *Logos*, they readily conceived that the brightest *Æon*, or *Emanation* of the Deity, might assume the outward shape and visible appearances of a mortal;<sup>26</sup> but they vainly pretended that the imperfections of matter are incompatible with the purity of a celestial substance. While the blood of Christ yet smoked on Mount Calvary, the Docetes invented the impious and extravagant hypothesis that, instead of issuing from the womb of the Virgin,<sup>27</sup> he had descended on the banks of the Jordan in the form of perfect manhood; that he had imposed on the senses of his enemies and of his disciples; and that the ministers of Pilate had wasted their impotent rage on an airy phantom who *seemed* to expire on the cross, and, after three days, to rise from the dead.<sup>28</sup>

The divine sanction which the apostle had bestowed on the

<sup>25</sup> Justin Martyr, *Dialog. cum Tryphonte*, p. 143, 144. See Le Clerc, *Hist. Ecclés.* p. 615. Bull and his editor, Grabe (*Judicium Eccles. Cathol.* c. 7, and Appendix), attempt to distort either the sentiments or the words of Justin; but their violent correction of the text is rejected even by the Benedictine editors.

<sup>26</sup> The Arians reproached the orthodox party with borrowing their Trinity from the Valentinians and Marcionites. See Beausobre, *Hist. du Manichéisme*, l. iii. ch. 5, 7.

<sup>27</sup> “Non dignum est ex utero credere Deum, et Deum Christum . . . non dignum est ut tanta majestas per sordes et squalores mulieris transire credatur.” The Gnostics asserted the impurity of matter and of marriage; and they were scandalized by the gross interpretations of the fathers, and even of Augustine himself. See Beausobre, tom. ii. p. 523.

<sup>28</sup> *Apostolis adhuc in sæculo superstitibus apud Judæam Christi sanguine recente, et phantasma corpus Domini asserebatur.* Cotelierius thinks (*Patres Apostol.* tom. ii. p. 24) that those who will not allow the Docetes to have arisen in the time of the apostles may with equal reason deny that the sun shines at noonday. These Docetes, who formed the most considerable party among the Gnostics, were so called because they granted only a *seeming* body to Christ.

fundamental principle of the theology of Plato encouraged the learned proselytes of the second and third centuries to admire and study the writings of the Athenian sage who had thus marvellously anticipated one of the most surprising discoveries of the Christian Revelation. The respectable name of Plato was used by the orthodox<sup>29</sup> and abused by the heretics<sup>30</sup> as the common support of truth and error. The authority of his skilful commentators and the science of dialectics were employed to justify the remote consequences of his opinions, and to supply the discreet silence of the inspired writers. The same subtle and profound questions concerning the nature, the generation, the distinction, and the equality of the three divine persons of the mysterious *Triad*, or *Trinity*,<sup>31</sup> were agitated in the philosophical and in the Christian schools of Alexandria. An eager spirit of curiosity urged them to explore the secrets of the abyss; and the pride of the professors and of their disciples was satisfied with the science of words. But the most sagacious of the Christian theologians, the great Athanasius himself, has candidly confessed<sup>32</sup> that whenever he forced his understanding to meditate on the divinity of the *Logos*, his toilsome and unavailing efforts recoiled on themselves; that the more he thought, the less he comprehended; and the more he wrote, the less capable

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<sup>29</sup> Some proofs of the respect which the Christians entertained for the person and doctrine of Plato may be found in De la Mothe le Vayer, tom. v. p. 135, etc., edit. 1757; and Basnage, Hist. des Juifs, tom. iv. p. 29, 79, etc.

<sup>30</sup> Doleo bona fide, Platonem omnium hæreticorum condimentarium factum.—Tertullian. de Anima, c. 23. Petavius (Dogm. Theolog. tom. iii. proleg. 2) shows that this was a general complaint. Beausobre (tom. i. l. iii. c. 9, 10) has deduced the Gnostic errors from Platonic principles; and as in the school of Alexandria those principles were blended with the Oriental philosophy (Brucker, tom. i. p. 1356), the sentiment of Beausobre may be reconciled with the opinion of Mosheim (General History of the Church, vol. i. p. 37).

<sup>31</sup> If Theophilus, Bishop of Antioch (see Dupin, Bibliothèque Ecclésiastique, tom. i. p. 66), was the first who employed the word *Triad*, *Trinity*, that abstract term, which was already familiar to the schools of philosophy, must have been introduced into the theology of the Christians after the middle of the second century.

<sup>32</sup> Athanasius, tom. i. p. 808. His expressions have an uncommon energy; and as he was writing to monks, there could not be any occasion for him to *affect a rational language*.

was he of expressing his thoughts. In every step of the inquiry, we are compelled to feel and acknowledge the immeasurable disproportion between the size of the object and the capacity of the human mind. We may strive to abstract the notions of time, of space, and of matter which so closely adhere to all the perceptions of our experimental knowledge; but as soon as we presume to reason of infinite substance, of spiritual generation—as often as we deduce any positive conclusions from a negative idea—we are involved in darkness, perplexity, and inevitable contradiction. As these difficulties arise from the nature of the subject, they oppress with the same insuperable weight the philosophic and the theological disputant; but we may observe two essential and peculiar circumstances which discriminated the doctrines of the Catholic Church from the opinions of the Platonic school.

I. A chosen society of philosophers, men of a liberal education and curious disposition, might silently meditate and temperately discuss in the gardens of Athens or the library of Alexandria the abstruse questions of metaphysical science. The lofty speculations, which neither convinced the understanding nor agitated the passions of the Platonists themselves, were carelessly overlooked by the idle, the busy, and even the studious part of mankind.<sup>33</sup> But after the *Logos* had been revealed as the sacred object of the faith, the hope, and the religious worship of the Christians, the mysterious system was embraced by a numerous and increasing multitude in every province of the Roman world. Those persons who, from their age or sex or occupations, were the least qualified to judge, who were the least exercised in the habits of abstract reasoning, aspired to contemplate the economy of the Divine Nature; and it is the boast of Tertullian<sup>34</sup> that a Chris-

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<sup>33</sup> In a treatise which professed to explain the opinions of the ancient philosophers concerning the nature of the gods, we might expect to discover the theological Trinity of Plato. But Cicero very honestly confessed that, though he had translated the *Timæus*, he could never understand that mysterious dialogue. See Hieronym. præf. ad l. xii. in Isaiam, tom. v. p. 154 [tom. iv. p. 494, edit. Vallars.].

<sup>34</sup> Tertullian, in Apolog. c. 46. See Bayle, Dictionnaire, au mot *Simonide*. His remarks on the presumption of Tertullian are profound and interesting.

tian mechanic could readily answer such questions as had perplexed the wisest of the Grecian sages. Where the subject lies so far beyond our reach, the difference between the highest and the lowest of human understandings may indeed be calculated as infinitely small; yet the degree of weakness may perhaps be measured by the degree of obstinacy and dogmatic confidence. These speculations, instead of being treated as the amusement of a vacant hour, became the most serious business of the present, and the most useful preparation for a future, life. A theology which it was incumbent to believe, which it was impious to doubt, and which it might be dangerous, and even fatal, to mistake became the familiar topic of private meditation and popular discourse. The cold indifference of philosophy was inflamed by the fervent spirit of devotion; and even the metaphors of common language suggested the fallacious prejudices of sense and experience. The Christians, who abhorred the gross and impure generation of the Greek mythology,<sup>35</sup> were tempted to argue from the familiar analogy of the filial and paternal relations. The character of *Son* seemed to imply a perpetual subordination to the voluntary author of his existence;<sup>36</sup> but as the act of generation, in the most spiritual and abstracted sense, must be supposed to transmit the properties of a common nature,<sup>37</sup> they durst not presume to circumscribe the powers or the duration of the Son of an eternal and omnipotent Father. Fourscore years after the death of Christ, the Christians of Bithynia declared before the tribunal of Pliny that they invoked him as a god;

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<sup>35</sup> Lactantius, iv. 8. Yet the *Probole*, or *Prolatio*, which the most orthodox divines borrowed without scruple from the Valentinians, and illustrated by the comparisons of a fountain and stream, the sun and its rays, etc., either meant nothing or favored a material idea of the divine generation. See Beausobre, tom. i. l. iii. ch. 7, p. 548.

<sup>36</sup> Many of the primitive writers have frankly confessed that the Son owed his being to the *will* of the Father. See Clarke's Scripture Trinity, p. 280-287. On the other hand, Athanasius and his followers seem unwilling to grant what they are afraid to deny. The schoolmen extricate themselves from this difficulty by the distinction of a *preceding* and a *concomitant* will. Petav. Dogm. Theolog. tom. ii. l. vi. c. 8, p. 587-603.

<sup>37</sup> See Petav. Dogm. Theolog. tom. ii. l. ii. c. 10, p. 159.



and his divine honors have been perpetuated in every age and country by the various sects who assume the name of his disciples.<sup>38</sup> Their tender reverence for the memory of Christ, and their horror for the profane worship of any created being, would have engaged them to assert the equal and absolute divinity of the *Logos* if their rapid ascent towards the throne of Heaven had not been imperceptibly checked by the apprehension of violating the unity and sole supremacy of the great Father of Christ and of the Universe. The suspense and fluctuation produced in the minds of the Christians by these opposite tendencies may be observed in the writings of the theologians who flourished after the end of the apostolic age and before the origin of the Arian controversy. Their suffrage is claimed with equal confidence by the orthodox and by the heretical parties; and the most inquisitive critics have fairly allowed that if they had the good fortune of possessing the Catholic verity, they have delivered their conceptions in loose, inaccurate, and sometimes contradictory language.<sup>39</sup>

II. The devotion of individuals was the first circumstance which distinguished the Christians from the Platonists; the second was the authority of the Church. The disciples of philosophy asserted the rights of intellectual freedom, and their respect for the sentiments of their teachers was a liberal and voluntary tribute which they offered to superior reason. But the Christians formed a numerous and disciplined society; and the jurisdiction of their laws and magistrates was strictly exercised over the minds of the faithful. The loose wanderings of the imagination were gradually

Authority of  
the Church.

<sup>38</sup> *Carmenque Christo quasi Deo dicere secum invicem.*—Plin. Epist. x. 97. The sense of *Deus*, *θεός*, *Elohim*, in the ancient languages is critically examined by Le Clerc (*Ars Critica*, p. 150–156), and the propriety of worshipping a very excellent creature is ably defended by the Socinian Emlyn (*Tracts*, p. 29–36, 51–145).

<sup>39</sup> See Daillé, *De Usu Patrum*, and Le Clerc, *Bibliothèque Universelle*, tom. x. p. 409. To arraign the faith of the Ante-Nicene fathers was the object, or at least has been the effect, of the stupendous work of Petavius on the Trinity (*Dogm. Theolog.* tom. ii.); nor has the deep impression been erased by the learned defence of Bishop Bull.<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Dr. Burton's work on the doctrine of the Ante-Nicene fathers must be consulted by those who wish to obtain clear notions on this subject.—M.

confined by creeds and confessions;<sup>40</sup> the freedom of private judgment submitted to the public wisdom of synods; the authority of a theologian was determined by his ecclesiastical rank; and the episcopal successors of the apostles inflicted the censures of the Church on those who deviated from the orthodox belief. But in an age of religious controversy every act of oppression adds new force to the elastic vigor of the mind; and the zeal or obstinacy of a spiritual rebel was sometimes stimulated by secret motives of ambition or avarice. A meta-  
Factions.
physical argument became the cause or pretence of political contests; the subtleties of the Platonic school were used as the badges of popular factions, and the distance which separated their respective tenets was enlarged or magnified by the acrimony of dispute. As long as the dark heresies of Praxeas and Sabellius labored to confound the *Father* with the *Son*,<sup>41</sup> the orthodox party might be excused if they adhered more strictly and more earnestly to the *distinction* than to the *equality* of the divine persons. But as soon as the heat of controversy had subsided, and the progress of the Sabellians was no longer an object of terror to the churches of Rome, of Africa, or of Egypt, the tide of theological opinion began to flow with a gentle but steady motion towards the contrary extreme; and the most orthodox doctors allowed themselves the use of the terms and definitions which had been censured in the mouth of the sectaries.<sup>42</sup> After the edict of toleration had restored peace and leisure to the Christians, the Trinitarian controversy was revived in the ancient seat of Platonism—the learned, the opulent, the tumultuous city of Alexandria; and the flame of religious discord was rap-

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<sup>40</sup> The most ancient creeds were drawn up with the greatest latitude. See Bull (Judicium Eccles. Cathol.), who tries to prevent Episcopius from deriving any advantage from this observation.

<sup>41</sup> The heresies of Praxeas, Sabellius, etc., are accurately explained by Mosheim (p. 425, 680–714). Praxeas, who came to Rome about the end of the second century, deceived, for some time, the simplicity of the bishop, and was confuted by the pen of the angry Tertullian.

<sup>42</sup> Socrates acknowledges that the heresy of Arius proceeded from his strong desire to embrace an opinion the most diametrically opposite to that of Sabellius.

idly communicated from the schools to the clergy, the people, the province, and the East. The abstruse question of the eternity of the *Logos* was agitated in ecclesiastical conferences

and popular sermons; and the heterodox opinions

Arius. of Arius<sup>43</sup> were soon made public by his own zeal

and by that of his adversaries. His most implacable adversaries have acknowledged the learning and blameless life of that eminent presbyter, who, in a former election, had declined, and perhaps generously declined, his pretensions to the episcopal throne.<sup>44</sup> His competitor Alexander assumed the office of his judge. The important cause was argued before him; and if at first he seemed to hesitate, he at length pronounced his final sentence as an absolute rule of faith.<sup>45</sup> The undaunted presbyter who presumed to resist the authority of his angry bishop was separated from the communion of the Church. But the pride of Arius was supported by the applause of a numerous party. He reckoned among his immediate followers two bishops of Egypt, seven presbyters, twelve deacons, and (what may appear almost incredible) seven hundred virgins. A large majority of the bishops of Asia appeared to support or favor his cause; and their measures were conducted by Eusebius of Cæsarea, the most learned of the Christian prelates, and by Eusebius of Nicomedia, who had acquired the reputation of a statesman without forfeiting that of a saint. Synods in Palestine and Bithynia were opposed

<sup>43</sup> The figure and manners of Arius, the character and numbers of his first proselytes, are painted in very lively colors by Epiphanius (tom. i. Hæres. lxi. 3, p. 729 [ed. Paris, 1622]), and we cannot but regret that he should soon forget the historian, to assume the task of controversy.

<sup>44</sup> See Philostorgius (l. i. c. 3), and Godefroy's ample Commentary. Yet the credibility of Philostorgius is lessened, in the eyes of the orthodox, by his Arianism; and in those of rational critics, by his passion, his prejudice, and his ignorance.

<sup>45</sup> Sozomen (l. i. c. 15) represents Alexander as indifferent, and even ignorant, in the beginning of the controversy; while Socrates (l. i. c. 5) ascribes the origin of the dispute to the vain curiosity of his theological speculations. Dr. Jortin (Remarks on Ecclesiastical History, vol. ii. p. 178) has censured, with his usual freedom, the conduct of Alexander; *πρὸς ὀργὴν ἑξαπτήται . . . ὁμοίως φρόνεν ἐκείλευσε*,

to the synods of Egypt. The attention of the prince and people was attracted by this theological dispute; and the decision, at the end of six years,<sup>46</sup> was referred to the supreme authority of the General Council of Nice.

When the mysteries of the Christian faith were dangerously exposed to public debate, it might be observed that the human understanding was capable of forming three distinct, though imperfect, systems concerning the nature of the Divine Trinity, and it was pronounced that none of these systems, in a pure and absolute sense, were exempt from heresy and error.<sup>47</sup> I. According to

Three systems of the Trinity.

Arianism.

the first hypothesis, which was maintained by Arius and his disciples, the *Logos* was a dependent and spontaneous production, created from nothing by the will of the Father. The Son, by whom all things were made,<sup>48</sup> had been begotten before all worlds, and the longest of the astronomical periods could be compared only as a fleeting moment to the extent of his duration; yet this duration was not infinite,<sup>49</sup> and there *had* been a time which preceded the ineffable generation of the *Logos*. On this only-begotten Son the Almighty Father had transfused his ample spirit, and impressed the effulgence of his glory. Visible image of invisible perfection, he saw, at an immeasurable distance beneath his feet, the thrones of the brightest archangels; yet he shone only with a reflected light, and, like the sons of the Roman emperors, who were invested

<sup>46</sup> The flames of Arianism might burn for some time in secret; but there is reason to believe that they burst out with violence as early as the year 319. Tillemont, *Mém. Ecclés.* tom. vi. p. 774–780.

<sup>47</sup> Quid credidit? Certe, *aut* tria nomina audiens tres Deos esse credidit, et *Idololatra* effectus est; *aut* in tribus vocabulis trinominem credens Deum, in Sabellii hæresim incurrit; *aut* edoctus ab Arianis unum esse verum Deum Patrem, Filium, et Spiritum Sanctum credidit creaturas. *Aut* extra hæc quid credere potuerit nescio.—Hieronym. adv. Luciferianos [tom. ii. p. 184, ed. Vallars.]. Jerome reserves for the last the orthodox system, which is more complicated and difficult.

<sup>48</sup> As the doctrine of absolute creation from nothing was gradually introduced among the Christians (Beausobre, tom. ii. p. 165–215), the dignity of the *workman* very naturally rose with that of the *work*.

<sup>49</sup> The metaphysics of Dr. Clarke (*Scripture Trinity*, p. 276–280) could digest an eternal generation from an infinite cause.



with the title of Cæsar or Augustus,<sup>50</sup> he governed the universe in obedience to the will of his Father and Monarch. II. In the second hypothesis, the *Logos* possessed all the inherent,

**Tritheism.** incommunicable perfections which religion and philosophy appropriate to the Supreme God. Three distinct and infinite minds or substances, three coequal and co-eternal beings, composed the Divine Essence;<sup>51</sup> and it would have implied contradiction that any of them should not have existed, or that they should ever cease to exist.<sup>52</sup> The advocates of a system which seemed to establish three independent Deities attempted to preserve the unity of the First Cause, so conspicuous in the design and order of the world, by the perpetual concord of their administration and the essential agreement of their will. A faint resemblance of this unity of action may be discovered in the societies of men, and even of animals. The causes which disturb their harmony proceed only from the imperfection and inequality of their faculties; but the omnipotence which is guided by infinite wisdom and goodness cannot fail of choosing the same means for the accomplishment of the same ends. III. Three beings,

**Sabellianism.** who, by the self-derived necessity of their existence, possess all the divine attributes in the most perfect degree, who are eternal in duration, infinite in space, and intimately present to each other and to the whole universe, irresistibly force themselves on the astonished mind as one and the same Being,<sup>53</sup> who, in the economy of grace as well as in that of

<sup>50</sup> This profane and absurd simile is employed by several of the primitive fathers, particularly by Athenagoras, in his Apology to the Emperor Marcus and his son; and it is alleged, without censure, by Bull himself. See *Defens. Fid. Nicen.* § iii. c. 5, No. 4.

<sup>51</sup> See Cudworth's *Intellectual System*, p. 559, 579. This dangerous hypothesis was countenanced by the two Gregorys, of Nyssa and Nazianzen; by Cyril of Alexandria, John of Damascus, etc. See Cudworth, p. 603. Le Clerc, *Bibliothèque Universelle*, tom. xviii. p. 97-105.

<sup>52</sup> Augustine seems to envy the freedom of the philosophers. *Liberis verbis loquantur philosophi. . . . Nos autem non dicimus duo vel tria principia, duos vel tres Deos.*—*De Civitat. Dei*, x. 23.

<sup>53</sup> Boethius, who was deeply versed in the philosophy of Plato and Aristotle, explains the unity of the Trinity by the *indifference* of the three persons. See the judicious remarks of Le Clerc, *Bibliothèque Choisie*, tom. xvi. p. 225, etc.

nature, may manifest himself under different forms and be considered under different aspects. By this hypothesis a real substantial trinity is refined into a trinity of names and abstract modifications that subsist only in the mind which conceives them. The *Logos* is no longer a person, but an attribute; and it is only in a figurative sense that the epithet of Son can be applied to the eternal reason which was with God from the beginning, and by *which*, not by *whom*, all things were made. The incarnation of the *Logos* is reduced to a mere inspiration of the Divine Wisdom which filled the soul and directed all the actions of the man Jesus. Thus, after revolving round the theological circle, we are surprised to find that the Sabellian ends where the Ebionite had begun, and that the incomprehensible mystery which excites our adoration eludes our inquiry.<sup>54</sup>

If the bishops of the Council of Nice<sup>55</sup> had been permitted to follow the unbiassed dictates of their conscience, Arius and his associates could scarcely have flattered themselves with the hopes of obtaining a majority of votes in favor of an hypothesis so directly adverse to the two most popular opinions of the Catholic world. The Arians soon perceived the danger of their situation, and prudently assumed those modest virtues which, in the fury of civil and religious dissensions, are seldom practised, or even praised, except by the weaker party. They recommended the exercise of Christian charity and moderation, urged the incomprehensible nature of the controversy, disclaimed the use of any terms or definitions which could not be found in the Script-

Council of  
Nice.  
A. D. 325.

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<sup>54</sup> If the Sabellians were startled at this conclusion, they were driven down another precipice into the confession that the Father was born of a virgin, that *he* had suffered on the cross, and thus deserved the odious epithet of *Patripassians*, with which they were branded by their adversaries. See the invectives of Tertullian against Praxeas, and the temperate reflections of Mosheim (p. 423, 681) and Beausobre (tom. i. l. iii. ch. 6, p. 533).

<sup>55</sup> The transactions of the Council of Nice are related by the ancients, not only in a partial, but in a very imperfect manner. Such a picture as Fra Paolo would have drawn can never be recovered; but such rude sketches as have been traced by the pencil of bigotry and that of reason may be seen in Tillemont (*Mém. Ecclés.* tom. vi. p. 669–759), and in Le Clerc (*Bibliothèque Universelle*, tom. x. p. 435–454).

ures, and offered, by very liberal concessions, to satisfy their adversaries without renouncing the integrity of their own principles. The victorious faction received all their proposals with haughty suspicion, and anxiously sought for some irreconcilable mark of distinction, the rejection of which might involve the Arians in the guilt and consequences of heresy. A letter was publicly read and ignominiously torn in which their patron, Eusebius of Nicomedia, ingenuously confessed that the admission of the HOMOOUSION, or Consubstantial, a word already familiar to the Platonists, was incompatible with the principles of their theological system. The fortunate opportunity was eagerly embraced by the bishops, who governed the resolutions of the synod, and, according to the lively expression of Ambrose,<sup>66</sup> they used the sword, which heresy itself had drawn from the scabbard, to cut off the head of the hated monster. The consubstantiality of the Father and the Son was established by the Council of Nice, and has been unanimously received as a fundamental article of the Christian faith by the consent of the Greek, the Latin, the Oriental, and the Protestant churches. But if the same word had not served to stigmatize the heretics and to unite the Catholics, it would have been inadequate to the purpose of the majority by whom it was introduced into the orthodox creed. This majority was divided into two parties, distinguished by a contrary tendency to the sentiments of the Tritheists and of the Sabellians. But as those opposite extremes seemed to overthrow the foundations either of natural or revealed religion, they mutually agreed to qualify the rigor of their principles, and to disavow the just but invidious consequences which might be urged by their antagonists. The interest of the common cause inclined them to join their numbers and to

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<sup>66</sup> We are indebted to Ambrose (*De Fide*, l. iii. cap. ult.) for the knowledge of this curious anecdote: "Hoc verbum posuerunt Patres, quod viderunt adversariis esse formidini; ut tanquam evaginato ab ipsis gladio, ipsum nefandæ caput hæreseos amputarent." <sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup> In the Benedictine edition of Ambrose (c. 15, not cap. ult.) the passage runs thus: "Hoc verbum *in tractatu Fidei* posuerunt Patres, quia id viderunt adversariis esse formidini; ut tanquam evaginato ab ipsis gladio *ipsorum* nefandæ caput hæreseos amputarent."—S.

conceal their differences; their animosity was softened by the healing counsels of toleration, and their disputes were suspended by the use of the mysterious *Homoousion*, which either party was free to interpret according to their peculiar tenets. The Sabellian sense, which, about fifty years before, had obliged the Council of Antioch<sup>57</sup> to prohibit this celebrated term, had endeared it to those theologians who entertained a secret but partial affection for a nominal Trinity. But the more fashionable saints of the Arian times—the intrepid Athanasius, the learned Gregory Nazianzen, and the other pillars of the Church who supported with ability and success the Nicene doctrine—appeared to consider the expression of *substance* as if it had been synonymous with that of *nature*; and they ventured to illustrate their meaning by affirming that three men, as they belong to the same common species, are consubstantial or homoousian to each other.<sup>58</sup> This pure and distinct equality was tempered, on the one hand, by the internal connection and spiritual penetration which indissolubly unite the divine persons;<sup>59</sup> and, on the other, by the pre-eminence of the Father, which was acknowledged as far as it is compatible with the independence of the Son.<sup>60</sup> Within these limits the almost invisible and tremulous ball of orthodoxy was allowed securely to vibrate. On either side, beyond this consecrated ground, the heretics and the demons lurked in ambush to surprise and devour the unhappy wanderer. But as the degrees of theological hatred depend on the spirit of the war

<sup>57</sup> See Bull, Defens. Fid. Nicen. sect. ii. c. i. p. 25–36. He thinks it his duty to reconcile two orthodox synods.

<sup>58</sup> According to Aristotle, the stars were homoousian to each other. “That *Homoousius* means of one substance in *kind* hath been shown by Petavius, Curcellæus, Cudworth, Le Clerc, etc., and to prove it would be *actum agere*.” This is the just remark of Dr. Jortin (vol. ii. p. 212), who examines the Arian controversy with learning, candor, and ingenuity.

<sup>59</sup> See Petavius (Dogm. Theolog. tom. ii. l. iv. c. 16, p. 453, etc.), Cudworth (p. 559), Bull (sect. iv. p. 285–290. edit. Grab.). The *περιχώρησις*, or *circumincessio*, is perhaps the deepest and darkest corner of the whole theological abyss.

<sup>60</sup> The third section of Bull's Defence of the Nicene Faith, which some of his antagonists have called nonsense, and others heresy, is consecrated to the supremacy of the Father.



rather than on the importance of the controversy, the heretics who degraded were treated with more severity than those who annihilated the person of the Son. The life of Athanasius was consumed in irreconcilable opposition to the impious *madness* of the Arians,<sup>61</sup> but he defended above twenty years the Sabelianism of Marcellus of Ancyra; and when at last he was compelled to withdraw himself from his communion, he continued to mention with an ambiguous smile the venial errors of his respectable friend.<sup>62</sup>

The authority of a general council, to which the Arians themselves had been compelled to submit, inscribed on the banners of the orthodox party the mysterious characters of the word *Homousion*, which essentially contributed, notwithstanding some obscure disputes, some nocturnal combats, to maintain and perpetuate the uniformity of faith, or at least of language. The Consubstantialists, who by their success have deserved and obtained the title of Catholics, gloried in the simplicity and steadiness of their own creed, and insulted the repeated variations of their adversaries, who were destitute of any certain rule of faith. The sincerity or the cunning of the Arian chiefs, the fear of the laws or of the people, their reverence for Christ, their hatred of Athanasius—all the causes, human and divine, that influence and disturb the counsels of a theological faction, introduced among the sectaries a spirit of discord and inconstancy, which in the course of a few years erected eighteen different models of religion<sup>63</sup> and avenged the violated dignity of the Church. The zealous Hilary,<sup>64</sup> who,

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<sup>61</sup> The ordinary appellation with which Athanasius and his followers chose to compliment the Arians was that of *Ariomanites*.

<sup>62</sup> Epiphanius, tom. i. Hæres. lxxii. 4, p. 837. See the adventures of Marcellus, in Tillemont (*Mém. Ecclés.* tom. vii. p. 880-899). His work, in one book, of the Unity of God, was answered in the three books, which are still extant, of Eusebius. After a long and careful examination Petavius (tom. ii. l. i. c. 14, p. 78) has reluctantly pronounced the condemnation of Marcellus.

<sup>63</sup> Athanasius, in his epistles concerning the synods of Seleucia and Rimini (tom. i. p. 886-905 [p. 735 seq., edit. Bened.]), has given an ample list of Arian creeds, which has been enlarged and improved by the labors of the indefatigable Tillemont (*Mém. Ecclés.* tom. vi. p. 477).

<sup>64</sup> Erasmus, with admirable sense and freedom, has delineated the just charac-

from the peculiar hardships of his situation, was inclined to extenuate rather than to aggravate the errors of the Oriental clergy, declares that, in the wide extent of the ten provinces of Asia to which he had been banished, there could be found very few prelates who had preserved the knowledge of the true God.<sup>65</sup> The oppression which he had felt, the disorders of which he was the spectator and the victim, appeased, during a short interval, the angry passions of his soul; and in the following passage, of which I shall transcribe a few lines, the Bishop of Poitiers unwarily deviates into the style of a Christian philosopher: "It is a thing," says Hilary, "equally deplorable and dangerous, that there are as many creeds as opinions among men, as many doctrines as inclinations, and as many sources of blasphemy as there are faults among us, because we make creeds arbitrarily and explain them as arbitrarily. The Homousion is rejected and received and explained away by successive synods. The partial or total resemblance of the Father and of the Son is a subject of dispute for these unhappy times. Every year—nay, every moon—we make new creeds to describe invisible mysteries. We repent of what we have done, we defend those who repent, we anathematize those whom we defended. We condemn either the doctrine of others in ourselves, or our own in that of others; and, reciprocally tearing one another to pieces, we have been the cause of each other's ruin."<sup>66</sup>

It will not be expected—it would not, perhaps, be endured—that I should swell this theological digression by a minute examination of the eighteen creeds, the au-

Arian sects.

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ter of Hilary. To revise his text, to compose the annals of his life, and to justify his sentiments and conduct is the province of the Benedictine editors.

<sup>65</sup> Absque episcopo Eleusio et paucis cum eo, ex majore parte Asianæ decem provinciæ, inter quas consisto, vere Deum nesciunt. Atque utinam penitus nescirent! cum proclivior enim veniâ ignorarent quam obtrectarent.—Hilar. de Synodis, sive de Fide Orientalium, c. 63, p. 1186, edit. Benedict. In the celebrated parallel between atheism and superstition, the Bishop of Poitiers would have been surprised in the philosophic society of Bayle and Plutarch.

<sup>66</sup> Hilarius ad Constantium, l. i. c. 4, 5, p. 1227, 1228. This remarkable passage deserved the attention of Mr. Locke, who has transcribed it (vol. iii. p. 470) into the model of his new commonplace book.

thors of which, for the most part, disclaimed the odious name of their parent Arius. It is amusing enough to delineate the form and to trace the vegetation of a singular plant; but the tedious detail of leaves without flowers and of branches without fruit would soon exhaust the patience and disappoint the curiosity of the laborious student. One question which gradually arose from the Arian controversy may, however, be noticed, as it served to produce and discriminate the three sects who were united only by their common aversion to the Homousion of the Nicene Synod. 1. If they were asked whether the Son was *like* unto the Father, the question was resolutely answered in the negative by the heretics who adhered to the principles of Arius, or indeed to those of philosophy, which seem to establish an infinite difference between the Creator and the most excellent of his creatures. This obvious consequence was maintained by Aëtius,<sup>67</sup> on whom the zeal of his adversaries bestowed the surname of the Atheist. His restless and aspiring spirit urged him to try almost every profession of human life. He was successively a slave, or at least a husbandman, a travelling tinker, a goldsmith, a physician, a schoolmaster, a theologian, and, at last, the apostle of a new church, which was propagated by the abilities of his disciple Eunomius.<sup>68</sup> Armed with texts of Scripture, and with captious syllogisms from the logic of Aristotle, the subtle Aëtius had acquired the fame of an invincible disputant, whom it was impossible either to silence or to convince. Such talents engaged the friendship of the Arian bishops, till they were forced to renounce and even to persecute a dangerous ally, who, by the accuracy of his reasoning, had prejudiced their cause in the

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<sup>67</sup> In Philostorgius (l. iii. c. 15) the character and adventures of Aëtius appear singular enough, though they are carefully softened by the hand of a friend. The editor, Godefroy (p. 153), who was more attached to his principles than to his author, has collected the odious circumstances which his various adversaries have preserved or invented.

<sup>68</sup> According to the judgment of a man who respected both those sectaries, Aëtius had been endowed with a stronger understanding, and Eunomius had acquired more art and learning (Philostorgius, l. viii. c. 18). The confession and apology of Eunomius (Fabricius, Biblioth. Græc. tom. viii. p. 258-305) is one of the few heretical pieces which have escaped.

popular opinion and offended the piety of their most devoted followers. 2. The omnipotence of the Creator suggested a specious and respectful solution of the *likeness* of the Father and the Son; and faith might humbly receive what reason could not presume to deny—that the Supreme God might communicate his infinite perfections, and create a being similar only to himself.<sup>69</sup> These Arians were powerfully supported by the weight and abilities of their leaders, who had succeeded to the management of the Eusebian interest, and who occupied the principal thrones of the East. They detested, perhaps with some affectation, the impiety of Aëtius; they professed to believe, either without reserve or according to the Scriptures, that the Son was different from all *other* creatures, and similar only to the Father. But they denied that he was either of the same or of a similar substance; sometimes boldly justifying their dissent, and sometimes objecting to the use of the word substance, which seems to imply an adequate, or at least a distinct, notion of the nature of the Deity. 3. The sect which asserted the doctrine of a similar substance was the most numerous, at least in the provinces of Asia; and when the leaders of both parties were assembled in the Council of Seleucia,<sup>70</sup> *their* opinion would have prevailed by a majority of one hundred and five to forty-three bishops. The Greek word which was chosen to express this mysterious resemblance bears so close an affinity to the orthodox symbol that the profane of every age have derided the furious contests which the difference of a single diphthong excited between the Homousians and the Homoiousians. As it frequently happens that the sounds and characters which approach the nearest to each other accidentally represent the most opposite ideas, the observation would be itself ridiculous, if it were possible to mark

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<sup>69</sup> Yet, according to the opinion of Estius and Bull (p. 297), there is one power—that of creation—which God *cannot* communicate to a creature. Estius, who so accurately defined the limits of Omnipotence, was a Dutchman by birth, and by trade a scholastic divine. Dupin, *Biblioth. Ecclési.* tom. xvii. p. 45.

<sup>70</sup> Sabinus (apud Socrat. l. ii. c. 39) had copied the acts; Athanasius and Hilary have explained the divisions of this Arian synod; the other circumstances which are relative to it are carefully collected by Baronius and Tillemont.



any real and sensible distinction between the doctrine of the Semi-Arians, as they were improperly styled, and that of the Catholics themselves. The Bishop of Poitiers, who in his Phrygian exile very wisely aimed at a coalition of parties, endeavors to prove that, by a pious and faithful interpretation," the *Homoiousion* may be reduced to a consubstantial sense. Yet he confesses that the word has a dark and suspicious aspect; and, as if darkness were congenial to theological disputes, the Semi-Arians, who advanced to the doors of the Church, assailed them with the most unrelenting fury.

The provinces of Egypt and Asia, which cultivated the language and manners of the Greeks, had deeply imbibed the venom of the Arian controversy. The familiar study of the Platonic system, a vain and argumentative disposition, a copious and flexible idiom, supplied the clergy and people of the East with an inexhaustible flow of words and distinctions; and, in the midst of their fierce contentions, they easily forgot the doubt which is recommended by philosophy, and the submission which is enjoined by religion. The inhabitants of the West were of a less inquisitive spirit; their passions were not so forcibly moved by invisible objects, their minds were less frequently exercised by the habits of dispute; and such was the happy ignorance of the Gallican Church that Hilary himself, above thirty years after the first general council, was still a stranger to the Nicene Creed.<sup>71</sup> The Latins had received the rays of divine knowledge through the dark and doubtful medium of a translation. The poverty and stubbornness of their native tongue was not always capa-

Faith of the  
Western or  
Latin Church.

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<sup>71</sup> *Fideli et piâ intelligentiâ . . .*—De Synod. c. 77, p. 1193. In his short apologetical notes (first published by the Benedictines from a MS. of Chartres) he observes that he used this cautious expression, "*quia intelligerem et impiam,*" p. 1206. See p. 1146. Philostorgius, who saw those objects through a different medium, is inclined to forget the difference of the important diphthong. See in particular viii. 17, and Godefroy, p. 352.

<sup>72</sup> *Testor Deum cœli atque terræ me cum neutrum audissem, semper tamen utrumque sensisse. . . . Regeneratus pridem et in episcopatu aliquantisper manens fidem Nicenam nunquam nisi exsulaturus audiui.*—Hilar. de Synodis, c. xci. p. 1205. The Benedictines are persuaded that he governed the diocese of Poitiers several years before his exile.

ble of affording just equivalents for the Greek terms, for the technical words of the Platonic philosophy,<sup>73</sup> which had been consecrated, by the Gospel or by the Church, to express the mysteries of the Christian faith; and a verbal defect might introduce into the Latin theology a long train of error or perplexity.<sup>74</sup> But as the Western provincials had the good fortune of deriving their religion from an orthodox source, they preserved with steadiness the doctrine which they had accepted with docility; and when the Arian pestilence approached their frontiers, they were supplied with the seasonable preservative of the Homousion by the paternal care of the Roman pontiff.

Council of  
Rimini.  
A.D. 360.

Their sentiments and their temper were displayed in the memorable Synod of Rimini, which surpassed in numbers the Council of Nice, since it was composed of above four hundred bishops of Italy, Africa, Spain, Gaul, Britain, and Illyricum. From the first debates it appeared that only fourscore prelates adhered to the party, though *they* affected to anathematize the name and memory of Arius. But this inferiority was compensated by the advantages of skill, of experience, and of discipline; and the minority was conducted by Valens and Ursacius, two bishops of Illyricum who had spent their lives in the intrigues of courts and councils, and who had been trained under the Eusebian banner in the religious wars of the East. By their arguments and negotiations they embarrassed, they confounded, they at last deceived, the honest simplicity of the Latin bishops, who suffered the palladium of the faith to be extorted from their hands by fraud and importunity rather than by open violence. The Council of Rimini was not allowed to separate till the members had imprudently subscribed a captious creed, in which some expressions susceptible of an heretical sense were inserted in the room of the Homousion. It was on this oc-

<sup>73</sup> Seneca (Epist. lviii.) complains that even the τὸ ὄν of the Platonists (the *ens* of the bolder schoolmen) could not be expressed by a Latin noun.

<sup>74</sup> The preference which the Fourth Council of the Lateran at length gave to a *numerical* rather than a *generical* unity (see Petav. tom. ii. l. iv. c. 13, p. 424) was favored by the Latin language: *τρίας* seems to excite the idea of substance, *trinitas* of qualities.

casion that, according to Jerome, the world was surprised to find itself Arian.<sup>75</sup> But the bishops of the Latin provinces had no sooner reached their respective dioceses than they discovered their mistake, and repented of their weakness. The ignominious capitulation was rejected with disdain and abhorrence, and the Homoousian standard, which had been shaken, but not overthrown, was more firmly replanted in all the churches of the West.<sup>76</sup>

Such was the rise and progress, and such were the natural revolutions, of those theological disputes which disturbed the peace of Christianity under the reigns of Constantine and of his sons. But as those princes presumed to extend their despotism over the faith, as well as over the lives and fortunes, of their subjects, the weight of their suffrage sometimes inclined the ecclesiastical balance; and the prerogatives of the King of Heaven were settled, or changed, or modified, in the cabinet of an earthly monarch.

The unhappy spirit of discord which pervaded the provinces of the East interrupted the triumph of Constantine; but the emperor continued for some time to view with cool and careless indifference the object of the dispute. As he was yet ignorant of the difficulty of appeasing the quarrels of theologians, he addressed to the contending parties, to Alexander and to Arius, a moderating epistle,<sup>77</sup> which may be ascribed with far greater reason to the un-

Conduct of  
the emperors  
in the Arian  
controversy.

Indifference  
of Constantine.  
A.D. 324.

<sup>75</sup> *Ingemuit totus orbis, et Arianum se esse miratus est.* Hieronym. adv. Lucifer. tom. i. p. 145 [tom. ii. p. 191, edit. Vallars.].

<sup>76</sup> The story of the Council of Rimini is very elegantly told by Sulpicius Severus (*Hist. Sacra*, l. ii. p. 419–430, edit. Lugd. Bat. 1647), and by Jerome, in his dialogue against the Luciferians. The design of the latter is to apologize for the conduct of the Latin bishops, who were deceived, and who repented.

<sup>77</sup> Eusebius, in *Vit. Constant.* l. ii. c. 64–72. The principles of toleration and religious indifference contained in this epistle have given great offence to Baronius, Tillemont, etc., who suppose that the emperor had some evil counsellor, either Satan or Eusebius, at his elbow. See Jortin's *Remarks*, tom. ii. p. 183.<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Heinichen (*Excursus xi.*) quotes with approbation the term “golden words,” applied by Ziegler to this moderate and tolerant letter of Constantine. May an English clergyman venture to express his regret that “the fine gold so soon became dim” in the Christian Church?—M.

tutored sense of a soldier and statesman than to the dictates of any of his episcopal counsellors. He attributes the origin of the whole controversy to a trifling and subtle question concerning an incomprehensible point of the law, which was foolishly asked by the bishop, and imprudently resolved by the presbyter. He laments that the Christian people, who had the same God, the same religion, and the same worship, should be divided by such inconsiderable distinctions; and he seriously recommends to the clergy of Alexandria the example of the Greek philosophers, who could maintain their arguments without losing their temper, and assert their freedom without violating their friendship. The indifference and contempt of the sovereign would have been, perhaps, the most effectual method of silencing the dispute, if the popular current had been less rapid and impetuous, and if Constantine himself, in the midst of faction and fanaticism, could have preserved the calm possession of his own mind. But his ecclesiastical ministers soon contrived to seduce the impartiality of the magis-

His zeal.  
A.D. 325.

trate and to awaken the zeal of the proselyte. He was provoked by the insults which had been offered to his statues; he was alarmed by the real as well as the imaginary magnitude of the spreading mischief; and he extinguished the hope of peace and toleration, from the moment that he assembled three hundred bishops within the walls of the same palace. The presence of the monarch swelled the importance of the debate; his attention multiplied the arguments; and he exposed his person with a patient intrepidity which animated the valor of the combatants. Notwithstanding the applause which has been bestowed on the eloquence and sagacity of Constantine,<sup>70</sup> a Roman general whose religion might be still a subject of doubt, and whose mind had not been enlightened either by study or by inspiration, was indifferently qualified to discuss, in the Greek language, a metaphysical question or an article of faith. But the credit of his favorite Osius, who appears to have presided in the Council of Nice, might dispose the emperor in favor of the orthodox

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<sup>70</sup> Eusebius in Vit. Constantin. l. iii. c. 13.



party; and a well-timed insinuation that the same Eusebius of Nicomedia who now protected the heretic had lately assisted the tyrant<sup>79</sup> might exasperate him against their adversaries. The Nicene Creed was ratified by Constantine; and his firm declaration that those who resisted the divine judgment of the synod must prepare themselves for an immediate exile annihilated the murmurs of a feeble opposition, which, from seventeen, was almost instantly reduced to two protesting bishops. Eusebius of Cæsarea yielded a reluctant and ambiguous consent to the Homousion;<sup>80</sup> and the wavering conduct of the Nicomedian Eusebius served only to delay about three months his disgrace and exile." The impious Arius was banished into one of the remote provinces of Illyricum; his person and disciples were branded by law with the odious name of Porphyrians; his writings were condemned to the flames, and a capital punishment was denounced against those in whose possession they should be found. The emperor had now imbibed the spirit of controversy; and the angry, sarcastic style of his edicts was designed to inspire his subjects with the hatred which he had conceived against the enemies of Christ.<sup>81</sup>

He persecutes the Arians,

and the orthodox party.  
A.D. 328-337.

But, as if the conduct of the emperor had been guided by passion instead of principle, three years from the Council of Nice were scarcely elapsed before he discovered some symptoms of mercy, and even of indul-

<sup>79</sup> Theodoret has preserved (l. i. c. 20) an epistle from Constantine to the people of Nicomedia, in which the monarch declares himself the public accuser of one of his subjects. He styles Eusebius ὁ τῆς τυραννικῆς ὁμοιότητος συμμύστης; and complains of his hostile behavior during the civil war.

<sup>80</sup> See in Socrates (l. i. c. 8), or rather in Theodoret (l. i. c. 12), an original letter of Eusebius of Cæsarea, in which he attempts to justify his subscribing the Homousion. The character of Eusebius has always been a problem; but those who have read the second critical epistle of Le Clerc (*Ars Critica*, tom. iii. p. 30-69) must entertain a very unfavorable opinion of the orthodoxy and sincerity of the Bishop of Cæsarea.

<sup>81</sup> Athanasius, tom. i. p. 727 [tom. i. p. 247, ed. Bened.]; Philostorgius, l. i. c. 10; and Godefroy's Commentary, p. 41.

<sup>82</sup> Socrates, l. i. c. 9. In his circular letters, which were addressed to the several cities, Constantine employed against the heretics the arms of ridicule and comic raillery.

gence, towards the proscribed sect, which was secretly protected by his favorite sister. The exiles were recalled ; and Eusebius, who gradually resumed his influence over the mind of Constantine, was restored to the episcopal throne, from which he had been ignominiously degraded. Arius himself was treated by the whole court with the respect which would have been due to an innocent and oppressed man. His faith was approved by the Synod of Jerusalem ; and the emperor seemed impatient to repair his injustice by issuing an absolute command that he should be solemnly admitted to the communion in the Cathedral of Constantinople. On the same day which had been fixed for the triumph of Arius, he expired ; and the strange and horrid circumstances of his death might excite a suspicion that the orthodox saints had contributed more efficaciously than by their prayers to deliver the Church from the most formidable of her enemies.<sup>83</sup> The three principal leaders of the Catholics—Athanasius of Alexandria, Eustathius of Antioch, and Paul of Constantinople—were deposed, on various accusations, by the sentence of numerous councils ; and were afterwards banished into distant provinces by the first of the Christian emperors, who, in the last moments of his life, received the rites of baptism from the Arian Bishop of Nicomedia. The ecclesiastical government of Constantine cannot be justified from the reproach of levity and weakness. But the credulous monarch, unskilled in the stratagems of theological warfare, might be deceived by the modest and specious professions of the heretics, whose sentiments he never perfectly understood ; and, while he protected Arius and persecuted Athanasius, he still considered the Council of Nice as the bulwark of the Christian faith, and the peculiar glory of his own reign.<sup>84</sup>

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<sup>83</sup> We derive the original story from Athanasius (tom. i. p. 670), who expresses some reluctance to stigmatize the memory of the dead. He might exaggerate ; but the perpetual commerce of Alexandria and Constantinople would have rendered it dangerous to invent. Those who press the literal narrative of the death of Arius (his bowels suddenly burst out in a privy) must make their option between *poison* and *miracle*.

<sup>84</sup> The change in the sentiments, or at least in the conduct, of Constantine may be traced in Eusebius (in Vit. Constant. l. iii. c. 23, l. iv. c. 41), Socrates (l. i. c.

The sons of Constantine must have been admitted from their childhood into the rank of catechumens, but they imitated, in the delay of their baptism, the example of their father. Like him, they presumed to pronounce their judgment on mysteries into which they had never been regularly initiated;<sup>85</sup> and the fate of the Trinitarian controversy depended, in a great measure, on the sentiments of Constantius, who inherited the provinces of the East, and acquired the possession of the whole empire. The Arian presbyter or bishop, who had secreted for his use the testament of the deceased emperor, improved the fortunate occasion which had introduced him to the familiarity of a prince whose public counsels were always swayed by his domestic favorites. The eunuchs and slaves diffused the spiritual poison through the palace, and the dangerous infection was communicated by the female attendants to the guards, and by the empress to her unsuspecting husband.<sup>86</sup> The partiality which Constantius always expressed towards the Eusebian faction was insensibly fortified by the dexterous management of their leaders; and his victory over the tyrant Magnentius increased his inclination, as well as ability, to employ the arms of power in the cause of Arianism. While the two armies were engaged in the plains of Mursa, and the fate of the two rivals depended on the chance of war, the son of Constantine passed the anxious moments in a church of the martyrs under the walls of the city. His spiritual comforter, Valens, the Arian bishop of the diocese, employed the most artful precautions to obtain

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23-39), Sozomen (l. ii. c. 16-34), Theodoret (l. i. c. 14-34), and Philostorgius (l. ii. c. 1-17). But the first of these writers was too near the scene of action, and the others were too remote from it. It is singular enough that the important task of continuing the history of the Church should have been left for two laymen and a heretic.

<sup>85</sup> Quia etiam tum catechumenus sacramentum fidei merito videretur potuisse nescire.—Sulp. Sever. Hist. Sacra, l. ii. p. 410.

<sup>86</sup> Socrates, l. ii. c. 2. Sozomen, l. iii. c. 18. Athanas. tom. i. p. 813, 834 [tom. i. p. 289, ed. Bened. Patav. 1777]. He observes that the eunuchs are the natural enemies of the *Son*. Compare Dr. Jortin's Remarks on Ecclesiastical History, vol. iv. p. 3, with a certain genealogy in Candide (ch. iv.), which ends with one of the first companions of Christopher Columbus.

such early intelligence as might secure either his favor or his escape. A secret chain of swift and trusty messengers informed him of the vicissitudes of the battle; and while the courtiers stood trembling round their affrighted master, Valens assured him that the Gallic legions gave way; and insinuated, with some presence of mind, that the glorious event had been revealed to him by an angel. The grateful emperor ascribed his success to the merits and intercession of the Bishop of Mursa, whose faith had deserved the public and miraculous approbation of Heaven.<sup>87</sup> The Arians, who considered as their own the victory of Constantius, preferred his glory to that of his father.<sup>88</sup> Cyril, Bishop of Jerusalem, immediately composed the description of a celestial cross, encircled with a splendid rainbow, which, during the festival of Pentecost, about the third hour of the day, had appeared over the Mount of Olives, to the edification of the devout pilgrims and the people of the holy city.<sup>89</sup> The size of the meteor was gradually magnified; and the Arian historian has ventured to affirm that it was conspicuous to the two armies in the plains of Pannonia; and that the tyrant, who is purposely represented as an idolater, fled before the auspicious sign of orthodox Christianity.<sup>90</sup>

The sentiments of a judicious stranger who has impartially considered the progress of civil or ecclesiastical discord are always entitled to our notice; and a short passage of Ammianus, who served in the armies, and studied

Arian coun-  
cils.

<sup>87</sup> Sulpicius Severus in *Hist. Sacra*, l. ii. p. 405, 406.

<sup>88</sup> Cyril (apud Baron. A.D. 353, No. 26) expressly observes that in the reign of Constantine the cross had been found in the bowels of the earth; but that it had appeared, in the reign of Constantius, in the midst of the heavens. This opposition evidently proves that Cyril was ignorant of the stupendous miracle to which the conversion of Constantine is attributed; and this ignorance is the more surprising, since it was no more than twelve years after his death that Cyril was consecrated Bishop of Jerusalem by the immediate successor of Eusebius of Cæsarea. See Tillemont, *Mém. Ecclés.* tom. viii. p. 715.

<sup>89</sup> It is not easy to determine how far the ingenuity of Cyril might be assisted by some natural appearances of a solar halo.

<sup>90</sup> Philostorgius, l. iii. c. 26. He is followed by the author of the *Alexandrian Chronicle*, by Cedrenus, and by Nicephorus (see Gothofred. *Dissert.* p. 188). They could not refuse a miracle, even from the hand of an enemy.



the character, of Constantius, is perhaps of more value than many pages of theological invectives. "The Christian religion, which, in itself," says that moderate historian, "is plain and simple, *he* confounded by the dotage of superstition. Instead of reconciling the parties by the weight of his authority, he cherished and propagated, by verbal disputes, the differences which his vain curiosity had excited. The highways were covered with troops of bishops galloping from every side to the assemblies, which they call synods; and while they labored to reduce the whole sect to their own particular opinions, the public establishment of the posts was almost ruined by their hasty and repeated journeys."<sup>91</sup> Our more intimate knowledge of the ecclesiastical transactions of the reign of Constantius would furnish an ample commentary on this remarkable passage, which justifies the rational apprehensions of Athanasius that the restless activity of the clergy, who wandered round the empire in search of the true faith, would excite the contempt and laughter of the unbelieving world."<sup>92</sup> As soon as the emperor was relieved from the terrors of the civil war, he devoted the leisure of his winter-quarters at Arles, Milan, Sirmium, and Constantinople to the amusement or toils of controversy; the sword of the magistrate, and even of the tyrant, was unsheathed, to enforce the reasons of the theologian; and as he opposed the orthodox faith of Nice, it is readily confessed that his incapacity and ignorance were equal to his presumption."<sup>93</sup> The eunuchs, the women, and the bishops, who governed the vain and feeble mind of the emperor, had inspired him with an insuperable dislike to the Homoousion; but his timid conscience was alarmed by the impiety of Aëtius. The guilt of

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<sup>91</sup> So curious a passage well deserves to be transcribed: *Christianam religionem absolutam et simplicem, anili superstitione confundens; in quâ scrutandâ perplexius, quam componendâ gravius excitaret discidia plurima; quæ progressa fusius aluit concertatione verborum, ut catervis antistitum jumentis publicis ultro citroque discurrentibus, per synodos (quas appellant) dum ritum omnem ad suum trahere conantur (Valesius reads conatur) rei vehiculariæ concideret nervos.*—*Ammianus*, xxi. 16.

<sup>92</sup> *Athanas.* tom. i. p. 870.

<sup>93</sup> *Socrates*, l. ii. c. 35-47. *Sozomen*, l. iv. c. 12-30. *Theodoret*, l. ii. c. 18-32. *Philostorg.* l. iv. c. 4-12, l. v. c. 1-4, l. vi. c. 1-5.

that atheist was aggravated by the suspicious favor of the unfortunate Gallus; and even the deaths of the imperial ministers who had been massacred at Antioch were imputed to the suggestions of that dangerous sophist. The mind of Constantius, which could neither be moderated by reason nor fixed by faith, was blindly impelled to either side of the dark and empty abyss by his horror of the opposite extreme. He alternately embraced and condemned the sentiments, he successively banished and recalled the leaders, of the Arian and Semi-Arian factions.<sup>94</sup> During the season of public business or festivity, he employed whole days, and even nights, in selecting the words and weighing the syllables which composed his fluctuating creeds. The subject of his meditations still pursued and occupied his slumbers; the incoherent dreams of the emperor were received as celestial visions; and he accepted with complacency the lofty title of Bishop of Bishops from those ecclesiastics who forgot the interest of their order for the gratification of their passions. The design of establishing a uniformity of doctrine, which had engaged him to convene so many synods in Gaul, Italy, Illyricum, and Asia, was repeatedly baffled by his own levity, by the divisions of the Arians, and by the resistance of the Catholics; and he resolved, as the last and decisive effort, imperiously to dictate the decrees of a general council. The destructive earthquake of Nicomedia, the difficulty of finding a convenient place, and perhaps some secret motives of policy, produced an alteration in the summons. The bishops of the East were directed to meet at Seleucia, in Isauria; while those of the West held their deliberations at Rimini, on the coast of the Hadriatic; and instead of two or three deputies from each province, the whole episcopal body was ordered to march. The Eastern council, after consuming four days in fierce and unavailing

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<sup>94</sup> Sozomen, l. iv. c. 23. Athanas. tom. i. p. 831 [tom. i. p. 281, edit. Ben.]. Tillemont (*Mém. Ecclés.* tom. vii. p. 947) has collected several instances of the haughty fanaticism of Constantius from the detached treatises of Lucifer of Cagliari. The very titles of these treatises inspire zeal and terror: "*Moriendum pro Dei Filio*," "*De Regibus Apostaticis*," "*De non Conveniendo cum Hæretico*," "*De non Parcendo in Deum Delinquentibus*."

debate, separated without any definite conclusion. The council of the West was protracted till the seventh month. Taurus, the Prætorian præfect, was instructed not to dismiss the prelates till they should all be united in the same opinion; and his efforts were supported by a power of banishing fifteen of the most refractory, and a promise of the consulship if he achieved so difficult an adventure. His prayers and threats,

A.D. 360. the authority of the sovereign, the sophistry of Valens and Ursacius, the distress of cold and hunger, and the tedious melancholy of a hopeless exile, at length extorted the reluctant consent of the bishops of Rimini. The deputies of the East and of the West attended the emperor in the palace of Constantinople, and he enjoyed the satisfaction of imposing on the world a profession of faith which established the *likeness*, without expressing the *consubstantiality*, of the Son of God.<sup>95</sup> But the triumph of Arianism had been preceded by the removal of the orthodox clergy, whom it was impossible either to intimidate or to corrupt; and the reign of Constantius was disgraced by the unjust and ineffectual persecution of the great Athanasius.

We have seldom an opportunity of observing, either in active or speculative life, what effect may be produced, or what obstacles may be surmounted, by the force of a single mind, when it is inflexibly applied to the pursuit of a single object. The immortal name of Athanasius<sup>96</sup> will never be separated from the Catholic doctrine of the Trinity, to whose defence he consecrated every moment and every faculty of his being. Educated in the family of Alexan-

Character  
and adventures  
of Athanasius.

<sup>95</sup> Sulp. Sever. Hist. Sacra, l. ii. p. 418-430. The Greek historians were very ignorant of the affairs of the West.

<sup>96</sup> We may regret that Gregory Nazianzen composed a panegyric instead of a life of Athanasius, but we should enjoy and improve the advantage of drawing our most authentic materials from the rich fund of his own epistles and apologies (tom. i. p. 670-951). I shall not imitate the example of Socrates (l. ii. c. 1), who published the first edition of his history without giving himself the trouble to consult the writings of Athanasius. Yet even Socrates, the more curious Sozomen, and the learned Theodoret connect the life of Athanasius with the series of ecclesiastical history. The diligence of Tillemont (tom. viii.) and of the Benedictine editors has collected every fact and examined every difficulty.

der, he had vigorously opposed the early progress of the Arian heresy; he exercised the important functions of secretary under the aged prelate; and the fathers of the Nicene Council beheld with surprise and respect the rising virtues of the young deacon. In a time of public danger, the dull claims of age and of rank are sometimes superseded; and within five months after his return from Nice the deacon Athanasius was seated on the archiepiscopal throne of Egypt. He filled  
A.D. 326-373. that eminent station above forty-six years, and his long administration was spent in a perpetual combat against the powers of Arianism. Five times was Athanasius expelled from his throne; twenty years he passed as an exile or a fugitive; and almost every province of the Roman empire was successively witness to his merit and his sufferings in the cause of the Homousion, which he considered as the sole pleasure and business, as the duty, and as the glory of his life. Amidst the storms of persecution, the Archbishop of Alexandria was patient of labor, jealous of fame, careless of safety; and although his mind was tainted by the contagion of fanaticism, Athanasius displayed a superiority of character and abilities which would have qualified him, far better than the degenerate sons of Constantine, for the government of a great monarchy. His learning was much less profound and extensive than that of Eusebius of Cæsarea, and his rude eloquence could not be compared with the polished oratory of Gregory or Basil; but whenever the primate of Egypt was called upon to justify his sentiments or his conduct, his unpremeditated style, either of speaking or writing, was clear, forcible, and persuasive. He has always been revered in the orthodox school as one of the most accurate masters of the Christian theology; and he was supposed to possess two profane sciences, less adapted to the episcopal character—the knowledge of jurisprudence<sup>97</sup> and that of divination.<sup>98</sup> Some fortunate conject-

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<sup>97</sup> Sulpicius Severus (*Hist. Sacra*, l. ii. p. 396) calls him a lawyer, a jurisconsult. This character cannot now be discovered either in the life or writings of Athanasius.

<sup>98</sup> *Dicebatur enim fatidicarum sortium fidem, quæve augurales portenderent alites scientissime callens aliquoties prædixisse futura.*—*Ammianus*, xv. 7. A prophecy,



ures of future events, which impartial reasoners might ascribe to the experience and judgment of Athanasius, were attributed by his friends to heavenly inspiration, and imputed by his enemies to infernal magic.

But as Athanasius was continually engaged with the prejudices and passions of every order of men, from the monk to the emperor, the knowledge of human nature was his first and most important science. He preserved a distinct and unbroken view of a scene which was incessantly shifting; and never failed to improve those decisive moments which are irrecoverably past before they are perceived by a common eye. The Archbishop of Alexandria was capable of distinguishing how far he might boldly command, and where he must dexterously insinuate; how long he might contend with power, and when he must withdraw from persecution; and, while he directed the thunders of the Church against heresy and rebellion, he could assume, in the bosom of his own party, the flexible and indulgent temper of a prudent leader. The election of Athanasius has not escaped the reproach of irregularity and precipitation;<sup>99</sup> but the propriety of his behavior conciliated the affections both of the clergy and of the people. The Alexandrians were impatient to rise in arms for the defence of an eloquent and liberal pastor. In his distress he always derived support, or at least consolation, from the faithful attachment of his parochial clergy; and the hundred bishops of Egypt adhered with unshaken zeal to the cause of Athanasius. In the modest equipage which pride and policy would affect, he frequently performed the episcopal visitation of his provinces, from the mouth of the Nile to the confines of Æthiopia, familiarly conversing with the meanest of the populace, and humbly saluting the saints and hermits of the desert.<sup>100</sup> Nor

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or rather a joke, is related by Sozomen (l. iv. c. 10), which evidently proves (if the crows speak Latin) that Athanasius understood the language of the crows.

<sup>99</sup> The irregular ordination of Athanasius was slightly mentioned in the councils which were held against him (see Philostorg. l. ii. c. 11, and Godefroy, p. 71); but it can scarcely be supposed that the assembly of the bishops of Egypt would solemnly attest a *public* falsehood. Athanas. tom. i. p. 726.

<sup>100</sup> See the History of the Fathers of the Desert, published by Rosweide; and

was it only in ecclesiastical assemblies, among men whose education and manners were similar to his own, that Athanasius displayed the ascendancy of his genius. He appeared with easy and respectful firmness in the courts of princes; and in the various turns of his prosperous and adverse fortune, he never lost the confidence of his friends or the esteem of his enemies.

In his youth the Primate of Egypt resisted the great Constantine, who had repeatedly signified his will that Arius should be restored to the Catholic communion.<sup>101</sup>

Persecution  
against Atha-  
nasius.  
A.D. 330.

The emperor respected, and might forgive, this inflexible resolution; and the faction who considered Athanasius as their most formidable enemy were constrained to dissemble their hatred and silently to prepare an indirect and distant assault. They scattered rumors and suspicions, represented the archbishop as a proud and oppressive tyrant, and boldly accused him of violating the treaty which had been ratified in the Nicene Council with the schismatic followers of Meletius.<sup>102</sup> Athanasius had openly disapproved that ignominious peace, and the emperor was disposed to believe that he had abused his ecclesiastical and civil power to persecute those odious sectaries; that he had sacrilegiously broken a chalice in one of their churches of Mareotis; that he had whipped or imprisoned six of their bishops; and that Arsenius, a seventh bishop of the same party, had been murder-

Tillemont, *Mém. Ecclés.* tom. vii., in the Lives of Antony, Pachomius, etc. Athanasius himself, who did not disdain to compose the life of his friend Antony, has carefully observed how often the holy monk deplored and prophesied the mischiefs of the Arian heresy. Athanas. tom. ii. p. 492, 498, etc. [tom. i. p. 677, edit. Bened.].

<sup>101</sup> At first Constantine threatened in *speaking*, but requested in *writing*, *καὶ ἀγράφως μὲν ἠπειλεῖ, γράφων δὲ ἡξίου*. His letters gradually assumed a menacing tone; but, while he required that the entrance of the Church should be open to *all*, he avoided the odious name of Arius. Athanasius, like a skilful politician, has accurately marked these distinctions (tom. i. p. 788 [tom. i. p. 140, edit. Bened.]), which allowed him some scope for excuse and delay.

<sup>102</sup> The Meletians in Egypt, like the Donatists in Africa, were produced by an episcopal quarrel which arose from the persecution. I have not leisure to pursue the obscure controversy, which seems to have been misrepresented by the partiality of Athanasius and the ignorance of Epiphanius. See Mosheim's *General History of the Church*, vol. i. p. 201.

ed, or at least mutilated, by the cruel hand of the primate.<sup>103</sup> These charges, which affected his honor and his life, were referred by Constantine to his brother Dalmatius, the censor, who resided at Antioch; the synods of Cæsarea and Tyre were successively convened; and the bishops of the East were instructed to judge the cause of Athanasius before they proceeded to consecrate the new Church of the Resurrection at Jerusalem. The primate might be conscious of his innocence; but he was sensible that the same implacable spirit which had dictated the accusation would direct the proceeding and pronounce the sentence. He prudently declined the tribunal of his enemies, despised the summons of the Synod of Cæsarea; and, after a long and artful delay, submitted to the peremptory commands of the emperor, who threatened to punish his criminal disobedience if he refused to appear in the

A.D. 335.

Council of Tyre.<sup>104</sup> Before Athanasius, at the head of fifty Egyptian prelates, sailed from Alexandria, he had wisely secured the alliance of the Miletians; and Arsenius himself, his imaginary victim and his secret friend, was privately concealed in his train. The Synod of Tyre was conducted by Eusebius of Cæsarea, with more passion, and with less art, than his learning and experience might promise; his numerous faction repeated the names of homicide and tyrant; and their clamors were encouraged by the seeming patience of Athanasius, who expected the decisive moment to produce Arsenius alive and unhurt in the midst of the assembly. The nature of the other charges did not admit of such clear and

<sup>103</sup> The treatment of the six bishops is specified by Sozomen (l. ii. c. 25); but Athanasius himself, so copious on the subject of Arsenius and the chalice, leaves this grave accusation without a reply.<sup>a</sup>

<sup>104</sup> Athanas. tom. i. p. 788 [tom. i. p. 147, edit. Bened.]. Socrates, l. i. c. 28. Sozomen, l. ii. c. 25. The emperor, in his Epistle of Convocation (Euseb. in Vit. Constant. l. iv. c. 42), seems to prejudge some members of the clergy, and it was more than probable that the synod would apply those reproaches to Athanasius.

<sup>a</sup> This grave charge, if made (and it rests entirely on the authority of Sozomen), seems to have been silently dropped by the parties themselves. It is never alluded to in the subsequent investigations. From Sozomen himself, who gives the unfavorable report of the commission of inquiry sent to Egypt concerning the cup, it does not appear that they noticed this accusation of personal violence.—M.

satisfactory replies, yet the archbishop was able to prove that, in the village where he was accused of breaking a consecrated chalice, neither church nor altar nor chalice could really exist. The Arians, who had secretly determined the guilt and condemnation of their enemy, attempted, however, to disguise their injustice by the imitation of judicial forms. The synod appointed an episcopal commission of six delegates to collect evidence on the spot; and this measure, which was vigorously opposed by the Egyptian bishops, opened new scenes of violence and perjury.<sup>105</sup> After the return of the deputies from Alexandria, the majority of the council pronounced the final sentence of degradation and exile against the Primate of Egypt. The decree, expressed in the fiercest language of malice and revenge, was communicated to the emperor and the Catholic Church; and the bishops immediately resumed a mild and devout aspect, such as became their holy pilgrimage to the Sepulchre of Christ.<sup>106</sup>

But the injustice of these ecclesiastical judges had not been countenanced by the submission, or even by the presence, of Athanasius. He resolved to make a bold and dangerous experiment, whether the throne was inaccessible to the voice of truth; and before the final sentence could be pronounced at Tyre, the intrepid primate threw himself into a bark which was ready to hoist sail for the imperial city. The request of a formal audience might have been opposed or eluded; but Athanasius concealed his arrival, watched the moment of Constantine's return from an adjacent villa, and boldly encountered his angry sovereign as he passed on horseback through the principal street of Constantinople. So strange an apparition excited his surprise and indignation; and the guards were ordered to remove the importunate suitor; but his resentment was subdued by involuntary respect; and the haughty spirit of the emperor was awed by the cour-

His first  
exile,  
A.D. 336;

<sup>105</sup> See in particular the Second Apology of Athanasius (tom. i. p. 763-808), and his Epistles to the Monks (p. 808-866 [tom. i. p. 271 seq. edit. Bened.]). They are justified by original and authentic documents; but they would inspire more confidence if he appeared less innocent and his enemies less absurd.

<sup>106</sup> Eusebius in Vit. Constantin. l. iv. c. 41-47.



age and eloquence of a bishop who implored his justice and awakened his conscience.<sup>107</sup> Constantine listened to the complaints of Athanasius with impartial and even gracious attention; the members of the Synod of Tyre were summoned to justify their proceedings; and the arts of the Eusebian faction would have been confounded if they had not aggravated the guilt of the primate by the dexterous supposition of an unpardonable offence—a criminal design to intercept and detain the corn-fleet of Alexandria, which supplied the subsistence of the new capital.<sup>108</sup> The emperor was satisfied that the peace of Egypt would be secured by the absence of a popular leader; but he refused to fill the vacancy of the archiepiscopal throne; and the sentence which, after long hesitation, he pronounced was that of a jealous ostracism rather than of an ignominious exile. In the remote province of Gaul, but in the hospitable court of Treves, Athanasius passed about twenty-eight months. The death of the emperor changed the face of public affairs; and, amidst the general indulgence of a young reign, the primate was restored to his country by an honorable edict of the younger Constantine, who expressed a deep sense of the innocence and merit of his venerable guest.<sup>109</sup>

and restoration,  
A.D. 338.

The death of that prince exposed Athanasius to a second persecution; and the feeble Constantius, the sovereign of the

<sup>107</sup> Athanas. tom. i. p. 804 [tom. i. p. 159, edit. Bened. 1777]. In a church dedicated to St. Athanasius, this situation would afford a better subject for a picture than most of the stories of miracles and martyrdoms.

<sup>108</sup> Athanas. tom. i. p. 729 [tom. i. p. 104, edit. Bened.]. Eunapius has related (in Vit. Sophist. p. 36, 37 [in *Ædesio*], edit. Commelin) a strange example of the cruelty and credulity of Constantine on a similar occasion. The eloquent Sopater, a Syrian philosopher, enjoyed his friendship, and provoked the resentment of Ablavius, his Prætorian præfect. The corn-fleet was detained for want of a south wind; the people of Constantinople were discontented; and Sopater was beheaded, on a charge that he had *bound* the winds by the power of magic. Suidas adds that Constantine wished to prove, by this execution, that he had absolutely renounced the superstition of the Gentiles.

<sup>109</sup> In his return he saw Constantius twice—at Viminicum, and at Cæsarea in Cappadocia (Athanas. tom. i. p. 676 [tom. i. p. 236, edit. Bened.]). Tillemont supposes that Constantine introduced him to the meeting of the three royal brothers in Pannonia (*Mémoires Ecclésiastiques*, tom. viii. p. 69).

East, soon became the secret accomplice of the Eusebians. Ninety bishops of that sect or faction assembled at Antioch, under the specious pretence of dedicating the cathedral. They composed an ambiguous creed, which is faintly tinged with the colors of Semi-Arianism, and twenty-five canons, which still regulate the discipline of the orthodox Greeks.<sup>110</sup> It was decided, with some appearance of equity, that a bishop deprived by a synod should not resume his episcopal functions till he had been absolved by the judgment of an equal synod. The law was immediately applied to the case of Athanasius; the Council of Antioch pronounced, or rather confirmed, his degradation; a stranger, named Gregory, was seated on his throne; and Philagrius,<sup>111</sup> the Præfect of Egypt, was instructed to support the new primate with the civil and military powers of the province. Oppressed by the conspiracy of the Asiatic prelates, Athanasius withdrew from Alexandria and passed three years<sup>112</sup> as an exile and a suppliant on the holy threshold of the Vatican.<sup>113</sup> By the assiduous study of the Latin language, he soon qualified himself to ne-

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<sup>110</sup> See Beveridge, *Pandect. tom. i. p. 429-452*, and *tom. ii. Annotation. p. 182*; Tillemont, *Mém. Ecclés. tom. vi. p. 310-324*. St. Hilary of Poitiers has mentioned this Synod of Antioch with too much favor and respect. He reckons ninety-seven bishops.

<sup>111</sup> This magistrate, so odious to Athanasius, is praised by Gregory Nazianzen, *tom. i. Orat. xxi. p. 390, 391* [edit. Par. 1630].

*Sæpe premente Deo fert Deus alter opem.*

For the credit of human nature, I am always pleased to discover some good qualities in those men whom party has represented as tyrants and monsters.

<sup>112</sup> The chronological difficulties which perplex the residence of Athanasius at Rome are strenuously agitated by Valesius (*Observat. ad calcem, tom. ii. ; Hist. Eccles. l. i. c. 1-5*) and Tillemont (*Mém. Ecclés. tom. viii. p. 674, etc.*). I have followed the simple hypothesis of Valesius, who allows only one journey after the intrusion of Gregory.

<sup>113</sup> I cannot forbear transcribing a judicious observation of Wetstein (*Prolegomen. N. T. p. 19*): “*Si tamen Historiam Ecclesiasticam velimus consulere, patebit jam inde a seculo quarto, cum, ortis controversiis, ecclesiæ Græciæ doctores in duas partes scinderentur, ingenio, eloquentiâ, numero, tantum non æquales, eam partem quæ vincere cupiebat Romam confugisse, majestatemque pontificis comiter coluisse, eoque pacto oppressis per pontificem et episcopos Latinos adversariis prævaluisse, atque orthodoxiam in consiliis stabilivisse. Eam ob causam Athanasius, non sine comitatu, Romam petiit, pluresque annos ibi hæsit.*”

gotiate with the Western clergy. His decent flattery swayed and directed the haughty Julius: the Roman pontiff was persuaded to consider his appeal as the peculiar interest of the Apostolic See; and his innocence was unanimously declared in a council of fifty bishops of Italy. At the end of three years the primate was summoned to the court of Milan by the Emperor Constans, who, in the indulgence of unlawful pleasures, still professed a lively regard for the orthodox faith. The cause of truth and justice was promoted by the influence of gold,<sup>114</sup> and the ministers of Constans advised their sovereign to require the convocation of an ecclesiastical assembly, which might act as the representatives of the Catholic Church.

A.D. 346.

Ninety-four bishops of the West, seventy six bishops of the East, encountered each other at Sardica, on the verge of the two empires, but in the dominions of the protector of Athanasius. Their debates soon degenerated into hostile altercations. The Asiatics, apprehensive for their personal safety, retired to Philippopolis, in Thrace; and the rival synods reciprocally hurled their spiritual thunders against their enemies, whom they piously condemned as the enemies of the true God. Their decrees were published and ratified in their respective provinces; and Athanasius, who in the West was revered as a saint, was exposed as a criminal to the abhorrence of the East.<sup>115</sup> The Council of Sardica reveals the first symptoms of discord and schism between the Greek and Latin churches, which were separated by the accidental difference of faith and the permanent distinction of language.

During his second exile in the West, Athanasius was frequently admitted to the imperial presence—at Capua, Lodi, Milan, Verona, Padua, Aquileia, and Treves. The bishop of

<sup>114</sup> Philostorgius, l. iii. c. 12. If any corruption was used to promote the interest of religion, an advocate of Athanasius might justify or excuse this questionable conduct by the example of Cato and Sidney, the former of whom is *said* to have given, and the latter to have received, a bribe in the cause of liberty.

<sup>115</sup> The canon which allows appeals to the Roman pontiffs has almost raised the Council of Sardica to the dignity of a general council, and its acts have been ignorantly or artfully confounded with those of the Nicene Synod. See Tillemont, tom. viii. p. 689, and Geddes's Tracts, vol. ii. p. 419–460.

the diocese usually assisted at these interviews; the master of the offices stood before the veil or curtain of the sacred apartment; and the uniform moderation of the primate might be attested by these respectable witnesses, to whose evidence he solemnly appeals.<sup>116</sup> Prudence would undoubtedly suggest the mild and respectful tone that became a subject and a bishop. In these familiar conferences with the sovereign of the West, Athanasius might lament the error of Constantius, but he boldly arraigned the guilt of his eunuchs and his Arian prelates; deplored the distress and danger of the Catholic Church; and excited Constans to emulate the zeal and glory of his father. The emperor declared his resolution of employing the troops and treasures of Europe in the orthodox cause; and signified, by a concise and peremptory epistle to his brother Constantius, that, unless he consented to the immediate restoration of Athanasius, he himself, with a fleet and army, would seat the archbishop on the throne of Alexandria.<sup>117</sup> But this religious war, so horrible to nature, was prevented by the timely compliance of Constantius; and the Emperor of the East condescended to solicit a reconciliation with a subject whom he had injured. Athanasius waited with decent pride till he had received three successive epistles full of the strongest assurances of the protection, the favor, and the esteem of his sovereign, who invited him to resume his episcopal seat, and who added the humiliating precaution of engaging his principal ministers to attest the sincerity of his intentions. They were manifested in a still more public manner by the strict orders which were despatched into Egypt to recall the adherents of Athanasius, to restore their privileges, to proclaim their innocence, and to erase from the public registers the illegal proceedings which had been obtained

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<sup>116</sup> As Athanasius dispersed secret invectives against Constantius (see the Epistle to the Monks) at the same time that he assured him of his profound respect, we might distrust the professions of the archbishop. Tom. i. p. 677.

<sup>117</sup> Notwithstanding the discreet silence of Athanasius and the manifest forgery of a letter inserted by Socrates, these menaces are proved by the unquestionable evidence of Lucifer of Cagliari, and even of Constantius himself. See Tillemont, tom. viii. p. 693



during the prevalence of the Eusebian faction. After every satisfaction and security had been given which justice or even delicacy could require, the primate proceeded, by slow journeys, through the provinces of Thrace, Asia, and Syria; and his progress was marked by the abject homage of the Oriental bishops, who excited his contempt without deceiving his penetration.<sup>118</sup> At Antioch he saw the Emperor Constantius; sustained, with modest firmness, the embraces and protestations of his master; and eluded the proposal of allowing the Arians a single church at Alexandria by claiming, in the other cities of the empire, a similar toleration for his own party—a reply which might have appeared just and moderate in the mouth of an independent prince. The entrance of the archbishop into his capital was a triumphal procession; absence and persecution had endeared him to the Alexandrians; his authority, which he exercised with rigor, was more firmly established; and his fame was diffused from Æthiopia to Britain, over the whole extent of the Christian world.<sup>119</sup>

But the subject who has reduced his prince to the necessity of dissembling can never expect a sincere and lasting forgiveness; and the tragic fate of Constans soon deprived Athanasius of a powerful and generous protector. The civil war between the assassin and the only surviving brother of Constans, which afflicted the empire above

Resentment  
of Constantius.  
A.D. 351.

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<sup>118</sup> I have always entertained some doubts concerning the retraction of Ursacius and Valens (Athanas. tom. i. p. 776 [tom. i. p. 139, edit. Bened. 1777]). Their epistles to Julius, Bishop of Rome, and to Athanasius himself, are of so different a cast from each other that they cannot both be genuine: the one speaks the language of criminals who confess their guilt and infamy; the other of enemies who solicit on equal terms an honorable reconciliation.<sup>a</sup>

<sup>119</sup> The circumstances of his second return may be collected from Athanasius himself, tom. i. p. 769, and 822, 843 [tom. i. p. 283, edit. Bened.]. Socrates, l. ii. c. 15. Sozomen, l. iii. c. 19. Theodoret, l. ii. c. 11, 12. Philostorgius, l. iii. c. 12.

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<sup>a</sup> I cannot quite comprehend the ground of Gibbon's doubts. Athanasius distinctly asserts the fact of their retraction (Athanas. Op. i. p. 139, edit. Benedict). The epistles are apparently translations from the Latin, if, in fact, more than the substance of the epistles. That to Athanasius is brief, almost abrupt. Their retraction is likewise mentioned in the address of the orthodox bishops of Rimini to Constantius. Athanas. de Synodis, Op. i. p. 723.—M.

three years, secured an interval of repose to the Catholic Church; and the two contending parties were desirous to conciliate the friendship of a bishop who, by the weight of his personal authority, might determine the fluctuating resolutions of an important province. He gave audience to the ambassadors of the tyrant, with whom he was afterwards accused of holding a secret correspondence;<sup>120</sup> and the Emperor Constantius repeatedly assured his dearest father, the most reverend Athanasius, that, notwithstanding the malicious rumors which were circulated by their common enemies, he had inherited the sentiments as well as the throne of his deceased brother.<sup>121</sup> Gratitude and humanity would have disposed the Primate of Egypt to deplore the untimely fate of Constans and to abhor the guilt of Magnentius; but as he clearly understood that the apprehensions of Constantius were his only safeguard, the fervor of his prayers for the success of the righteous cause might perhaps be somewhat abated. The ruin of Athanasius was no longer contrived by the obscure malice of a few bigoted or angry bishops who abused the authority of a credulous monarch. The monarch himself avowed the resolution which he had so long suppressed of avenging his private injuries;<sup>122</sup> and the first winter after his victory, which he passed at Arles, was employed against an enemy more odious to him than the vanquished tyrant of Gaul.

If the emperor had capriciously decreed the death of the most eminent and virtuous citizen of the republic, the cruel order would have been executed without hesitation by the ministers of open violence or of specious injustice. The caution, the delay, the difficulty with which he proceeded in the condemnation and punishment of

Councils of  
Arles and  
Milan.  
A.D. 353-355.

<sup>120</sup> Athanasius (tom. i. p. 677, 678 [tom. i. p. 239, edit. Bened.]) defends his innocence by pathetic complaints, solemn assertions, and specious arguments. He admits that letters had been forged in his name, but he requests that his own secretaries and those of the tyrant may be examined, whether those letters had been written by the former or received by the latter.

<sup>121</sup> Athanas. tom. i. p. 825-844.

<sup>122</sup> Athanas. tom. i. p. 861. Theodoret, l. ii. c. 16. The emperor declared that he was more desirous to subdue Athanasius than he had been to vanquish Magnentius or Sylvanus.

a popular bishop discovered to the world that the privileges of the Church had already revived a sense of order and freedom in the Roman government. The sentence which was pronounced in the Synod of Tyre, and subscribed by a large majority of the Eastern bishops, had never been expressly repealed; and as Athanasius had been once degraded from his episcopal dignity by the judgment of his brethren, every subsequent act might be considered as irregular, and even criminal. But the memory of the firm and effectual support which the Primate of Egypt had derived from the attachment of the Western Church engaged Constantius to suspend the execution of the sentence till he had obtained the concurrence of the Latin bishops. Two years were consumed in ecclesiastical negotiations; and the important cause between the emperor and one of his subjects was solemnly debated, first in the Synod of Arles, and afterwards in the great council of Milan,<sup>123</sup> which consisted of above three hundred bishops. Their integrity was gradually undermined by the arguments of the Arians, the dexterity of the eunuchs, and the pressing solicitations of a prince who gratified his revenge at the expense of his dignity, and exposed his own passions whilst he influenced those of the clergy. Corruption, the most infallible symptom of constitutional liberty, was successfully practised; honors, gifts, and immunities were offered and accepted as the price of an episcopal vote;<sup>124</sup> and the condemnation of the Alexandrian primate was artfully represented as the only measure which could restore the peace and union of the Catholic Church. The friends of Athanasius were not, however, wanting to their leader or to their cause. With a manly spirit, which the sanctity

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<sup>123</sup> The affairs of the Council of Milan are so imperfectly and erroneously related by the Greek writers that we must rejoice in the supply of some letters of Eusebius, extracted by Baronius from the archives of the Church of Vercellæ, and of an old Life of Dionysius of Milan published by Bollandus. See Baronius, A.D. 355, and Tillemont, tom. vii. p. 1415.

<sup>124</sup> The honors, presents, feasts, which seduced so many bishops are mentioned with indignation by those who were too pure or too proud to accept them. "We combat" (says Hilary of Poitiers) "against Constantius the Antichrist, who strokes the belly instead of scourging the back"—*qui non dorsa cædit, sed ventrem palpat*.—Hilarius contra Constant. c. 5, p. 1240.

of their character rendered less dangerous, they maintained in public debate, and in private conference with the emperor, the eternal obligation of religion and justice. They declared that neither the hope of his favor nor the fear of his displeasure should prevail on them to join in the condemnation of an absent, an innocent, a respectable brother.<sup>125</sup> They affirmed, with apparent reason, that the illegal and obsolete decrees of the Council of Tyre had long since been tacitly abolished by the imperial edicts, the honorable re-establishment of the Archbishop of Alexandria, and the silence or recantation of his most clamorous adversaries. They alleged that his innocence had been attested by the unanimous bishops of Egypt, and had been acknowledged in the councils of Rome and Sardica<sup>126</sup> by the impartial judgment of the Latin Church. They deplored the hard condition of Athanasius, who, after enjoying so many years his seat, his reputation, and the seeming confidence of his sovereign, was again called upon to confute the most groundless and extravagant accusations. Their language was specious, their conduct was honorable; but in this long and obstinate contest, which fixed the eyes of the whole empire on a single bishop, the ecclesiastical factions were prepared to sacrifice truth and justice to the more interesting object of defending or removing the intrepid champion of the Nicene faith. The Arians still thought it prudent to disguise in ambiguous language their real sentiments and designs; but the orthodox bishops, armed with the favor of the people and the decrees of a general council, insisted on every occasion, and particularly at Milan, that their adversaries should purge them-

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<sup>125</sup> Something of this opposition is mentioned by Ammianus (xv. 7), who had a very dark and superficial knowledge of ecclesiastical history: "*Liberius . . . perseveranter reuitebatur, nec visum hominem, nec auditum damnare, nefas ultimum sæpe exclamans; aperte scilicet recalcitrans imperatoris arbitrio. Id enim ille Athanasio semper infestus,*" etc.

<sup>126</sup> More properly by the orthodox part of the Council of Sardica. If the bishops of both parties had fairly voted, the division would have been 94 to 76. M. de Tillemont (see tom. viii. p. 1147-1158) is justly surprised that so small a majority should have proceeded so vigorously against their adversaries, the principal of whom they immediately deposed.



selves from the suspicion of heresy before they presumed to arraign the conduct of the great Athanasius.<sup>127</sup>

But the voice of reason (if reason was indeed on the side of Athanasius) was silenced by the clamors of a factious or venal majority; and the councils of Arles and Milan were not dissolved till the Archbishop of Alexandria had been solemnly condemned and deposed by the judgment of the Western as well as of the Eastern Church. The bishops who had opposed were required to subscribe the sentence, and to unite in religious communion with the suspected leaders of the adverse party. A formulary of consent was transmitted by the messengers of State to the absent bishops; and all those who refused to submit their private opinion to the public and inspired wisdom of the councils of Arles and Milan were immediately banished by the emperor, who affected to execute the decrees of the Catholic Church. Among those prelates who led the honorable band of confessors and exiles, Liberius of Rome, Osius of Cordova, Paulinus of Treves, Dionysius of Milan, Eusebius of Vercellæ, Lucifer of Cagliari, and Hilary of Poitiers may deserve to be particularly distinguished. The eminent station of Liberius, who governed the capital of the empire; the personal merit and long experience of the venerable Osius, who was revered as the favorite of the great Constantine and the father of the Nicene faith, placed those prelates at the head of the Latin Church; and their example, either of submission or resistance, would probably be imitated by the episcopal crowd. But the repeated attempts of the emperor to seduce or to intimidate the bishops of Rome and Cordova were for some time ineffectual. The Spaniard declared himself ready to suffer under Constantius as he had suffered threescore years before under his grandfather Maximian. The Roman, in the presence of his sovereign, asserted the innocence of Athanasius and his own freedom. When he was banished to Beræa, in Thrace, he sent back a large sum which had been offered for the accommodation of his journey; and insulted the court of Milan by the haughty remark that

Condemnation of Athanasius.  
A.D. 355.

<sup>127</sup> Sulp. Severus, in *Hist. Sacra*, l. ii. p. 412.

the emperor and his eunuchs might want that gold to pay their soldiers and their bishops.<sup>128</sup> The resolution of Liberius and Osius was at length subdued by the hardships of exile and confinement. The Roman pontiff purchased his return by some criminal compliances, and afterwards expiated his guilt by a seasonable repentance. Persuasion and violence were employed to extort the reluctant signature of the decrepit Bishop of Cordova, whose strength was broken, and whose faculties were perhaps impaired, by the weight of a hundred years; and the insolent triumph of the Arians provoked some of the orthodox party to treat with inhuman severity the character, or rather the memory, of an unfortunate old man to whose former services Christianity itself was so deeply indebted.<sup>129</sup>

The fall of Liberius and Osius reflected a brighter lustre on the firmness of those bishops who still adhered with unshaken fidelity to the cause of Athanasius and religious truth. The ingenious malice of their enemies had deprived them of the benefit of mutual comfort and advice, separated those illustrious exiles into distant provinces, and carefully selected the most inhospitable spots of a great empire.<sup>130</sup> Yet they soon experienced that the deserts of Libya and the most barbarous tracts of Cappadocia were less inhospitable than the residence of those cities in which an Arian bishop could satiate without restraint the exquisite rancor of theological hatred.<sup>131</sup> Their consolation was derived from the

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<sup>128</sup> The exile of Liberius is mentioned by Ammianus, xv. 7. See Theodoret, l. ii. c. 16. Athanas. tom. i. p. 834-837 [tom. i. p. 161, edit. Bened.]. Hilar. Fragment. i.

<sup>129</sup> The life of Osius is collected by Tillemont (tom. vii. p. 524-561), who, in the most extravagant terms, first admires and then reprobates the Bishop of Cordova. In the midst of their lamentations on his fall, the prudence of Athanasius may be distinguished from the blind and intemperate zeal of Hilary.

<sup>130</sup> The confessors of the West were successively banished to the deserts of Arabia or Thebaïs, the lonely places of Mount Taurus, the wildest parts of Phrygia which were in the possession of the impious Montanists, etc. When the heretic Aëtius was too favorably entertained at Mopsuestia, in Cilicia, the place of his exile was changed, by the advice of Acacius, to Amblada, a district inhabited by savages and infested by war and pestilence. Philostorg. l. v. c. 2.

<sup>131</sup> See the cruel treatment and strange obstinacy of Eusebius in his own letters, published by Baronius, A.D. 356, No. 92-102.

consciousness of rectitude and independence, from the applause, the visits, the letters, and the liberal alms of their adherents,<sup>132</sup> and from the satisfaction which they soon enjoyed of observing the intestine divisions of the adversaries of the Nicene faith. Such was the nice and capricious taste of the Emperor Constantius, and so easily was he offended by the slightest deviation from his imaginary standard of Christian truth that he persecuted with equal zeal those who defended the *consubstantiality*, those who asserted the *similar substance*, and those who denied the *likeness*, of the Son of God. Three bishops, degraded and banished for those adverse opinions, might possibly meet in the same place of exile; and, according to the difference of their temper, might either pity or insult the blind enthusiasm of their antagonists, whose present sufferings would never be compensated by future happiness.

The disgrace and exile of the orthodox bishops of the West were designed as so many preparatory steps to the ruin of Athanasius himself.<sup>133</sup> Six-and-twenty months had elapsed, during which the imperial court secretly labored by the most insidious arts to remove him from Alexandria, and to withdraw the allowance which supplied his popular liberality. But when the Primate of Egypt, deserted and proscribed by the Latin Church, was left destitute of any foreign support, Constantius despatched two of his secretaries with a verbal commission to announce and execute the order of his banishment. As the justice of the sentence was publicly avowed by the whole party, the

Third expulsion of Athanasius from Alexandria.  
A.D. 356.

<sup>132</sup> Cæterum exules satis constat, totius orbis studiis celebratos, pecuniasque eis in sumptum affatim congestas, legationibus quoque eos plebis catholi.æ ex omnibus fere provinciis frequentatos.—Sulp. Sever. Hist. Sacra, p. 414. Athanas. tom. i. p. 836, 840.

<sup>133</sup> Ample materials for the history of this third persecution of Athanasius may be found in his own works. See particularly his very able Apology to Constantius (tom. i. p. 673 [tom. i. p. 233 seq. edit. Bened.]), his First Apology for his flight (p. 701 [tom. i. p. 253 seq. edit. Bened.]), his prolix Epistle to the Solitaries (p. 808), and the original Protest of the People of Alexandria against the violences committed by Syrianus (p. 866 [p. 311, edit. Bened.]). Sozomen (l. iv. c. 9) has thrown into the narrative two or three luminous and important circumstances.

only motive which could restrain Constantius from giving his messengers the sanction of a written mandate must be imputed to his doubt of the event, and to a sense of the danger to which he might expose the second city and the most fertile province of the empire if the people should persist in the resolution of defending by force of arms the innocence of their spiritual father. Such extreme caution afforded Athanasius a specious pretence respectfully to dispute the truth of an order which he could not reconcile either with the equity or with the former declarations of his gracious master. The civil powers of Egypt found themselves inadequate to the task of persuading or compelling the primate to abdicate his episcopal throne; and they were obliged to conclude a treaty with the popular leaders of Alexandria, by which it was stipulated that all proceedings and all hostilities should be suspended till the emperor's pleasure had been more distinctly ascertained. By this seeming moderation the Catholics were deceived into a false and fatal security, while the legions of the Upper Egypt and of Libya advanced, by secret orders and hasty marches, to besiege, or rather to surprise, a capital habituated to sedition and inflamed by religious zeal.<sup>134</sup> The position of Alexandria, between the sea and the lake Mareotis, facilitated the approach and landing of the troops, who were introduced into the heart of the city before any effectual measures could be taken either to shut the gates or to occupy the important posts of defence. At the hour of midnight, twenty-three days after the signature of the treaty, Syrianus, Duke of Egypt, at the head of five thousand soldiers armed and prepared for an assault, unexpectedly invested the Church of St. Theonas, where the archbishop, with a part of his clergy and people, performed their nocturnal devotions. The doors of the sacred edifice yielded to the impetuosity of the attack, which was accompanied with every horrid circumstance of tumult and bloodshed; but as

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<sup>134</sup> Athanasius had lately sent for Antony and some of his chosen monks. They descended from their mountain, announced to the Alexandrians the sanctity of Athanasius, and were honorably conducted by the archbishop as far as the gates of the city. Athanas. tom. ii. p. 491, 492 [tom. i. p. 677 seq. edit. Bened. 1777]. See likewise Rufinus, iii. 164, in Vit. Patr. p. 524.



the bodies of the slain and the fragments of military weapons remained the next day an unexceptionable evidence in the possession of the Catholics, the enterprise of Syrianus may be considered as a successful irruption rather than as an absolute conquest. The other churches of the city were profaned by similar outrages; and, during at least four months, Alexandria was exposed to the insults of a licentious army stimulated by the ecclesiastics of a hostile faction. Many of the faithful were killed who may deserve the name of martyrs if their deaths were neither provoked nor revenged; bishops and presbyters were treated with cruel ignominy; consecrated virgins were stripped naked, scourged, and violated; the houses of wealthy citizens were plundered; and, under the mask of religious zeal, lust, avarice, and private resentment were gratified with impunity, and even with applause. The pagans of Alexandria, who still formed a numerous and discontented party, were easily persuaded to desert a bishop whom they feared and esteemed. The hopes of some peculiar favors, and the apprehension of being involved in the general penalties of rebellion, engaged them to promise their support to the destined successor of Athanasius, the famous George of Cappadocia. The usurper, after receiving the consecration of an Arian synod, was placed on the episcopal throne by the arms of Sebastian, who had been appointed Count of Egypt for the execution of that important design. In the use as well as in the acquisition of power, the tyrant George disregarded the laws of religion, of justice, and of humanity; and the same scenes of violence and scandal which had been exhibited in the capital were repeated in more than ninety episcopal cities of Egypt. Encouraged by success, Constantius ventured to approve the conduct of his ministers. By a public and passionate epistle, the emperor congratulates the deliverance of Alexandria from a popular tyrant who deluded his blind votaries by the magic of his eloquence; expiates on the virtues and piety of the most reverend George, the elected bishop; and aspires, as the patron and benefactor of the city, to surpass the fame of Alexander himself. But he solemnly declares his unalterable resolution to pursue with fire and sword the seditious adherents of the wick-

ed Athanasius, who, by flying from justice, has confessed his guilt, and escaped the ignominious death which he had so often deserved.<sup>135</sup>

Athanasius had indeed escaped from the most imminent dangers; and the adventures of that extraordinary man deserve and fix our attention. On the memorable <sup>His behavior.</sup> night when the Church of St. Theonas was invested by the troops of Syrianus, the archbishop, seated on his throne, expected, with calm and intrepid dignity, the approach of death. While the public devotion was interrupted by shouts of rage and cries of terror, he animated his trembling congregation to express their religious confidence by chanting one of the psalms of David which celebrates the triumph of the God of Israel over the haughty and impious tyrant of Egypt. The doors were at length burst open; a cloud of arrows was discharged among the people; the soldiers with drawn swords rushed forward into the sanctuary; and the dreadful gleam of their armor was reflected by the holy luminaries which burned round the altar.<sup>136</sup> Athanasius still rejected the pious importunity of the monks and presbyters who were attached to his person, and nobly refused to desert his episcopal station till he had dismissed in safety the last of the congregation. The darkness and tumult of the night favored the retreat of the archbishop; and though he was oppressed by the waves of an agitated multitude, though he was thrown to the ground and left without sense or motion, he still recovered his undaunted courage, and eluded the eager search of the soldiers, who were instructed by their Arian guides that the head of Athanasius would be the most acceptable present to the emperor. From that moment the Primate of Egypt disappeared from the eyes of his enemies and remained above six years concealed in impenetrable obscurity.<sup>137</sup>

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<sup>135</sup> Athanas. tom. i. p. 694 [tom. i. p. 249, edit. Bened.]. The emperor, or his Arian secretaries, while they express their resentment, betray their fears and esteem of Athanasius.

<sup>136</sup> These minute circumstances are curious, as they are literally transcribed from the protest which was publicly presented three days afterwards by the Catholics of Alexandria. See Athanas. tom. i. p. 867 [tom. i. p. 311, edit. Bened. 1777].

<sup>137</sup> The Jansenists have often compared Athanasius and Arnauld, and have ex-

The despotic power of his implacable enemy filled the whole extent of the Roman world ; and the exasperated monarch had endeavored, by a very pressing epistle to the Christian princes of *Æthiopia*,<sup>a</sup> to exclude Athanasius from the most remote and sequestered regions of the earth. Counts, præfects, tribunes, whole armies were successively employed to pursue a bishop and a fugitive ; the vigilance of the civil and military powers was excited by the imperial edicts ; liberal rewards were promised to the man who should produce Athanasius, either alive or dead ; and the most severe penalties were denounced against those who should dare to protect the public enemy.<sup>138</sup> But the deserts of Thebaïs were now peopled by a race of wild yet submissive fanatics who preferred the commands of their abbot to the laws of their sovereign. The numerous disciples of Antony and Pachomius received the fugitive primate as their father, admired the patience and humility with which he conformed to their strictest institutions, collected every word which dropped from his lips as the genuine effusions of inspired wisdom, and persuaded themselves that their prayers, their fasts, and their vigils were less

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patiated with pleasure on the faith and zeal, the merit and exile, of those celebrated doctors. This concealed parallel is very dexterously managed by the Abbé de la Bletterie, *Vie de Jovien*, tom. i. p. 130.

<sup>138</sup> Hinc jam toto orbe profugus [agitur] Athanasius, nec ullus ei tutus ad latendum supererat locus. Tribuni, Præfecti, Comites, exercitus quoque, ad pervestigandum eum moventur edictis imperialibus ; præmia delatoribus proponuntur, si quis eum vivum, si id minus, caput certe Athanasii detulisset.—Rufin. l. i. c. 18.

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<sup>a</sup> These princes were called Aeizanas and Saiazanas. Athanasius (*Apol. ad Const.* vol. i. p. 313, 315) calls them the kings of Axum (*οἱ ἐν Ἀξούμει τύραννοι*). In the superscription of this letter Constantius gives them no title, *Νικήτης Κονστάντιος μέγιστος σέβαστος Αἰζανᾶ καὶ Σαζανᾶ*. Mr. Salt, during his first journey in Ethiopia (in 1806), discovered, in the ruins of Axum, a long and very interesting inscription relating to these princes. It was erected to commemorate the victory of Aeizanas over the Bougaitæ (St. Martin considers them the Blemmyes, whose true name is Bedjah or Bodjah). Aeizanas is styled King of the Axumites, the Homerites, of Raëidan, of the Ethiopians, of the Sabæites, of Silea, of Tiamo, of the Bougaites, and of Kaei. It appears that at this time the King of the Ethiopians ruled over the Homerites—the inhabitants of Yemen. He was not yet a Christian, as he calls himself Son of the invincible Mars, *υἱὸς Θεοῦ ἀνυκλήτου Ἀρεως*. Another brother besides Saiazanas, named Adephas, is mentioned, though Aeizanas seems to have been sole king. See St. Martin, note on Le Beau, ii. 151. *Salt's Travels*. Silv. de Sacy, note in *Annales des Voyages*, xii. p. 53.—M.

meritorious than the zeal which they expressed, and the dangers which they braved, in the defence of truth and innocence.<sup>139</sup> The monasteries of Egypt were seated in lonely and desolate places—on the summit of mountains or in the islands of the Nile; and the sacred horn or trumpet of Tabenne was the well-known signal which assembled several thousand robust and determined monks, who, for the most part, had been the peasants of the adjacent country. When their dark retreats were invaded by a military force which it was impossible to resist, they silently stretched out their necks to the executioner, and supported their national character that tortures could never wrest from an Egyptian the confession of a secret which he was resolved not to disclose.<sup>140</sup> The Archbishop of Alexandria, for whose safety they eagerly devoted their lives, was lost among a uniform and well-disciplined multitude; and, on the nearer approach of danger, he was swiftly removed by their officious hands from one place of concealment to another, till he reached the formidable deserts which the gloomy and credulous temper of superstition had peopled with demons and savage monsters. The retirement of Athanasius, which ended only with the life of Constantius, was spent, for the most part, in the society of the monks, who faithfully served him as guards, as secretaries, and as messengers; but the importance of maintaining a more intimate connection with the Catholic party tempted him, whenever the diligence of the pursuit was abated, to emerge from the desert, to introduce himself into Alexandria, and to trust his person to the discretion of his friends and adherents. His various adventures might have furnished the subject of a very entertaining romance. He was once secreted in a dry cistern, which he had scarcely left before he was betrayed by the treachery of a female slave;<sup>141</sup>

<sup>139</sup> Gregor. Nazianzen. tom. i. Orat. xxi. p. 384, 385. See Tillemont, *Mém. Ecclés.* tom. vii. p. 176–410, 820–880.

<sup>140</sup> Et nulla tormentorum vis inveniri adhuc potuit, quæ obdurato illius tractûs latrom invito elicere potuit, ut nomen proprium dicat.—Ammian. xxii. 16, and Valesius ad locum.

<sup>141</sup> Rufin. l. i. c. 18. Sozomen, l. iv. c. 10. This and the following story will be rendered impossible if we suppose that Athanasius always inhabited the asylum which he accidentally or occasionally had used.



and he was once concealed in a still more extraordinary asylum—the house of a virgin, only twenty years of age, and who was celebrated in the whole city for her exquisite beauty. At the hour of midnight, as she related the story many years afterwards, she was surprised by the appearance of the archbishop in a loose undress, who, advancing with hasty steps, conjured her to afford him the protection which he had been directed by a celestial vision to seek under her hospitable roof. The pious maid accepted and preserved the sacred pledge which was intrusted to her prudence and courage. Without imparting the secret to any one, she instantly conducted Athanasius into her most secret chamber, and watched over his safety with the tenderness of a friend and the assiduity of a servant. As long as the danger continued, she regularly supplied him with books and provisions, washed his feet, managed his correspondence, and dexterously concealed from the eye of suspicion this familiar and solitary intercourse between a saint whose character required the most unblemished chastity and a female whose charms might excite the most dangerous emotions.<sup>142</sup> During the six years of persecution and exile, Athanasius repeated his visits to his fair and faithful companion; and the formal declaration that he *saw* the councils of Rimini and Seleucia<sup>143</sup> forces us to believe that he was secretly present at the time and place of their convocation. The advantage of personally negotiating with his friends, and of observing and improving the divisions of his enemies, might justify, in a prudent statesman, so bold and dangerous an enterprise; and Alexandria was connected by trade and navigation with every seaport of the Mediterranean. From the depth of his inaccessible retreat the intrepid primate waged an incessant and of-

<sup>142</sup> Palladius (Hist. Lausiaca, c. 136 in Vit. Patrum, p. 776 [p. 230, edit. Paris, Pallad. 1555]), the original author of this anecdote, had conversed with the damsel, who, in her old age, still remembered with pleasure so pious and honorable a connection. I cannot indulge the delicacy of Baronius, Valesius, Tillemont, etc., who almost reject a story so unworthy, as they deem it, of the gravity of ecclesiastical history.

<sup>143</sup> Athanas. tom. i. p. 869 [tom. i. p. 572, edit. Bened. 1777]. I agree with Tillemont (tom. viii. p. 1197) that his expressions imply a personal, though perhaps secret, visit to the synods.

fensive war against the protector of the Arians; and his seasonable writings, which were diligently circulated and eagerly perused, contributed to unite and animate the orthodox party. In his public apologies, which he addressed to the emperor himself, he sometimes affected the praise of moderation; whilst, at the same time, in secret and vehement invectives, he exposed Constantius as a weak and wicked prince, the executioner of his family, the tyrant of the republic, and the Antichrist of the Church. In the height of his prosperity, the victorious monarch who had chastised the rashness of Gallus and suppressed the revolt of Sylvanus, who had taken the diadem from the head of Vetrician and vanquished in the field the legions of Magnentius, received from an invisible hand a wound which he could neither heal nor revenge; and the son of Constantine was the first of the Christian princes who experienced the strength of those principles which, in the cause of religion, could resist the most violent exertions of the civil power.<sup>144</sup>

The persecution of Athanasius and of so many respectable bishops who suffered for the truth of their opinions, or at least for the integrity of their conscience, was a just subject of indignation and discontent to all Christians, except those who were blindly devoted to the Arian faction. The people regretted the loss of their faithful pastors, whose banishment was usually followed by the intrusion of a stranger<sup>145</sup> into the episcopal chair, and loudly complained that the right of election was violated, and that they were condemned

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<sup>144</sup> The epistle of Athanasius to the monks is filled with reproaches, which the public must feel to be true (vol. i. p. 834, 856 [tom. i. p. 304, edit. Bened.]); and, in compliment to his readers, he has introduced the comparisons of Pharaoh, Ahab, Belshazzar, etc. The boldness of Hilary was attended with less danger, if he published his invective in Gaul after the revolt of Julian; but Lucifer sent his libels to Constantius, and almost challenged the reward of martyrdom. See Tillemont, tom. vii. p. 905.

<sup>145</sup> Athanasius (tom. i. p. 811) complains in general of this practice, which he afterwards exemplifies (p. 861 [tom. i. p. 307, edit. Bened.]) in the pretended election of Felix. Three eunuchs represented the Roman people, and three prelates, who followed the court, assumed the functions of the bishops of the Suburbicarian provinces.

to obey a mercenary usurper whose person was unknown and whose principles were suspected. The Catholics might prove to the world that they were not involved in the guilt and heresy of their ecclesiastical governor by publicly testifying their dissent, or by totally separating themselves from his communion. The first of these methods was invented at Antioch, and practised with such success that it was soon diffused over the Christian world. The doxology, or sacred hymn, which celebrates the *glory* of the Trinity, is susceptible of very nice but material inflections; and the substance of an orthodox or an heretical creed may be expressed by the difference of a disjunctive or a copulative particle. Alternate responses and a more regular psalmody<sup>146</sup> were introduced into the public service by Flavianus and Diodorus, two devout and active laymen who were attached to the Nicene faith. Under their conduct a swarm of monks issued from the adjacent desert; bands of well-disciplined singers were stationed in the Cathedral of Antioch; the Glory to the Father, AND the Son, AND the Holy Ghost<sup>147</sup> was triumphantly chanted by a full chorus of voices; and the Catholics insulted, by the purity of their doctrine, the Arian prelate who had usurped the throne of the venerable Eustathius. The same zeal which inspired their songs prompted the more scrupulous members of the orthodox party to form separate assemblies, which were governed by the presbyters, till the death of their

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<sup>146</sup> Thomassin (*Discipline de l'Église*, tom. i. l. ii. c. 72, 73, p. 966-984) has collected many curious facts concerning the origin and progress of church-singing, both in the East and West.<sup>a</sup>

<sup>147</sup> Philostorgius, l. iii. c. 13. Godefroy has examined this subject with singular accuracy (p. 147, etc.). There were three heterodox forms: "To the Father *by* the Son, *and* in the Holy Ghost;" "To the Father *and* the Son *in* the Holy Ghost;" and "To the Father *in* the Son *and* the Holy Ghost."

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<sup>a</sup> Arius appears to have been the first who availed himself of this means of impressing his doctrines on the popular ear. He composed songs for sailors, millers, and travellers, and set them to common airs, "beguiling the ignorant by the sweetness of his music into the impiety of his doctrines." Philostorgius, ii. 2. Arian singers used to parade the streets of Constantinople by night, till Chrysostom arrayed against them a band of orthodox choristers. Sozomen, viii. 8.—M.

exiled bishop allowed the election and consecration of a new episcopal pastor.<sup>148</sup> The revolutions of the court multiplied the number of pretenders, and the same city was often disputed, under the reign of Constantius, by two or three, or even four, bishops, who exercised their spiritual jurisdiction over their respective followers, and alternately lost and regained the temporal possessions of the Church. The abuse of Christianity introduced into the Roman government new causes of tyranny and sedition; the bands of civil society were torn asunder by the fury of religious factions; and the obscure citizen who might calmly have surveyed the elevation and fall of successive emperors imagined and experienced that his own life and fortune were connected with the interests of a popular ecclesiastic. The example of the two capitals, Rome and Constantinople, may serve to represent the state of the empire and the temper of mankind under the reign of the sons of Constantine.

I. The Roman pontiff, as long as he maintained his station and his principles, was guarded by the warm attachment of  
 Rome. a great people, and could reject with scorn the prayers, the menaces, and the oblations of an heretical prince. When the eunuchs had secretly pronounced the exile of Liberius, the well-grounded apprehension of a tumult engaged them to use the utmost precautions in the execution of the sentence. The capital was invested on every side, and the præfect was commanded to seize the person of the bishop, either by stratagem or by open force. The order was obeyed, and Liberius, with the greatest difficulty, at the hour of midnight, was swiftly conveyed beyond the reach of the Roman people before their consternation was turned into rage. As soon as they were informed of his banishment into Thrace, a general assembly was convened, and the clergy of Rome bound

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<sup>148</sup> After the exile of Eustathius, under the reign of Constantine, the rigid party of the orthodox formed a separation which afterwards degenerated into a schism, and lasted above fourscore years. See Tillemont, *Mém. Ecclés.* tom. vii. p. 35–54, 1137–1158, tom. viii. p. 573–632, 1314–1332. In many churches the Arians and Homoousians, who had renounced each other's *communion*, continued for some time to join in prayer. Philostorgius, l. iii. c. 14.



themselves by a public and solemn oath never to desert their bishop, never to acknowledge the usurper Felix, who, by the influence of the eunuchs, had been irregularly chosen and consecrated within the walls of a profane palace. At the end of two years, their pious obstinacy subsisted entire and unshaken; and when Constantius visited Rome, he was assailed by the importunate solicitations of a people who had preserved, as the last remnant of their ancient freedom, the right of treating their sovereign with familiar insolence. The wives of many of the senators and most honorable citizens, after pressing their husbands to intercede in favor of Liberius, were advised to undertake a commission which in their hands would be less dangerous and might prove more successful. The emperor received with politeness these female deputies, whose wealth and dignity were displayed in the magnificence of their dress and ornaments; he admired their inflexible resolution of following their beloved pastor to the most distant regions of the earth, and consented that the two bishops, Liberius and Felix, should govern in peace their respective congregations. But the ideas of toleration were so repugnant to the practice, and even to the sentiments, of those times that when the answer of Constantius was publicly read in the Circus of Rome, so reasonable a project of accommodation was rejected with contempt and ridicule. The eager vehemence which animated the spectators in the decisive moment of a horse-race was now directed towards a different object, and the Circus resounded with the shout of thousands, who repeatedly exclaimed, "One God, one Christ, one bishop!" The zeal of the Roman people in the cause of Liberius was not confined to words alone, and the dangerous and bloody sedition which they excited soon after the departure of Constantius determined that prince to accept the submission of the exiled prelate, and to restore him to the undivided dominion of the capital. After some ineffectual resistance, his rival was expelled from the city by the permission of the emperor and the power of the opposite faction; the adherents of Felix were inhumanly murdered in the streets, in the public places, in the baths, and even in the churches; and the face of Rome upon the return of a

Christian bishop renewed the horrid image of the massacres of Marius and the proscriptions of Sylla.<sup>149</sup>

II. Notwithstanding the rapid increase of Christians under the reign of the Flavian family, Rome, Alexandria, and the other great cities of the empire still contained a strong and powerful faction of infidels, who envied the prosperity, and who ridiculed, even in their theatres, the theological disputes of the Church. Constantinople alone enjoyed the advantage of being born and educated in the bosom of the faith. The capital of the East had never been polluted by the worship of idols, and the whole body of the people had deeply imbibed the opinions, the virtues, and the passions which distinguished the Christians of that age from the rest of mankind. After the death of Alexander, the episcopal throne was disputed by Paul and Macedonius. By their zeal and abilities they both deserved the eminent station to which they aspired; and if the moral character of Macedonius was less exceptionable, his competitor had the advantage of a prior election and a more orthodox doctrine. His firm attachment to the Nicene creed, which has given Paul a place in the calendar among saints and martyrs, exposed him to the resentment of the Arians. In the space of fourteen years he was five times driven from his throne, to which he was more frequently restored by the violence of the people than by the permission of the prince, and the power of Macedonius could be secured only by the death of his rival. The unfortunate Paul was dragged in chains from the sandy deserts of Mesopotamia to the most desolate places of Mount Taurus,<sup>150</sup> confined in a dark and narrow dungeon, left six days without food, and at length strangled by the order of Philip, one of the principal minis-

<sup>149</sup> See, on this ecclesiastical revolution of Rome, Ammianus, xv. 7. Athanas. tom. i. p. 834, 861 [tom. i. p. 307, edit. Bened.]. Sozomen, l. iv. c. 15. Theodoret, l. ii. c. 17. Sulp. Sever. Hist. Sacra, l. ii. p. 413. Hieronym. Chron. Marcellin. et Faustin. Libell. p. 3, 4. Tillemont, Mém. Ecclés. tom. vi. p. 336.

<sup>150</sup> Cucusus was the last stage of his life and sufferings. The situation of that lonely town, on the confines of Cappadocia, Cilicia, and the Lesser Armenia, has occasioned some geographical perplexity; but we are directed to the true spot by the course of the Roman road from Cæsarea to Anazarbus. See Cellarii Geograph. tom. ii. p. 213; Wesseling. ad Itinerar. p. 179, 703.

ters of the Emperor Constantius.<sup>161</sup> The first blood which stained the new capital was spilled in this ecclesiastical contest; and many persons were slain on both sides in the furious and obstinate seditions of the people. The commission of enforcing a sentence of banishment against Paul had been intrusted to Hermogenes, the master-general of the cavalry, but the execution of it was fatal to himself. The Catholics rose in the defence of their bishop; the palace of Hermogenes was consumed; the first military officer of the empire was dragged by the heels through the streets of Constantinople, and, after he expired, his lifeless corpse was exposed to their wanton insults.<sup>162</sup> The fate of Hermogenes instructed Philip, the Prætorian præfect, to act with more precaution on a similar occasion. In the most gentle and honorable terms, he required the attendance of Paul in the baths of Xeuxippus, which had a private communication with the palace and the sea. A vessel which lay ready at the garden stairs immediately hoisted sail; and while the people were still ignorant of the meditated sacrilege, their bishop was already embarked on his voyage to Thessalonica. They soon beheld with surprise and indignation the gates of the palace thrown open, and the usurper Macedonius seated by the side of the præfect on a lofty chariot which was surrounded by troops of guards with drawn swords. The military procession advanced towards the cathedral; the Arians and the Catholics eagerly rushed to occupy that important post, and three thousand one hundred and fifty persons lost their lives in the confusion of the tumult.

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<sup>161</sup> Athanasius (tom. i. p. 703, 813, 814 [tom. i. p. 275, edit. Bened.]) affirms in the most positive terms that Paul was murdered, and appeals, not only to common fame, but even to the unsuspecting testimony of Philagrius, one of the Arian persecutors. Yet he acknowledges that the heretics attributed to disease the death of the Bishop of Constantinople. Athanasius is servilely copied by Sozomen (l. ii. c. 26); but Sozomen, who discovers a more liberal temper, presumes (l. iv. c. 2) to insinuate a prudent doubt.

<sup>162</sup> Ammianus (xiv. 10) refers to his own account of this tragic event. But we no longer possess that part of his history.<sup>a</sup>

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<sup>a</sup> The murder of Hermogenes took place at the first expulsion of Paul from the See of Constantinople.—M.

Macedonius, who was supported by a regular force, obtained a decisive victory, but his reign was disturbed by clamor and sedition, and the causes which appeared the least connected with the subject of dispute were sufficient to nourish and to kindle the flame of civil discord. As the chapel in which the body of the great Constantine had been deposited was in a ruinous condition, the bishop transported those venerable remains into the Church of St. Acacius. This prudent and even pious measure was represented as a wicked profanation by the whole party which adhered to the Homoeousian doctrine. The factions immediately flew to arms, the consecrated ground was used as their field of battle, and one of the ecclesiastical historians has observed, as a real fact, not as a figure of rhetoric, that the well before the church overflowed with a stream of blood which filled the porticoes and the adjacent courts. The writer who should impute these tumults solely to a religious principle would betray a very imperfect knowledge of human nature; yet it must be confessed that the motive which misled the sincerity of zeal, and the pretence which disguised the licentiousness of passion, suppressed the remorse which in another cause would have succeeded to the rage of the Christians of Constantinople.<sup>153</sup>

The cruel and arbitrary disposition of Constantius, which did not always require the provocations of guilt and resistance, was justly exasperated by the tumults of his capital and the criminal behavior of a faction which opposed the authority and religion of their sovereign. The ordinary punishments of death, exile, and confiscation were inflicted with partial rigor; and the Greeks still revere the holy memory of two clerks—a reader and a subdeacon—who were accused of the murder of Hermogenes, and beheaded at the gates of Constantinople. By an edict of Constantius against the Catholics, which has not been judged worthy of a place in

<sup>153</sup> See Socrates, l. ii. c. 6, 7, 12, 13, 15, 16, 26, 27, 38; and Sozomen, l. iii. 3, 4, 7, 9, l. iv. c. 2, 21. The Acts of St. Paul of Constantinople, of which Photius has made an abstract (Phot. Biblioth. p. 1419-1430), are an indifferent copy of these historians; but a modern Greek who could write the life of a saint without adding fables and miracles is entitled to some commendation.



the Theodosian Code, those who refused to communicate with the Arian bishops, and particularly with Macedonius, were deprived of the immunities of ecclesiastics and of the rights of Christians; they were compelled to relinquish the possession of the churches, and were strictly prohibited from holding their assemblies within the walls of the city. The execution of this unjust law in the provinces of Thrace and Asia Minor was committed to the zeal of Macedonius. The civil and military powers were directed to obey his commands; and the cruelties exercised by this Semi-Arian tyrant in the support of the *Homoiousion* exceeded the commission and disgraced the reign of Constantius. The sacraments of the Church were administered to the reluctant victims who denied the vocation and abhorred the principles of Macedonius. The rites of baptism were conferred on women and children who, for that purpose, had been torn from the arms of their friends and parents; the mouths of the communicants were held open by a wooden engine while the consecrated bread was forced down their throats; the breasts of tender virgins were either burned with red-hot egg-shells, or inhumanly compressed between sharp and heavy boards.<sup>154</sup> The Novatians of Constantinople and the adjacent country, by their firm attachment to the Homoeousian standard, deserved to be confounded with the Catholics themselves. Macedonius was informed that a large district of Paphlagonia<sup>155</sup> was almost entirely inhabited by those sectaries. He resolved either to convert or to extirpate them; and as he distrusted on this occasion the efficacy of an ecclesiastical mission, he commanded a body of four thousand legionaries to march against the rebels, and to reduce the territory of Mantinium under his spiritual dominion. The Novatian

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<sup>154</sup> Socrates, l. ii. c. 27, 38. Sozomen, l. iv. c. 21. The principal assistants of Macedonius in the work of persecution were the two bishops of Nicomedia and Cyzicus, who were esteemed for their virtues, and especially for their charity. I cannot forbear reminding the reader that the difference between the *Homoousion* and *Homoiousion* is almost invisible to the nicest theological eye.

<sup>155</sup> We are ignorant of the precise situation of Mantinium. In speaking of these four bands of legionaries, Socrates, Sozomen, and the author of the Acts of St. Paul use the indefinite terms of ἀριθμοί, φάλαγγες, τάγματα, which Nicephorus very properly translates *thousands*. Vales. ad Socrat. l. ii. c. 38.

peasants, animated by despair and religious fury, boldly encountered the invaders of their country; and though many of the Paphlagonians were slain, the Roman legions were vanquished by an irregular multitude armed only with scythes and axes, and, except a few who escaped by an ignominious flight, four thousand soldiers were left dead on the field of battle. The successor of Constantius has expressed in a concise but lively manner some of the theological calamities which afflicted the empire, and more especially the East, in the reign of a prince who was the slave of his own passions and of those of his eunuchs: "Many were imprisoned and persecuted and driven into exile. Whole troops of those who are styled heretics were massacred, particularly at Cyzicus and at Samosata. In Paphlagonia, Bithynia, Galatia, and in many other provinces, towns and villages were laid waste and utterly destroyed."<sup>156</sup>

While the flames of the Arian controversy consumed the vitals of the empire, the African provinces were infested by their peculiar enemies, the savage fanatics who, under the name of *Circumcellions*, formed the strength and scandal of the Donatist party.<sup>157</sup> The severe execution of the laws of Constantine had excited a spirit of discontent and resistance; the strenuous efforts of his son Constans to restore the unity of the Church exasperated the sentiments of mutual hatred which had first occasioned the separation; and the methods of force and corruption employed by the two imperial commissioners, Paul and Macarius, furnished the schismatics with a specious contrast between the maxims of the apostles and the conduct of their pretended successors.<sup>158</sup> The peasants who inhabited the villages of Nu-

The revolt  
and fury of  
the Donatist  
*Circumcellions*.  
A.D. 345, etc.

<sup>156</sup> Julian. Epistol. l. ii. p. 436, edit. Spanheim.

<sup>157</sup> See Optatus Milevitanus (particularly iii. 4), with the Donatist history by M. Dupin, and the original pieces at the end of his edition. The numerous circumstances which Augustine has mentioned of the fury of the *Circumcellions* against others and against themselves have been laboriously collected by Tillemont, Mém. Ecclési. tom. vi. p. 147-165; and he has often, though without design, exposed the injuries which had provoked those fanatics.

<sup>158</sup> It is amusing enough to observe the language of opposite parties when they speak of the same men and things. Gratus, Bishop of Carthage, begins the ac-

midia and Mauritania were a ferocious race who had been imperfectly reduced under the authority of the Roman laws, who were imperfectly converted to the Christian faith, but who were actuated by a blind and furious enthusiasm in the cause of their Donatist teachers. They indignantly supported the exile of their bishops, the demolition of their churches, and the interruption of their secret assemblies. The violence of the officers of justice, who were usually sustained by a military guard, was sometimes repelled with equal violence; and the blood of some popular ecclesiastics which had been shed in the quarrel inflamed their rude followers with an eager desire of revenging the death of these holy martyrs. By their own cruelty and rashness the ministers of persecution sometimes provoked their fate, and the guilt of an accidental tumult precipitated the criminals into despair and rebellion. Driven from their native villages, the Donatist peasants assembled in formidable gangs on the edge of the Gætulian desert, and readily exchanged the habits of labor for a life of idleness and rapine, which was consecrated by the name of religion, and faintly condemned by the doctors of the sect. The leaders of the Circumcellions assumed the title of captains of the saints. Their principal weapon, as they were indifferently provided with swords and spears, was a huge and weighty club which they termed an *Israelite*; and the well-known sound of "Praise be to God!" which they used as their cry of war diffused consternation over the unarmed provinces of Africa. At first their depredations were colored by the plea of necessity; but they soon exceeded the measure of subsistence, indulged without control their intemperance and avarice, burned

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clamations of an orthodox synod: "Gratias Deo omnipotenti et Christo Jesu . . . qui imperavit religiosissimo Constanti Imperatori, ut votum gereret unitatis, et mitteret ministros sancti operis *famulos Dei* Paulum et Macarium."—Monument. Vet. ad calcem Optati, p. 313. "Ecce subito" (says the Donatist author of the Passion of Marculus) "de Constantis regis tyrannicâ domo . . . pollutum Macarianæ persecutionis murmur increpuit, et *duabus bestiis* ad Africam missis, eodem scilicet Macario et Paulo, execrandum prorsus ac dirum ecclesiæ certamen indictum est; ut populus Christianus ad unionem cum traditoribus faciendam, nudatis militum gladiis et draconum præsentibus signis, et tubarum vocibus cogeretur."—Monument. p. 304.

the villages which they had pillaged, and reigned the licentious tyrants of the open country. The occupations of husbandry and the administration of justice were interrupted; and as the Circumcellions pretended to restore the primitive equality of mankind, and to reform the abuses of civil society, they opened a secure asylum for the slaves and debtors who flocked in crowds to their holy standard. When they were not resisted, they usually contented themselves with plunder, but the slightest opposition provoked them to acts of violence and murder; and some Catholic priests who had imprudently signalized their zeal were tortured by the fanatics with the most refined and wanton barbarity. The spirit of the Circumcellions was not always exerted against their defenceless enemies: they engaged, and sometimes defeated, the troops of the province; and in the bloody action of Bagai they attacked in the open field, but with unsuccessful valor, an advanced guard of the imperial cavalry. The Donatists who were taken in arms received, and they soon deserved, the same treatment which might have been shown to the wild beasts of the desert. The captives died, without a murmur, either by the sword, the axe, or the fire; and the measures of retaliation were multiplied in a rapid proportion, which aggravated the horrors of rebellion and excluded the hope of mutual forgiveness. In the beginning of the present century the example of the Circumcellions has been renewed in the persecution, the boldness, the crimes, and the enthusiasm of the Camisards; and if the fanatics of Languedoc surpassed those of Numidia by their military achievements, the Africans maintained their fierce independence with more resolution and perseverance.<sup>159</sup>

Such disorders are the natural effects of religious tyranny; but the rage of the Donatists was inflamed by a frenzy of a very extraordinary kind, and which, if it really prevailed among them in so extravagant a degree, cannot surely be paralleled in any country or in any age. Many

Their religious suicides.

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<sup>159</sup> The *Histoire des Camisards*, in 3 vols. 12mo, Villefranche, 1760, may be recommended as accurate and impartial. It requires some attention to discover the religion of the author.



of these fanatics were possessed with the horror of life and the desire of martyrdom; and they deemed it of little moment by what means or by what hands they perished, if their conduct was sanctified by the intention of devoting themselves to the glory of the true faith and the hope of eternal happiness.<sup>160</sup> Sometimes they rudely disturbed the festivals, and profaned the temples of paganism with the design of exciting the most zealous of the idolaters to revenge the insulted honor of their gods. They sometimes forced their way into the courts of justice, and compelled the affrighted judge to give orders for their immediate execution. They frequently stopped travellers on the public highways, and obliged them to inflict the stroke of martyrdom by the promise of a reward if they consented, and by the threat of instant death if they refused to grant so very singular a favor. When they were disappointed of every other resource, they announced the day on which, in the presence of their friends and brethren, they should cast themselves headlong from some lofty rock; and many precipices were shown which had acquired fame by the number of religious suicides. In the actions of these desperate enthusiasts, who were admired by one party as the martyrs of God and abhorred by the other as the victims of Satan, an impartial philosopher may discover the influence and the last abuse of that inflexible spirit which was originally derived from the character and principles of the Jewish nation.

The simple narrative of the intestine divisions which distracted the peace, and dishonored the triumph, of the Church will confirm the remark of a pagan historian and justify the complaint of a venerable bishop. The experience of Ammianus had convinced him that the enmity of the Christians towards each other surpassed the fury of savage beasts against man;<sup>161</sup> and Gregory Nazianzen most pathetically laments that the kingdom of heaven was converted by discord into the image of chaos, of

General character of the Christian sects.  
A.D. 312-361.

<sup>160</sup> The Donatist suicides alleged in their justification the example of Razias, which is related in the fourteenth chapter of the second book of the Maccabees.

<sup>161</sup> Nullas infestas hominibus bestias, ut sunt sibi ferales plerique Christianorum expertus. — Ammian. xxii. 5.

a nocturnal tempest, and of hell itself.<sup>162</sup> The fierce and partial writers of the times, ascribing *all* virtue to themselves and imputing *all* guilt to their adversaries, have painted the battle of the angels and demons. Our calmer reason will reject such pure and perfect monsters of vice or sanctity, and will impute an equal, or at least an indiscriminate, measure of good and evil to the hostile sectaries, who assumed and bestowed the appellations of orthodox and heretics. They had been educated in the same religion and the same civil society. Their hopes and fears in the present or in a future life were balanced in the same proportion. On either side the error might be innocent, the faith sincere, the practice meritorious or corrupt. Their passions were excited by similar objects, and they might alternately abuse the favor of the court or of the people. The metaphysical opinions of the Athanasians and the Arians could not influence their moral character; and they were alike actuated by the intolerant spirit which has been extracted from the pure and simple maxims of the Gospel.

A modern writer, who, with a just confidence, has prefixed to his own history the honorable epithets of political and philosophical,<sup>163</sup> accuses the timid prudence of Montesquieu for neglecting to enumerate, among the causes of the decline of the empire, a law of Constantine by which the exercise of the pagan worship was absolutely suppressed, and a considerable part of his subjects was left destitute of priests, of temples, and of any public religion. The zeal of the philosophic historian for the rights of mankind has induced him to acquiesce in the ambiguous testimony of those ecclesiastics who have too lightly ascribed to their favorite hero the *merit* of a general persecution.<sup>164</sup> Instead of alleging

<sup>162</sup> Gregor. Nazianzen, Orat. i. p. 33. See Tillemont, tom. vi. p. 501, quarto edit.

<sup>163</sup> Histoire Politique et Philosophique des Établissements des Européens dans les deux Indes, tom. i. p. 9.

<sup>164</sup> According to Eusebius (in Vit. Constantin. l. ii. c. 45) the emperor prohibited, both in cities and in the country, τὰ μυστὰ . . . τῆς εἰδωλολατρίας, the abominable acts or parts of idolatry. Socrates (l. i. c. 18) and Sozomen (l. ii. c. 4, 5) have represented the conduct of Constantine with a just regard to truth and history, which has been neglected by Theodoret (l. v. c. 21) and Orosius (vii. 28). "Tum deinde" (says the latter) "primus Constantinus *justo* ordine et *pio* vicem



### ROMAN AUGURS

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"He (Constantine the Great) condemned, under the most rigid penalties, the occult and impious acts of devinations which excited the vain hopes and sometimes the criminal attempts of those who were discontented with their present condition."

Gibbon's Rome, Vol. II.

Painting by J. L. Gérôme





this imaginary law, which would have blazed in the front of the imperial codes, we may safely appeal to the original epistle which Constantine addressed to the followers of the ancient religion, at a time when he no longer disguised his conversion nor dreaded the rivals of his throne. He invites and exhorts, in the most pressing terms, the subjects of the Roman empire to imitate the example of their master; but he declares that those who still refuse to open their eyes to the celestial light may freely enjoy their temples and their fancied gods. A report that the ceremonies of paganism were suppressed is formally contradicted by the emperor himself, who wisely assigns, as the principle of his moderation, the invincible force of habit, of prejudice, and of superstition.<sup>165</sup> Without violating the sanctity of his promise, without alarming the fears of the pagans, the artful monarch advanced by slow and cautious steps to undermine the irregular and decayed fabric of polytheism. The partial acts of severity which he occasionally exercised, though they were secretly prompted by a Christian zeal, were colored by the fairest pretences of justice and the public good; and while Constantine designed to ruin the foundations, he seemed to reform the abuses, of the ancient religion. After the example of the wisest of his predecessors he condemned, under the most rigorous penalties, the occult and impious arts of divination which excited the vain hopes, and sometimes the criminal attempts, of those who were discontented with their present condition. An ignominious silence was imposed on the oracles, which had been publicly convicted of fraud and falsehood; the effeminate priests of the Nile were abolished; and Constantine discharged the duties of a Roman censor when he gave orders for the demolition of several temples of Phœnicia, in which every mode of prostitution was devoutly practised in the face of day and to

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vertit edicto; siquidem statuit citra ullam hominum cædem, paganorum templa claudi."

<sup>165</sup> See Eusebius in Vit. Constantin. l. ii. c. 56, 60. In the sermon to the assembly of saints which the emperor pronounced when he was mature in years and piety, he declares to the idolaters (c. xi.) that they are permitted to offer sacrifices and to exercise every part of their religious worship.

the honor of Venus.<sup>166</sup> The imperial city of Constantinople was, in some measure, raised at the expense, and was adorned with the spoils, of the opulent temples of Greece and Asia; the sacred property was confiscated; the statues of gods and heroes were transported with rude familiarity among a people who considered them as objects, not of adoration, but of curiosity; the gold and silver were restored to circulation; and the magistrates, the bishops, and the eunuchs improved the fortunate occasion of gratifying at once their zeal, their avarice, and their resentment. But these depredations were confined to a small part of the Roman world; and the provinces had been long since accustomed to endure the same sacrilegious rapine from the tyranny of princes and proconsuls who could not be suspected of any design to subvert the established religion.<sup>167</sup>

The sons of Constantine trod in the footsteps of their father with more zeal and with less discretion. The pretences of rapine and oppression were insensibly multiplied;<sup>168</sup> and his sons. every indulgence was shown to the illegal behavior of the Christians; every doubt was explained to the disadvantage of paganism; and the demolition of the temples was celebrated as one of the auspicious events of the reign of Constantians and Constantius.<sup>169</sup> The name of Constantius is prefixed to a concise law which might have superseded the necessity

<sup>166</sup> See Eusebius, in *Vit. Constantin.* l. iii. c. 54-58, and l. iv. c. 23, 25. These acts of authority may be compared with the suppression of the Bacchanals, and the demolition of the Temple of Isis by the magistrates of pagan Rome.

<sup>167</sup> Eusebius (in *Vit. Constant.* l. iii. c. 54) and Libanius (*Orat. pro Templis*, p. 9, 70, edit. Gothofred.) both mention the pious sacrilege of Constantine, which they viewed in very different lights. The latter expressly declares that "he made use of the sacred money, but made no alteration in the legal worship; the temples, indeed, were impoverished, but the sacred rites were performed there."—Lardner's *Jewish and Heathen Testimonies*, vol. iv. p. 140.

<sup>168</sup> Ammianus (xxii. 4) speaks of some court eunuchs who were "*spoliis templorum pasti*." Libanius says (*Orat. pro Templis*, p. 23) that the emperor often gave away a temple like a dog, or a horse, or a slave, or a gold cup; but the devout philosopher takes care to observe that these sacrilegious favorites very seldom prospered.

<sup>169</sup> See Gothofred. *Cod. Theodos.* tom. vi. p. 262. Liban. *Orat. Parental.* c. x. in Fabric. *Bibl. Græc.* tom. vii. p. 235 [edit. Hamb. 1715].

of any future prohibitions. "It is our pleasure that in all places, and in all cities, the temples be immediately shut and carefully guarded, that none may have the power of offending. It is likewise our pleasure that all our subjects should abstain from sacrifices. If any one should be guilty of such an act, let him feel the sword of vengeance, and, after his execution, let his property be confiscated to the public use. We denounce the same penalties against the governors of the provinces if they neglect to punish the criminals."<sup>170</sup> But there is the strongest reason to believe that this formidable edict was either composed without being published, or was published without being executed. The evidence of facts, and the monuments which are still extant of brass and marble, continue to prove the public exercise of the pagan worship during the whole reign of the sons of Constantine. In the East as well as in the West, in cities as well as in the country, a great number of temples were respected, or at least were spared; and the devout multitude still enjoyed the luxury of sacrifices, of festivals, and of processions by the permission, or by the connivance, of the civil government. About four years after the supposed date of his bloody edict, Constantius visited the temples of Rome; and the decency of his behavior is recommended by a pagan orator as an example worthy of the imitation of succeeding princes. "That emperor," says Symmachus, "suffered the privileges of the vestal virgins to remain inviolate; he bestowed the sacerdotal dignities on the nobles of Rome; granted the customary allowance to defray the ex-

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<sup>170</sup> *Placuit omnibus locis atque urbibus universis claudi protinus templa, et accessu vetitis omnibus licentiam delinquendi perditis abnegari. Volumus etiam cunctos a sacrificiis abstinere. Quod si quis aliquid forte hujusmodi perpetraverit, gladio [ultore] sternatur: facultates etiam perempti fisco decernimus vindicari: et similiter adfligi rectores provinciarum si facinora vindicare neglexerint.*—Cod. Theodos. l. xvi. tit. x. leg. 4. Chronology has discovered some contradiction in the date of this extravagant law, the only one, perhaps, by which the negligence of magistrates is punished by death and confiscation. M. de la Bastie (*Mém de l'Académie*, tom. xv. p. 98) conjectures, with a show of reason, that this was no more than the minutes of a law—the heads of an intended bill—which were found in Seriniis *Memoriæ* among the papers of Constantius, and afterwards inserted, as a worthy model, in the Theodosian Code.

penses of the public rites and sacrifices; and, though he had embraced a different religion, he never attempted to deprive the empire of the sacred worship of antiquity.”<sup>171</sup> The senate still presumed to consecrate by solemn decrees the *divine* memory of their sovereigns; and Constantine himself was associated, after his death, to those gods whom he had renounced and insulted during his life. The title, the ensigns, the prerogatives, of SOVEREIGN PONTIFF, which had been instituted by Numa and assumed by Augustus, were accepted without hesitation by seven Christian emperors, who were invested with a more absolute authority over the religion which they had deserted than over that which they professed.<sup>172</sup>

The divisions of Christianity suspended the ruin of *paganism*,<sup>173</sup> and the holy war against the infidels was less vigorous-

<sup>171</sup> Symmach. Epistol. x. 54 [p. 289, edit. Paris, 1604].

<sup>172</sup> The fourth Dissertation of M. de la Bastie, sur le Souverain Pontificat des Empereurs Romains (in the Mém. de l'Acad. tom. xv. p. 75-144), is a very learned and judicious performance, which explains the state and proves the toleration of paganism from Constantine to Gratian. The assertion of Zosimus [iv. 36] that Gratian was the first who refused the pontifical robe<sup>a</sup> is confirmed beyond a doubt; and the murmurs of bigotry on that subject are almost silenced.

<sup>173</sup> As I have freely anticipated the use of *pagans* and paganism, I shall now trace the singular revolutions of those celebrated words. 1. Πάγν, in the Doric dialect, so familiar to the Italians, signifies a fountain; and the rural neighborhood which frequented the same fountain derived the common appellation of *pagus* and *pagans* (Festus sub voce, and Servius ad Virgil. Georgic. ii. 382).<sup>b</sup> 2. By an easy extension of the word, *pagan* and rural became almost synonymous (Plin. Hist. Natur. xxviii. 5); and the meaner rustics acquired that name, which has been corrupted into *peasants* in the modern languages of Europe. 3. The amazing increase of the military order introduced the necessity of a correlative term (Hume's Essays, vol. i. p. 555); and all the *people* who were not enlisted in the service of the prince were branded with the contemptuous epithet of pagans (Tacit. Hist. iii. 24, 43, 77. Juvenal. Satir. 16 [v. 32]. Tertullian de Pallio, c. 4). 4. The Chris-

<sup>a</sup> Gratian did not refuse the title of Pontifex Maximus till after the revolt of Maximus in the sixteenth year of his reign, for we find him so called in inscriptions and in Ausonius, Grat. Act. in A.D. 379, the twelfth year of his reign. Clinton, Fasti Rom. vol. ii. p. 122.—S.

<sup>b</sup> This is an instance of the false etymology, derived from an accidental similarity of words, which is so frequently found in the Roman writers. The true etymology of the word is uncertain; some modern writers connect it with *pasco*, and suppose it to have meant originally a pasture in common. It was used by the Roman writers to signify a territory, or the people of a territory; and the French word *pays*, which is derived from it, is employed in the same sense.—S.



ly prosecuted by princes and bishops who were more immediately alarmed by the guilt and danger of domestic rebellion. The extirpation of *idolatry*<sup>174</sup> might have been justified by the established principles of intolerance; but the hostile sects, which alternately reigned in the imperial court, were mutually apprehensive of alienating, and perhaps exasperating, the minds of a powerful though declining faction. Every motive of authority and fashion, of interest and reason, now militated on the side of Christianity; but two or three generations elapsed before their victorious influence was universally felt. The religion which had so long and so lately been established in the Roman empire was still revered by a numerous people, less attached indeed to speculative opinion than to ancient custom. The honors of the State and army were indifferently bestowed on all the subjects of Constantine and Constantius; and a considerable portion of knowledge and wealth and valor was still engaged in the service of polytheism. The supersti-

tians were the soldiers of Christ; their adversaries who refused his *sacrament*, or military oath of baptism, might deserve the metaphorical name of pagans; and this popular reproach was introduced as early as the reign of Valentinian (A.D. 365) into imperial laws (Cod. Theodos. l. xvi. tit. ii. leg. 18) and theological writings. 5. Christianity gradually filled the cities of the empire; the old religion, in the time of Prudentius (advers. Symmachum, l. i. [v. 575 seq.] ad fin.) and Orosius (in Præfat. Hist.), retired and languished in obscure villages; and the word *pagans*, with its new signification, reverted to its primitive origin. 6. Since the worship of Jupiter and his family has expired, the vacant title of pagans has been successively applied to all the idolaters and polytheists of the Old and the New World. 7. The Latin Christians bestowed it, without scruple, on their mortal enemies—the Mahometans; and the purest *Unitarians* were branded with the unjust reproach of idolatry and of paganism. See Gerard Vossius, *Etymologicon Linguae Latinæ*, in his works, tom. i. p. 420; Godefroy's *Commentary on the Theodosian Code*, tom. vi. p. 250; and Ducange, *Mediæ et Infimæ Latinitat. Glossar.*

<sup>174</sup> In the pure language of Ionia and Athens, *Εἰδωλον* and *Λατρεία* were ancient and familiar words. The former expressed a likeness, an apparition (Homer. *Odys.* xi. 602), a representation, an *image*, created either by fancy or art. The latter denoted any sort of *service* or slavery. The Jews of Egypt, who translated the Hebrew Scriptures, restrained the use of these words (*Exod.* xx. 4, 5) to the religious worship of an image. The peculiar idiom of the Hellenists, or Grecian Jews, has been adopted by the sacred and ecclesiastical writers; and the reproach of *idolatry* (*Εἰδωλολατρεία*) has stigmatized that visible and abject mode of superstition which some sects of Christianity should not hastily impute to the polytheists of Greece and Rome.

tion of the senator and of the peasant, of the poet and the philosopher, was derived from very different causes, but they met with equal devotion in the temples of the gods. Their zeal was insensibly provoked by the insulting triumph of a proscribed sect ; and their hopes were revived by the well-grounded confidence that the presumptive heir of the empire, a young and valiant hero, who had delivered Gaul from the arms of the barbarians, had secretly embraced the religion of his ancestors.

## CHAPTER XXII.

Julian is Declared Emperor by the Legions of Gaul.—His March and Success.—  
The Death of Constantius.—Civil Administration of Julian.

WHILE the Romans languished under the ignominious tyranny of eunuchs and bishops, the praises of Julian were repeated with transport in every part of the empire, except in the palace of Constantius. The barbarians of Germany had felt, and still dreaded, the arms of the young Cæsar; his soldiers were the companions of his victory; the grateful provincials enjoyed the blessings of his reign; but the favorites, who had opposed his elevation, were offended by his virtues, and they justly considered the friend of the people as the enemy of the court. As long as the fame of Julian was doubtful, the buffoons of the palace, who were skilled in the language of satire, tried the efficacy of those arts which they had so often practised with success. They easily discovered that his simplicity was not exempt from affectation: the ridiculous epithets of a hairy savage, of an ape invested with the purple, were applied to the dress and person of the philosophic warrior; and his modest despatches were stigmatized as the vain and elaborate fictions of a loquacious Greek, a speculative soldier, who had studied the art of war amidst the groves of the Academy.<sup>1</sup> The voice of malicious

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<sup>1</sup> Omnes qui plus poterant in palatio, adulandi professores jam docti, recte consulta, prospereque completa vertebant in deridiculum: talia sine modo strepentes insulse, in odium venit cum victoriis suis; capella, non homo; ut hirsutum Julianum carpentes, appellantesque loquacem talpam, et purpuratam simiam, et litionem Græcum: et his congruentia plurima atque vernacula principi resonantes, audire hæc taliaque gestienti, virtutes ejus obruere verbis impudentibus conabantur, ut segnem incessentes et timidum et umbratilem, gestaque secus verbis comptioribus exornantem.—Ammianus, xvii. 11.<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup> The philosophers retaliated on the courtiers. Marius (says Eunapius, in a

folly was at length silenced by the shouts of victory; the conqueror of the Franks and Alemanni could no longer be painted as an object of contempt; and the monarch himself was meanly ambitious of stealing from his lieutenant the honorable reward of his labors. In the letters crowned with laurel, which, according to ancient custom, were addressed to the provinces, the name of Julian was omitted. "Constantius had made his dispositions in person; *he* had signalized his valor in the foremost ranks; *his* military conduct had secured the victory; and the captive king of the barbarians was presented to *him* on the field of battle," from which he was at that time distant above forty days' journey.<sup>2</sup> So extravagant a fable was incapable, however, of deceiving the public credulity, or even of satisfying the pride of the emperor himself. Secretly conscious that the applause and favor of the Romans accompanied the rising fortunes of Julian, his discontented mind was prepared to receive the subtle poison of those artful sycophants who colored their mischievous designs with the fairest appearances of truth and candor.<sup>3</sup> Instead of depreciating the merits of Julian, they acknowledged, and even exaggerated, his popular fame, superior talents, and important services. But they darkly insinuated that the virtues of the Cæsar might instantly be converted into the most dangerous crimes if the inconstant multitude should prefer their inclinations to their duty; or if the general of a victorious army should be tempt-

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<sup>2</sup> Ammian. xvi. 12 [*fn.*]. The orator Themistius (iv. p. 56, 57) believed whatever was contained in the imperial letters, which were addressed to the senate of Constantinople. Aurelius Victor, who published his Abridgment in the last year of Constantius, ascribes the German victories to the *wisdom* of the emperor and the *fortune* of the Cæsar. Yet the historian, soon afterwards, was indebted to the favor or esteem of Julian for the honor of a brass statue, and the important offices of consular of the second Pannonia and præfect of the city. Ammian. xxi. 10.

<sup>3</sup> "Callido nocendi artificio, accusatoriam diritatem laudum titulis peragebant. . . . Hæ voces fuerunt ad inflammanda odia probris omnibus potentiores." See Mamertin, in *Actione Gratiarum* in Vet. Panegyri. xi. 4, 5.

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newly discovered fragment) was wont to call his antagonist Sylla a beast, half lion and half fox. Constantius had nothing of the lion, but was surrounded by a whole litter of foxes. Mai, Script. Byz. Nov. Coll. ii. p. 238. Niebuhr, Byzant. Hist. p. 66.—M.



ed from his allegiance by the hopes of revenge and independent greatness. The personal fears of Constantius were interpreted by his council as a laudable anxiety for the public safety; whilst in private, and perhaps in his own breast, he disguised, under the less odious appellation of fear, the sentiments of hatred and envy which he had secretly conceived for the inimitable virtues of Julian.

The apparent tranquillity of Gaul, and the imminent danger of the Eastern provinces, offered a specious pretence for the design which was artfully concerted by the imperial ministers. They resolved to disarm the Cæsar; to recall those faithful troops who guarded his person and dignity; and to employ, in a distant war against the Persian monarch, the hardy veterans who had vanquished, on the banks of the Rhine, the fiercest nations of Germany. While Julian used the laborious hours of his winter-quarters at Paris in the administration of power, which, in his hands, was the exercise of virtue, he was surprised by the hasty arrival of a tribune and a notary, with positive orders from the emperor, which *they* were directed to execute, and *he* was commanded not to oppose. Constantius signified his pleasure that four entire legions—the Celtæ and Petulants, the Heruli and the Batavians—should be separated from the standard of Julian, under which they had acquired their fame and discipline; that in each of the remaining bands three hundred of the bravest youths should be selected; and that this numerous detachment, the strength of the Gallic army, should instantly begin their march, and exert their utmost diligence to arrive, before the opening of the campaign, on the frontiers of Persia.<sup>4</sup> The Cæsar foresaw and lamented the consequences of this fatal mandate. Most of the auxiliaries, who engaged their voluntary service, had stipulated that

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<sup>4</sup> The minute interval which may be interposed between the *hieme adultâ* and the *primo vere* of Ammianus (xx. 1, 4), instead of allowing a sufficient space for a march of three thousand miles, would render the orders of Constantius as extravagant as they were unjust. The troops of Gaul could not have reached Syria till the end of autumn. The memory of Ammianus must have been inaccurate, and his language incorrect.

Fears and  
envy of Con-  
stantius.

The legions  
of Gaul are  
ordered to  
march into  
the East.  
A.D. 360.  
April.

they should never be obliged to cross the Alps. The public faith of Rome and the personal honor of Julian had been pledged for the observance of this condition. Such an act of treachery and oppression would destroy the confidence and excite the resentment of the independent warriors of Germany, who considered truth as the noblest of their virtues, and freedom as the most valuable of their possessions. The legionaries, who enjoyed the title and privileges of Romans, were enlisted for the general defence of the republic; but those mercenary troops heard with cold indifference the antiquated names of the republic and of Rome. Attached, either from birth or long habit, to the climate and manners of Gaul, they loved and admired Julian; they despised, and perhaps hated, the emperor; they dreaded the laborious march, the Persian arrows, and the burning deserts of Asia. They claimed as their own the country which they had saved; and excused their want of spirit by pleading the sacred and more immediate duty of protecting their families and friends. The apprehensions of the Gauls were derived from the knowledge of the impending and inevitable danger. As soon as the provinces were exhausted of their military strength, the Germans would violate a treaty which had been imposed on their fears; and, notwithstanding the abilities and valor of Julian, the general of a nominal army, to whom the public calamities would be imputed, must find himself, after a vain resistance, either a prisoner in the camp of the barbarians, or a criminal in the palace of Constantius. If Julian complied with the orders which he had received, he subscribed his own destruction, and that of a people who deserved his affection. But a positive refusal was an act of rebellion and a declaration of war. The inexorable jealousy of the emperor, the peremptory, and perhaps insidious, nature of his commands, left not any room for a fair apology or candid interpretation; and the dependent station of the Cæsar scarcely allowed him to pause or to deliberate. Solitude increased the perplexity of Julian; he could no longer apply to the faithful counsels of Sallust, who had been removed from his office by the judicious malice of the eunuchs; he could not even enforce his representations

by the concurrence of the ministers, who would have been afraid or ashamed to approve the ruin of Gaul. The moment had been chosen when Lupicinus,<sup>6</sup> the general of the cavalry, was despatched into Britain to repulse the inroads of the Scots and Picts; and Florentius was occupied at Vienne by the assessment of the tribute. The latter, a crafty and corrupt statesman, declining to assume a responsible part on this dangerous occasion, eluded the pressing and repeated invitations of Julian, who represented to him that in every important measure the presence of the præfect was indispensable in the council of the prince. In the meanwhile the Cæsar was oppressed by the rude and importunate solicitations of the imperial messengers, who presumed to suggest that, if he expected the return of his ministers, he would charge himself with the guilt of the delay, and reserve for them the merit of the execution. Unable to resist, unwilling to comply, Julian expressed in the most serious terms his wish, and even his intention, of resigning the purple, which he could not preserve with honor, but which he could not abdicate with safety.

After a painful conflict, Julian was compelled to acknowledge that obedience was the virtue of the most eminent subject, and that the sovereign alone was entitled to judge of the public welfare. He issued the necessary orders for carrying into execution the commands of Constantius; a part of the troops began their march for the Alps; and the detachments from the several garrisons moved towards their respective places of assembly. They advanced with difficulty through the trembling and affrighted crowds of provincials, who attempted to excite their pity by silent despair or loud lamentations; while the wives of the soldiers, holding their infants in their arms, accused the desertion of their husbands in the mixed language of grief, of tenderness,

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<sup>6</sup> Ammianus, xx. 1. The valor of Lupicinus and his military skill are acknowledged by the historian, who, in his affected language, accuses the general of exalting the horns of his pride, bellowing in a tragic tone, and exciting a doubt whether he was more cruel or avaricious. The danger from the Scots and Picts was so serious that Julian himself had some thoughts of passing over into the island.

and of indignation. This scene of general distress afflicted the humanity of the Cæsar; he granted a sufficient number of post-wagons to transport the wives and families of the soldiers,\* endeavored to alleviate the hardships which he was constrained to inflict, and increased by the most laudable arts his own popularity and the discontent of the exiled troops. The grief of an armed multitude is soon converted into rage; their licentious murmurs, which every hour were communicated from tent to tent with more boldness and effect, prepared their minds for the most daring acts of sedition; and by the connivance of their tribunes a seasonable libel was secretly dispersed, which painted in lively colors the disgrace of the Cæsar, the oppression of the Gallic army, and the feeble vices of the tyrant of Asia. The servants of Constantius were astonished and alarmed by the progress of this dangerous spirit. They pressed the Cæsar to hasten the departure of the troops; but they imprudently rejected the honest and judicious advice of Julian, who proposed that they should not march through Paris, and suggested the danger and temptation of a last interview.

As soon as the approach of the troops was announced, the Cæsar went out to meet them, and ascended his tribunal, which had been erected in a plain before the gates of the city. After distinguishing the officers and soldiers who by their rank or merit deserved a peculiar attention, Julian addressed himself in a studied oration to the surrounding multitude. He celebrated their exploits with grateful applause; encouraged them to accept, with alacrity, the honor of serving under the eyes of a powerful and liberal monarch; and admonished them that the commands of Augustus required an instant and cheerful obedience. The soldiers, who were apprehensive of offending their general by an indecent clamor, or of belying their sentiments by false and venal acclamations, maintained an obstinate silence; and, after a

They proclaim Julian emperor.

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\* He granted them the permission of the *cursus clavularis*, or *clabularis*. These post-wagons are often mentioned in the Code, and were supposed to carry fifteen hundred pounds weight. See Vales. ad Ammian. xx. 4.



short pause, were dismissed to their quarters. The principal officers were entertained by the Cæsar, who professed, in the warmest language of friendship, his desire and his inability to reward, according to their deserts, the brave companions of his victories. They retired from the feast full of grief and perplexity; and lamented the hardship of their fate, which tore them from their beloved general and their native country. The only expedient which could prevent their separation was boldly agitated and approved; the popular resentment was insensibly moulded into a regular conspiracy; their just reasons of complaint were heightened by passion, and their passions were inflamed by wine, as on the eve of their departure the troops were indulged in licentious festivity. At the hour of midnight the impetuous multitude, with swords, and bows, and torches in their hands, rushed into the suburbs; encompassed the palace; and, careless of future dangers, pronounced the fatal and irrevocable words, JULIAN AUGUSTUS! The prince, whose anxious suspense was interrupted by their disorderly acclamations, secured the doors against their intrusion; and, as long as it was in his power, secluded his person and dignity from the accidents of a nocturnal tumult. At the dawn of day the soldiers, whose zeal was irritated by opposition, forcibly entered the palace, seized, with respectful violence, the object of their choice, guarded Julian with drawn swords

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<sup>7</sup> Most probably the palace of the baths (*Thermaum*), of which a solid and lofty hall still subsists in the Rue de la Harpe. The buildings covered a considerable space of the modern quarter of the university; and the gardens, under the Merovingian kings, communicated with the Abbey of St. Germain des Prez. By the injuries of time and the Normans, this ancient palace was reduced in the twelfth century to a maze of ruins, whose dark recesses were the scene of licentious love.

Explicat aula sinus montemque amplectitur alis;  
 Multiplici latebrâ scelerum tersura ruborem.  
 . . . . . pereuntis sæpe pudoris  
 Celatura nefas, Venerisque accommoda furtis.

(These lines are quoted from the Architrenius, l. iv. c. 8, a poetical work of John de Hauteville, or Hanville, a monk of St. Alban's, about the year 1190. See Warton's History of English Poetry, vol. i. dissert. ii.) Yet such *thefts* might be less pernicious to mankind than the theological disputes of the Sorbonne, which have been since agitated on the same ground. Bonamy, Mém. de l'Académie, tom. xv. p. 678-682.

through the streets of Paris, placed him on the tribunal, and with repeated shouts saluted him as their emperor. Prudence as well as loyalty inculcated the propriety of resisting their treasonable designs, and of preparing for his oppressed virtue the excuse of violence. Addressing himself by turns to the multitude and to individuals, he sometimes implored their mercy, and sometimes expressed his indignation; conjured them not to sully the fame of their immortal victories; and ventured to promise that, if they would immediately return to their allegiance, he would undertake to obtain from the emperor not only a free and gracious pardon, but even the revocation of the orders which had excited their resentment. But the soldiers, who were conscious of their guilt, chose rather to depend on the gratitude of Julian than on the clemency of the emperor. Their zeal was insensibly turned into impatience, and their impatience into rage. The inflexible Cæsar sustained, till the third hour of the day, their prayers, their reproaches, and their menaces; nor did he yield till he had been repeatedly assured that, if he wished to live, he must consent to reign. He was exalted on a shield in the presence, and amidst the unanimous acclamations, of the troops; a rich military collar, which was offered by chance, supplied the want of a diadem;<sup>8</sup> the ceremony was concluded by the promise of a moderate donative;<sup>9</sup> and the new emperor, overwhelmed with real or affected grief, retired into the most secret recesses of his apartment.<sup>10</sup>

The grief of Julian could proceed only from his innocence; but his innocence must appear extremely doubtful<sup>11</sup> in the

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<sup>8</sup> Even in this tumultuous moment, Julian attended to the forms of superstitious ceremony, and obstinately refused the inauspicious use of a female necklace, or a horse-collar, which the impatient soldiers would have employed in the room of a diadem.

<sup>9</sup> An equal proportion of gold and silver, five pieces of the former, one pound of the latter; the whole amounting to about five pounds ten shillings of our money.

<sup>10</sup> For the whole narrative of this revolt we may appeal to authentic and original materials: Julian himself (*ad S. P. Q. Atheniensem*, p. 282, 283, 284), Libanius (*Orat. Parental.* c. 44–48, in *Fabricius, Biblioth. Græc.* tom. vii. p. 269–273), Ammianus (xx. 4), and Zosimus (l. iii. [c. 9], p. 151, 152, 153), who, in the reign of Julian, appears to follow the more respectable authority of Eunapius. With such guides we *might* neglect the abbreviators and ecclesiastical historians.

<sup>11</sup> Eutropius, a respectable witness, uses a doubtful expression, “*consensu mili-*

eyes of those who have learned to suspect the motives and the professions of princes. His lively and active mind was susceptible of the various impressions of hope and fear, of gratitude and revenge, of duty and of ambition, of the love of fame and of the fear of reproach. But it is impossible for us to calculate the respective weight and operation of these sentiments; or to ascertain the principles of action which might escape the observation, while they guided, or rather impelled, the steps of Julian himself. The discontent of the troops was produced by the malice of his enemies. Their tumult was the natural effect of interest and of passion; and if Julian had tried to conceal a deep design under the appearances of chance, he must have employed the most consummate artifice without necessity, and probably without success. He solemnly declares, in the presence of Jupiter, of the Sun, of Mars, of Minerva, and of all the other deities, that till the close of the evening which preceded his elevation he was utterly ignorant of the designs of the soldiers;<sup>22</sup> and it may seem ungenerous to distrust the honor of a hero and the truth of a philosopher. Yet the superstitious confidence that Constantius was the enemy, and that he himself was the favorite, of the gods, might prompt him to desire, to solicit, and even to hasten the auspicious moment of his reign, which was predestined to restore the ancient religion of mankind. When Julian had received the intelligence of the conspiracy, he resigned himself to a short slumber; and afterwards related to his friends that he had seen the Genius of the empire waiting with some impatience at his door, pressing for admittance, and reproaching his want of spirit and ambition.<sup>23</sup>

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tum" (x. 15 [7]). Gregory Nazianzen, whose ignorance might excuse his fanaticism, directly charges the apostate with presumption, madness, and impious rebellion, *κὺθ' ἁδεια, ἀπόνοια, ἀσίβεια*. Orat. iii. p. 67.

<sup>22</sup> Julian. ad S. P. Q. Athen. p. 284. The *devout* Abbé de la Bletterie (*Vie de Julien*, p. 159) is almost inclined to respect the *devout* protestations of a pagan.

<sup>23</sup> Ammian. xx. 5, with the note of Lindembrogius on the Genius of the empire. Julian himself, in a confidential letter to his friend and physician Oribasius (Epist. xvii. p. 384), mentions another dream, to which, before the event, he gave credit: of a stately tree thrown to the ground, of a small plant striking a deep root into the earth. Even in his sleep the mind of the Cæsar must have been agitated by

Astonished and perplexed, he addressed his prayers to the great Jupiter, who immediately signified, by a clear and manifest omen, that he should submit to the will of Heaven and of the army. The conduct which disclaims the ordinary maxims of reason excites our suspicion and eludes our inquiry. Whenever the spirit of fanaticism, at once so credulous and so crafty, has insinuated itself into a noble mind, it insensibly corrodes the vital principles of virtue and veracity.

To moderate the zeal of his party, to protect the persons of his enemies,<sup>14</sup> to defeat and to despise the secret enterprises which were formed against his life and dignity, were the cares which employed the first days of the reign of the new emperor. Although he was firmly resolved to maintain the station which he had assumed, he was still desirous of saving his country from the calamities of civil war, of declining a contest with the superior forces of Constantius, and of preserving his own character from the reproach of perfidy and ingratitude. Adorned with the ensigns of military and imperial pomp, Julian showed himself in the field of Mars to the soldiers, who glowed with ardent enthusiasm in the cause of their pupil, their leader, and their friend. He recapitulated their victories, lamented their sufferings, applauded their resolution, animated their hopes, and checked their impetuosity; nor did he dismiss the assembly till he had obtained a solemn promise from the troops that, if the Emperor of the East would subscribe an equitable treaty, they would renounce any views of conquest, and satisfy themselves with the tranquil possession of the Gallic provinces. On this foundation he composed, in his own name and in that of the army, a specious and moderate epistle,<sup>15</sup> which was delivered to Pentadius, his master of the offices, and to his chamberlain

His embassy  
to Constantius.

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the hopes and fears of his fortune. Zosimus (l. iii. [c. 9] p. 155) relates a subsequent dream.

<sup>14</sup> The difficult situation of the prince of a rebellious army is finely described by Tacitus (Hist. i. 80–85). But Otho had much more guilt and much less abilities than Julian.

<sup>15</sup> To this ostensible epistle he added, says Ammianus, private letters, “objurgatorias et mordaces,” which the historian had not seen and would not have published. Perhaps they never existed.



Eutherius—two ambassadors whom he appointed to receive the answer and observe the dispositions of Constantius. This epistle is inscribed with the modest appellation of Cæsar; but Julian solicits, in a peremptory though respectful manner, the confirmation of the title of Augustus. He acknowledges the irregularity of his own election, while he justifies, in some measure, the resentment and violence of the troops which had extorted his reluctant consent. He allows the supremacy of his brother Constantius; and engages to send him an annual present of Spanish horses, to recruit his army with a select number of barbarian youths, and to accept from his choice a Prætorian præfect of approved discretion and fidelity. But he reserves for himself the nomination of his other civil and military officers, with the troops, the revenue, and the sovereignty of the provinces beyond the Alps. He admonishes the emperor to consult the dictates of justice; to distrust the arts of those venal flatterers who subsist only by the discord of princes; and to embrace the offer of a fair and honorable treaty, equally advantageous to the republic and to the house of Constantine. In this negotiation Julian claimed no more than he already possessed. The delegated authority which he had long exercised over the provinces of Gaul, Spain, and Britain was still obeyed under a name more independent and august. The soldiers and the people rejoiced in a revolution which was not stained even with the blood of the guilty. Florentius was a fugitive; Lupicinus a prisoner. The persons who were disaffected to the new government were disarmed and secured; and the vacant offices were distributed, according to the recommendation of merit, by a prince who despised the intrigues of the palace and the clamors of the soldiers.<sup>16</sup>

The negotiations of peace were accompanied and supported

His fourth  
and fifth ex-  
peditions  
beyond the  
Rhine.  
A.D. 360, 361.

by the most vigorous preparations for war. The army, which Julian held in readiness for immediate action, was recruited and augmented by the disorders of the times. The cruel persecution of the fac-

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<sup>16</sup> See the first transactions of his reign, in Julian ad S. P. Q. Athen. p. 285, 286. Ammianus, xx. 5, 8. Liban. Orat. Parent. c. 49, 50, p. 273-275.

tion of Magnentius had filled Gaul with numerous bands of outlaws and robbers. They cheerfully accepted the offer of a general pardon from a prince whom they could trust, submitted to the restraints of military discipline, and retained only their implacable hatred to the person and government of Constantius.<sup>17</sup> As soon as the season of the year permitted Julian to take the field, he appeared at the head of his legions; threw a bridge over the Rhine in the neighborhood of Cleves; and prepared to chastise the perfidy of the Attuarii, a tribe of Franks, who presumed that they might ravage with impunity the frontiers of a divided empire. The difficulty as well as glory of this enterprise consisted in a laborious march; and Julian had conquered, as soon as he could penetrate into, a country which former princes had considered as inaccessible. After he had given peace to the barbarians, the emperor carefully visited the fortifications along the Rhine from Cleves to Basel; surveyed, with peculiar attention, the territories which he had recovered from the hands of the Alemanni; passed through Besançon,<sup>18</sup> which had severely suffered from their fury; and fixed his headquarters at Vienne for the ensuing winter. The barrier of Gaul was improved and strengthened with additional fortifications; and Julian entertained some hopes that the Germans, whom he had so often vanquished, might, in his absence, be restrained by the terror of his name. Vadomair<sup>19</sup> was the only prince of the Alemanni whom he esteemed or feared; and while the subtle

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<sup>17</sup> Liban. Orat. Parent. c. 50, p. 275, 276. A strange disorder, since it continued above seven years. In the factions of the Greek republics the exiles amounted to 20,000 persons; and Isocrates assures Philip that it would be easier to raise an army from the vagabonds than from the cities. See Hume's Essays, tom. i. p. 426, 427.

<sup>18</sup> Julian (Epist. xxxviii. p. 414) gives a short description of Vesontio, or Besançon—a rocky peninsula almost encircled by the river Doubs; once a magnificent city, filled with temples, etc., now reduced to a small town, emerging, however, from its ruins.

<sup>19</sup> Vadomair entered into the Roman service, and was promoted from a barbarian kingdom to the military rank of Duke of Phœnicia. He still retained the same artful character (Ammian. xxi. 3); but, under the reign of Valens, he signalized his valor in the Armenian war (xxix. 1).

barbarian affected to observe the faith of treaties, the progress of his arms threatened the State with an unseasonable and dangerous war. The policy of Julian condescended to surprise the prince of the Alemanni by his own arts; and Vadomair, who, in the character of a friend, had incautiously accepted an invitation from the Roman governors, was seized in the midst of the entertainment, and sent away prisoner into the heart of Spain. Before the barbarians were recovered from their amazement, the emperor appeared in arms on the banks of the Rhine, and, once more crossing the river, renewed the deep impressions of terror and respect which had been already made by four preceding expeditions.<sup>20</sup>

The ambassadors of Julian had been instructed to execute with the utmost diligence their important commission. But in their passage through Italy and Illyricum they were detained by the tedious and affected delays of the provincial governors. They were conducted by slow journeys from Constantinople to Cæsarea in Cappadocia; and when at length they were admitted to the presence of Constantius, they found that he had already conceived, from the despatches of his own officers, the most unfavorable opinion of the conduct of Julian and of the Gallic army. The letters were heard with impatience; the trembling messengers were dismissed with indignation and contempt; and the looks, the gestures, the furious language of the monarch, expressed the disorder of his soul. The domestic connection which might have reconciled the brother and the husband of Helena was recently dissolved by the death of that princess, whose pregnancy had been several times fruitless, and was at last fatal to herself.<sup>21</sup> The Empress Eusebia had pre-

Fruitless  
treaty and  
declaration  
of war.  
A.D. 361.

<sup>20</sup> Ammian. xx. 10, xxi. 3, 4. Zosimus, l. iii. [c. 10] p. 155.

<sup>21</sup> Her remains were sent to Rome, and interred near those of her sister Constantina, in the suburb of the *Via Nomentana*. Ammian. xxi. 1. Libanius has composed a very weak apology, to justify his hero from a very absurd charge of poisoning his wife, and rewarding her physician with his mother's jewels. (See the seventh of seventeen new orations, published at Venice, 1754, from a MS. in St. Mark's Library, p. 117-127.) Elpidius, the Prætorian Præfect of the East, to whose evidence the accuser of Julian appeals, is arraigned by Libanius as *effemi-*

served, to the last moment of her life, the warm, and even jealous, affection which she had conceived for Julian; and her mild influence might have moderated the resentment of a prince who, since her death, was abandoned to his own passions and to the arts of his eunuchs. But the terror of a foreign invasion obliged him to suspend the punishment of a private enemy; he continued his march towards the confines of Persia, and thought it sufficient to signify the conditions which might entitle Julian and his guilty followers to the elemency of their offended sovereign. He required that the presumptuous Cæsar should expressly renounce the appellation and rank of Augustus which he had accepted from the rebels; that he should descend to his former station of a limited and dependent minister; that he should vest the powers of the State and army in the hands of those officers who were appointed by the imperial court; and that he should trust his safety to the assurances of pardon, which were announced by Epictetus, a Gallic bishop, and one of the Arian favorites of Constantius. Several months were ineffectually consumed in a treaty which was negotiated at the distance of three thousand miles between Paris and Antioch; and as soon as Julian perceived that his moderate and respectful behavior served only to irritate the pride of an implacable adversary, he boldly resolved to commit his life and fortune to the chance of a civil war. He gave a public and military audience to the quæstor Leonas: the haughty epistle of Constantius was read to the attentive multitude; and Julian protested, with the most flattering deference, that he was ready to resign the title of Augustus if he could obtain the consent of those whom he acknowledged as the authors of his elevation. The faint proposal was impetuously silenced; and the acclamations of "Julian Augustus, continue to reign, by the authority of the army, of the people, of the republic which you have saved!" thundered at once from every part of the field, and terrified the pale ambassador of Constantius. A part of the letter was

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*nate* and ungrateful; yet the religion of Elpidius is praised by Jerome (tom. i. p. 243), and his humanity by Ammianus (xxi. 6).



afterwards read, in which the emperor arraigned the ingratitude of Julian, whom he had invested with the honors of the purple ; whom he had educated with so much care and tenderness ; whom he had preserved in his infancy, when he was left a helpless orphan. “An orphan !” interrupted Julian, who justified his cause by indulging his passions, “does the assassin of my family reproach me that I was left an orphan ? He urges me to revenge those injuries which I have long studied to forget.” The assembly was dismissed ; and Leonas, who with some difficulty had been protected from the popular fury, was sent back to his master with an epistle in which Julian expressed, in a strain of the most vehement eloquence, the sentiments of contempt, of hatred, and of resentment which had been suppressed and embittered by the dissimulation of twenty years. After this message, which might be considered as a signal of irreconcilable war, Julian, who, some weeks before had celebrated the Christian festival of the Epiphany,<sup>22</sup> made a public declaration that he committed the care of his safety to the IMMORTAL GODS ; and thus publicly renounced the religion as well as the friendship of Constantius.<sup>23</sup>

The situation of Julian required a vigorous and immediate resolution. He had discovered from intercepted letters that his adversary, sacrificing the interest of the State to that of the monarch, had again excited the barbarians to invade the provinces of the West. The po-

Julian prepares to attack Constantius.

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<sup>22</sup> Feriarum die, quem celebrantes mense Januario, Christiani *Epiphania* dictitant, progressus in eorum ecclesiam, solemniter numine orato discessit.—Ammian. xxi. 2. Zonaras observes that it was on Christmas-day, and his assertion is not inconsistent ; since the churches of Egypt, Asia, and perhaps Gaul, celebrated on the same day (the 6th of January) the nativity and the baptism of their Saviour. The Romans, as ignorant as their brethren of the real date of his birth, fixed the solemn festival to the 25th of December, the *Brumalia*, or winter solstice, when the pagans annually celebrated the birth of the sun. See Bingham's *Antiquities of the Christian Church*, l. xx. c. 4 ; and Beausobre, *Hist. Critique du Manichéisme*, tom. ii. p. 690–700.

<sup>23</sup> The public and secret negotiations between Constantius and Julian must be extracted, with some caution, from Julian himself (*Orat. ad S. P. Q. Athen.* p. 286), Libanius (*Orat. Parent.* c. 51, p. 276), Ammianus (xx. 9), Zosimus (l. iii. [c. 9] p. 154), and even Zonaras (tom. ii. l. xiii. [c. 10] p. 20, 21, 22), who, on this occasion, appears to have possessed and used some valuable materials.

sition of two magazines, one of them collected on the banks of the lake of Constance, the other formed at the foot of the Cottian Alps, seemed to indicate the march of two armies; and the size of those magazines, each of which consisted of six hundred thousand quarters of wheat, or rather flour,<sup>24</sup> was a threatening evidence of the strength and numbers of the enemy who prepared to surround him. But the imperial legions were still in their distant quarters of Asia; the Danube was feebly guarded; and if Julian could occupy, by a sudden incursion, the important provinces of Illyricum, he might expect that a people of soldiers would resort to his standard, and that the rich mines of gold and silver would contribute to the expenses of the civil war. He proposed this bold enterprise to the assembly of the soldiers; inspired them with a just confidence in their general and in themselves; and exhorted them to maintain their reputation of being terrible to the enemy, moderate to their fellow-citizens, and obedient to their officers. His spirited discourse was received with the loudest acclamations, and the same troops which had taken up arms against Constantius when he summoned them to leave Gaul now declared with alacrity that they would follow Julian to the farthest extremities of Europe or Asia. The oath of fidelity was administered; and the soldiers, clashing their shields, and pointing their drawn swords to their throats, devoted themselves, with horrid imprecations, to the service of a leader whom they celebrated as the deliverer of Gaul and the conqueror of the Germans.<sup>25</sup> This solemn engagement, which seemed to be dictated by affection rather than by duty, was singly opposed by Nebridius, who had been admitted to the office of Prætorian præfect. That faithful minister, alone and unassisted, asserted the rights of Constantius in the midst of an armed and angry multitude, to whose fury he had almost fallen an honorable but useless sacrifice. After losing one of

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<sup>24</sup> Three hundred myriads, or three millions, of *medimni*, a corn-measure familiar to the Athenians, and which contained six Roman *modii*. Julian explains, like a soldier and a statesman, the danger of his situation, and the necessity and advantages of an offensive war (ad S. P. Q. Athen. p. 286, 287).

<sup>25</sup> See his oration, and the behavior of the troops, in Ammian. **xxi.** 5

his hands by the stroke of a sword, he embraced the knees of the prince whom he had offended. Julian covered the præfect with his imperial mantle, and, protecting him from the zeal of his followers, dismissed him to his own house, with less respect than was perhaps due to the virtue of an enemy.<sup>26</sup> The high office of Nebridius was bestowed on Sallust; and the provinces of Gaul, which were now delivered from the intolerable oppression of taxes, enjoyed the mild and equitable administration of the friend of Julian, who was permitted to practise those virtues which he had instilled into the mind of his pupil.<sup>27</sup>

The hopes of Julian depended much less on the number of his troops than on the celerity of his motions. In the execution of a daring enterprise he availed himself of every precaution, as far as prudence could suggest; and where prudence could no longer accompany his steps, he trusted the event to valor and to fortune. In the neighborhood of Basel he assembled and divided his army.<sup>28</sup> One body, which consisted of ten thousand men, was directed, under the command of Nevitta, general of the cavalry, to advance through the midland parts of Rætia and Noricum. A similar division of troops, under the orders of Jovius and Jovinus, prepared to follow the oblique course of the high-ways through the Alps and the northern confines of Italy. The instructions to the generals were conceived with energy and precision: to hasten their march in close and compact columns, which, according to the disposition of the ground, might readily be changed into any order of battle; to secure

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<sup>26</sup> He sternly refused his hand to the suppliant præfect, whom he sent into Tuscany (Ammian. xxi. 5). Libanius, with savage fury, insults Nebridius, applauds the soldiers, and almost censures the humanity of Julian (Orat. Parent. c. 53, p. 278).

<sup>27</sup> Ammian. xxi. 8. In this promotion Julian obeyed the law which he publicly imposed on himself: "Neque civilis quisquam iudex nec militaris [militiæ] rector, alio quodam præter merita suffragante, ad potiorem veniat gradum" (Ammian. xx. 5). Absence did not weaken his regard for Sallust, with whose name (A.D. 363) he honored the consulship.

<sup>28</sup> Ammianus (xxi. 8) ascribes the same practice and the same motive to Alexander the Great and other skilful generals.

themselves against the surprises of the night by strong posts and vigilant guards ; to prevent resistance by their unexpected arrival ; to elude examination by their sudden departure ; to spread the opinion of their strength and the terror of his name ; and to join their sovereign under the walls of Sirmium. For himself Julian had reserved a more difficult and extraordinary part. He selected three thousand brave and active volunteers, resolved, like their leader, to cast behind them every hope of a retreat. At the head of this faithful band, he fearlessly plunged into the recesses of the Marcian (or Black) forest, which conceals the sources of the Danube ;<sup>29</sup> and for many days the fate of Julian was unknown to the world. The secrecy of his march, his diligence, and vigor surmounted every obstacle. He forced his way over mountains and morasses ; occupied the bridges or swam the rivers ; pursued his direct course<sup>30</sup> without reflecting whether he traversed the territory of the Romans or of the barbarians ; and at length emerged, between Ratisbon and Vienna, at the place where he designed to embark his troops on the Danube. By a well-concerted stratagem, he seized a fleet of light brigantines<sup>31</sup> as it lay at anchor ; secured a supply of coarse provisions sufficient to satisfy the indelicate but voracious appetite of a Gallic army ; and boldly committed himself to the stream of the Danube. The labors of his mariners, who plied their oars with incessant diligence, and the steady continuance of a favorable wind, carried his fleet above seven hundred miles in

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<sup>29</sup> This wood was a part of the great Hercynian forest, which in the time of Cæsar stretched away from the country of the Rauraci (Basel) into the boundless regions of the North. See Cluver. *Germania Antiqua*, l. iii. c. 47.

<sup>30</sup> Compare Libanius, *Orat. Parent.* c. 53, p. 278, 279, with Gregory Nazianzen, *Orat.* iii. p. 68. Even the saint admires the speed and secrecy of this march. A modern divine might apply to the progress of Julian the lines which were originally designed for another apostate :

——— So eagerly the fiend,  
O'er bog or steep, through strait, rough, dense, or rare,  
With head, hands, wings, or feet, pursues his way,  
And swims, or sinks, or wades, or creeps, or flies.

<sup>31</sup> In that interval the *Notitia* places two or three fleets, the *Lauriacensis* (at *Lauriacum*, or Lorch), the *Arlapensis*, the *Maginensis* ; and mentions five legions, or cohorts, of *Liburnarii*, who should be a sort of marines. Sect. lviii. edit. Labb.



eleven days;<sup>32</sup> and he had already disembarked his troops at Bononia, only nineteen miles from Sirmium, before his enemies could receive any certain intelligence that he had left the banks of the Rhine. In the course of this long and rapid navigation, the mind of Julian was fixed on the object of his enterprise; and though he accepted the deputations of some cities, which hastened to claim the merit of an early submission, he passed before the hostile stations, which were placed along the river, without indulging the temptation of signaling a useless and ill-timed valor. The banks of the Danube were crowded on either side with spectators, who gazed on the military pomp, anticipated the importance of the event, and diffused through the adjacent country the fame of a young hero, who advanced with more than mortal speed at the head of the innumerable forces of the West. Lucilian, who, with the rank of general of the cavalry, commanded the military powers of Illyricum, was alarmed and perplexed by the doubtful reports, which he could neither reject nor believe. He had taken some slow and irresolute measures for the purpose of collecting his troops, when he was surprised by Dagalaiphus, an active officer, whom Julian, as soon as he landed at Bononia, had pushed forward with some light-infantry. The captive general, uncertain of his life or death, was hastily thrown upon a horse, and conducted to the presence of Julian, who kindly raised him from the ground, and dispelled the terror and amazement which seemed to stupefy his faculties. But Lucilian had no sooner recovered his spirits than he betrayed his want of discretion by presuming to admonish his conqueror that he had rashly ventured, with a handful of men, to expose his person in the midst of his enemies. "Reserve for your master Constantius these timid remonstrances," replied Julian, with a smile of contempt. "When I gave you my purple to kiss, I received you not as a counsellor, but as a suppliant." Conscious that success alone could justify his attempt, and that

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<sup>32</sup> Zosimus alone (l. iii. [c. 10] p. 156) has specified this interesting circumstance. Mamertinus (in Panegy. Vet. xi. [x.] 6, 7, 8), who accompanied Julian as count of the sacred largesses, describes this voyage in a florid and picturesque manner, challenges Triptolemus and the Argonauts of Greece, etc.

boldness only could command success, he instantly advanced, at the head of three thousand soldiers, to attack the strongest and most populous city of the Illyrian provinces. As he entered the long suburb of Sirminum, he was received by the joyful acclamations of the army and people, who, crowned with flowers, and holding lighted tapers in their hands, conducted their acknowledged sovereign to his imperial residence. Two days were devoted to the public joy, which was celebrated by the games of the Circus ; but, early on the morning of the third day, Julian marched to occupy the narrow pass of Succì, in the defiles of Mount Hæmus ; which, almost in the midway between Sirmium and Constantinople, separates the provinces of Thrace and Dacia, by an abrupt descent towards the former, and a gentle declivity on the side of the latter.<sup>33</sup> The defence of this important post was intrusted to the brave Nevitta ; who, as well as the generals of the Italian division, successfully executed the plan of the march and junction which their master had so ably conceived.<sup>34</sup>

The homage which Julian obtained from the fears or the inclination of the people extended far beyond the immediate effect of his arms.<sup>35</sup> The præfectures of Italy and Illyricum were administered by Taurus and Florentius, who united that important office with the vain honors of the consulship ; and as those magistrates had retired with precipitation to the court of Asia, Julian, who could not always restrain the levity of his temper, stigmatized their flight by adding, in all the Acts of the Year, the epithet of *fugitive* to the names of the two consuls. The provinces which had been deserted by their first magistrates acknowledged the authority

He justifies  
his cause.

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<sup>33</sup> The description of Ammianus, which might be supported by collateral evidence, ascertains the precise situation of the *Angustie Succorum*, or Passes of Succì. M. d'Anville, from the trifling resemblance of names, has placed them between Sàrdica and Naissus. For my own justification, I am obliged to mention the *only* error which I have discovered in the maps or writings of that admirable geographer.

<sup>34</sup> Whatever circumstances we may borrow elsewhere, Ammianus (xxi. 8, 9, 10) still supplies the series of the narrative.

<sup>35</sup> Ammian. xxi. 9, 10. Libanius, Orat. Parent. c. 54, p. 279, 280. Zosimus, l. iii. [c. 10] p. 156, 157

of an emperor who, conciliating the qualities of a soldier with those of a philosopher, was equally admired in the camps of the Danube and in the cities of Greece. From his palace, or, more properly, from his headquarters of Sirmium and Nais-sus, he distributed to the principal cities of the empire a labored apology for his own conduct; published the secret despatches of Constantius; and solicited the judgment of mankind between two competitors, the one of whom had expelled, and the other had invited, the barbarians.<sup>36</sup> Julian, whose mind was deeply wounded by the reproach of ingratitude, aspired to maintain, by argument as well as by arms, the superior merits of his cause; and to excel not only in the arts of war, but in those of composition. His epistle to the senate and people of Athens<sup>37</sup> seems to have been dictated by an elegant enthusiasm, which prompted him to submit his actions and his motives to the degenerate Athenians of his own times with the same humble deference as if he had been pleading in the days of Aristides before the tribunal of the Areopagus. His application to the senate of Rome, which was still permitted to bestow the titles of imperial power, was agreeable to the forms of the expiring republic. An assembly was summoned by Tertullus, præfect of the city; the epistle of Julian was read; and, as he appeared to be master of Italy, his claims were admitted without a dissenting voice. His oblique censure of the innovations of Constantine, and his passionate invective against the vices of Constantius, were heard with less satisfaction; and the senate, as if Julian had been present,

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<sup>36</sup> Julian (ad S. P. Q. Athen. p. 286) positively asserts that he intercepted the letters of Constantius to the barbarians; and Libanius as positively affirms that he read them on his march to the troops and the cities. Yet Ammianus (xxi. 3) expresses himself with cool and candid hesitation, "*si famæ solius admittenda est fides.*" He specifies, however, an intercepted letter from Vadomair to Constantius, which supposes an intimate correspondence between them: "*Cæsar tuus disciplinam non habet.*"

<sup>37</sup> Zosimus mentions his epistles to the Athenians, the Corinthians, and the Lacedæmonians. The substance was probably the same, though the address was properly varied. The epistle to the Athenians is still extant (p. 268-287), and has afforded much valuable information. It deserves the praises of the Abbé de la Bletterie (Préf. à l'Histoire de Jovien, p. 24, 25), and is one of the best manifestoes to be found in any language.

unanimously exclaimed, "Respect, we beseech you, the author of your own fortune."<sup>38</sup> An artful expression, which, according to the chance of war, might be differently explained—as a manly reproof of the ingratitude of the usurper, or as a flattering confession that a single act of such benefit to the State ought to atone for all the failings of Constantius.

The intelligence of the march and rapid progress of Julian was speedily transmitted to his rival, who, by the retreat of Sapor, had obtained some respite from the Persian war. Disguising the anguish of his soul under the semblance of contempt, Constantius professed his intention of returning into Europe, and of giving chase to Julian; for he never spoke of this military expedition in any other light than that of a hunting party.<sup>39</sup> In the camp of Hierapolis, in Syria, he communicated this design to his army; slightly mentioned the guilt and rashness of the Cæsar; and ventured to assure them that if the mutineers of Gaul presumed to meet them in the field, they would be unable to sustain the fire of their eyes and the irresistible weight of their shout of onset. The speech of the emperor was received with military applause; and Theodotus, the president of the council of Hierapolis, requested, with tears of adulation, that *his* city might be adorned with the head of the vanquished rebel.<sup>40</sup> A chosen detachment was despatched away in post-wagons to secure, if it were yet possible, the Pass of Succì; the recruits, the horses, the arms, and the magazines, which had been prepared against Sapor, were appropriated to the service of the civil war; and the domestic victories of Constantius inspired his partisans with the most sanguine assurances of success. The notary Gaudentius had occupied in his name the provinces of Africa;

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<sup>38</sup> *Auctori tuo reverentiam rogamus.*—Ammian. xxi. 10. It is amusing enough to observe the secret conflicts of the senate between flattery and fear. See Tacit. Hist. i. 85.

<sup>39</sup> *Tanquam venaticiam prædam caperet: hoc enim ad leniendum suorum metum subinde prædicabat.*—Ammian. xxi. 7.

<sup>40</sup> See the speech and preparations in Ammianus, xxi. 13. The vile Theodotus afterwards implored and obtained his pardon from the merciful conqueror, who signified his wish of diminishing his enemies and increasing the number of his friends (xxii. 14).



the subsistence of Rome was intercepted; and the distress of Julian was increased by an unexpected event, which might have been productive of fatal consequences. Julian had received the submission of two legions and a cohort of archers who were stationed at Sirmium; but he suspected, with reason, the fidelity of those troops which had been distinguished by the emperor; and it was thought expedient, under the pretence of the exposed state of the Gallic frontier, to dismiss them from the most important scene of action. They advanced, with reluctance, as far as the confines of Italy; but, as they dreaded the length of the way and the savage fierceness of the Germans, they resolved, by the instigation of one of their tribunes, to halt at Aquileia, and to erect the banners of Constantius on the walls of that impregnable city. The vigilance of Julian perceived at once the extent of the mischief, and the necessity of applying an immediate remedy. By his order, Jovinus led back a part of the army into Italy; and the siege of Aquileia was formed with diligence and prosecuted with vigor. But the legionaries, who seemed to have rejected the yoke of discipline, conducted the defence of the place with skill and perseverance; invited the rest of Italy to imitate the example of their courage and loyalty; and threatened the retreat of Julian, if he should be forced to yield to the superior numbers of the armies of the East."

But the humanity of Julian was preserved from the cruel alternative which he pathetically laments, of destroying or of being himself destroyed; and the seasonable death of Constantius delivered the Roman empire from the calamities of civil war. The approach of winter could not detain the monarch at Antioch; and his favorites durst not oppose his impatient desire of revenge. A slight fever, which was perhaps occasioned by the agitation of his

and death of  
Constantius.  
A.D. 361.  
Nov. 3.

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"Ammian. xxi. 7, 11, 12. He seems to describe, with superfluous labor, the operations of the siege of Aquileia, which on this occasion maintained its impregnable fame. Gregory Nazianzen (Orat. iii. p. 68) ascribes this accidental revolt to the wisdom of Constantius, whose assured victory he announces with some appearance of truth. "Constantio, quem credebatur procul dubio fore victorem: nemo enim omnium tunc ab hac constanti sententia discrepabat."—Ammian. xxi. 7.

spirits, was increased by the fatigues of the journey, and Constantius was obliged to halt at the little town of Mopsucrene, twelve miles beyond Tarsus, where he expired, after a short illness, in the forty-fifth year of his age and the twenty-fourth of his reign.<sup>42</sup> His genuine character, which was composed of pride and weakness, of superstition and cruelty, has been fully displayed in the preceding narrative of civil and ecclesiastical events. The long abuse of power rendered him a considerable object in the eyes of his contemporaries; but, as personal merit can alone deserve the notice of posterity, the last of the sons of Constantine may be dismissed from the world with the remark that he inherited the defects, without the abilities, of his father. Before Constantius expired, he is said to have named Julian for his successor; nor does it seem improbable that his anxious concern for the fate of a young and tender wife, whom he left with child, may have prevailed in his last moments over the harsher passions of hatred and revenge. Eusebius and his guilty associates made a faint attempt to prolong the reign of the eunuchs by the election of another emperor; but their intrigues were rejected with disdain by an army which now abhorred the thought of civil discord; and two officers of rank were instantly despatched to assure Julian that every sword in the empire would be drawn for his service. The military designs of that prince, who had formed three different attacks against Thrace, were prevented by this fortunate event. Without shedding the blood of his fellow-citizens, he escaped the dangers of a doubtful conflict, and acquired the advantages of a complete victory. Impatient to visit the place of his birth and the new capital of the em-

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<sup>42</sup> His death and character are faithfully delineated by Ammianus (xxi. 14, 15, 16); and we are authorized to despise and detest the foolish calumny of Gregory (Orat. iii. p. 68), who accuses Julian of contriving the death of his benefactor. The private repentance of the emperor, that he had spared and promoted Julian (p. 69, and Orat. xxi. p. 389), is not improbable in itself, nor incompatible with the public verbal testament which prudential considerations might dictate in the last moments of his life.<sup>a</sup>

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<sup>a</sup> Wagner thinks this sudden change of sentiment altogether a fiction of the attendant courtiers and chiefs of the army, who up to this time had been hostile to Julian. Note in loco Ammian.—M.

pire, he advanced from Naissus through the mountains of Hæmus and the cities of Thrace. When he reached Heraclea, at

Julian enters  
Constantino-  
ple,  
Dec. 11;

the distance of sixty miles, all Constantinople was poured forth to receive him; and he made his triumphal entry amidst the dutiful acclamations of the soldiers, the people, and the senate. An innumerable multitude pressed around him with eager respect, and were perhaps disappointed when they beheld the small stature and simple garb of a hero whose unexperienced youth had vanquished the barbarians of Germany, and who had now traversed, in a successful career, the whole continent of Europe from the shores of the Atlantic to those of the Bosphorus.<sup>43</sup>

A few days afterwards, when the remains of the deceased emperor were landed in the harbor, the subjects of Julian applauded the real or affected humanity of their sovereign. On foot, without his diadem, and clothed in a mourning habit, he accompanied the funeral as far as the Church of the Holy Apostles, where the body was deposited; and if these marks of respect may be interpreted as a selfish tribute to the birth and dignity of his imperial kinsman, the tears of Julian professed to the world that he had forgotten the injuries, and remembered only the obligations, which he had received from

and is ac-  
knowledgeed  
by the whole  
empire.

Constantius.<sup>44</sup> As soon as the legions of Aquileia were assured of the death of the emperor, they opened the gates of the city, and, by the sacrifice of their guilty leaders, obtained an easy pardon from the prudence or lenity of Julian, who, in the thirty-second year of his age, acquired the undisputed possession of the Roman empire.<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>43</sup> In describing the triumph of Julian, Ammianus (xxii. 1, 2) assumes the lofty tone of an orator or poet; while Libanius (Orat. Parent. c. 56, p. 281) sinks to the grave simplicity of an historian.

<sup>44</sup> The funeral of Constantius is described by Ammianus (xxi. 16), Gregory Nazianzen (Orat. iv. p. 119), Mamertinus (in Panegy. Vet. xi. 27), Libanius (Orat. Parent. c. lvii. p. 283), and Philostorgius (l. vi. c. 6, with Godefroy's Dissertations, p. 265). These writers, and their followers, pagans, Catholics, Arians, beheld with very different eyes both the dead and the living emperor.

<sup>45</sup> The day and year of the birth of Julian are not perfectly ascertained. The day is probably the 6th of November, and the year must be either 331 or 332.



Philosophy had instructed Julian to compare the advantages of action and retirement; but the elevation of his birth and the accidents of his life never allowed him the freedom of choice. He might, perhaps, sincerely have preferred the groves of the Academy and the society of Athens; but he was constrained, at first by the will and afterwards by the injustice of Constantius, to expose his person and fame to the dangers of imperial greatness, and to make himself accountable to the world and to posterity for the happiness of millions.<sup>46</sup> Julian recollected with terror the observation of his master, Plato,<sup>47</sup> that the government of our flocks and herds is always committed to beings of a superior species; and that the conduct of nations requires and deserves the celestial powers of the gods or of the genii. From this principle he justly concluded that the man who presumes to reign should aspire to the perfection of the divine nature; that he should purify his soul from her mortal and terrestrial part; that he should extinguish his appetites, enlighten his understanding, regulate his passions, and subdue the wild beast which, according to the lively metaphor of Aristotle,<sup>48</sup> seldom fails to ascend the throne of a despot. The throne of Julian, which the death of Constantius fixed on an independent basis, was the seat of reason, of virtue, and perhaps of vanity. He despised the honors, renounced the pleasures, and discharged with incessant diligence the duties of his exalted station; and there were few among his subjects who would have consented

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Tillemont, Hist. des Empereurs, tom. iv. p. 693. Ducange, Fam. Byzantin. p. 50. I have preferred the earlier date.

<sup>46</sup> Julian himself (p. 253-267) has expressed these philosophical ideas with much eloquence and some affectation in a very elaborate epistle to Themistius. The Abbé de la Bletterie (tom. ii. p. 146-193), who has given an elegant translation, is inclined to believe that it was the celebrated Themistius, whose orations are still extant.

<sup>47</sup> Julian ad Themist. p. 258. Petavius (not. p. 95) observes that this passage is taken from the fourth book De Legibus; but either Julian quoted from memory or his MSS. were different from ours. Xenophon opens the Cyropædia with a similar reflection.

<sup>48</sup> Ὁ δὲ ἀνθρωπὸν κελεύων ἄρχειν, προστίθῃσι καὶ θήριον.—Aristot. apud Julian. [in Epist. ad Themistium] p. 261. The MS. of Vossius, unsatisfied with the single beast, affords the stronger reading of θήρια, which the experience of despotism may warrant.



to relieve him from the weight of the diadem had they been obliged to submit their time and their actions to the rigorous laws which their philosophic emperor imposed on himself. One of his most intimate friends,<sup>49</sup> who had often shared the frugal simplicity of his table, has remarked that his light and sparing diet (which was usually of the vegetable kind) left his mind and body always free and active for the various and important business of an author, a pontiff, a magistrate, a general, and a prince. In one and the same day he gave audience to several ambassadors, and wrote or dictated a great number of letters to his generals, his civil magistrates, his private friends, and the different cities of his dominions. He listened to the memorials which had been received, considered the subject of the petitions, and signified his intentions more rapidly than they could be taken in short-hand by the diligence of his secretaries. He possessed such flexibility of thought and such firmness of attention that he could employ his hand to write, his ear to listen, and his voice to dictate, and pursue at once three several trains of ideas without hesitation and without error. While his ministers reposed, the prince flew with agility from one labor to another; and, after a hasty dinner, retired into his library till the public business which he had appointed for the evening summoned him to interrupt the prosecution of his studies. The supper of the emperor was still less substantial than the former meal. His sleep was never clouded by the fumes of indigestion; and, except in the short interval of a marriage which was the effect of policy rather than love, the chaste Julian never shared his bed with a female companion.<sup>50</sup> He was soon awakened by the entrance

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<sup>49</sup> Libanius (*Orat. Parentalis*, c. lxxxiv. -lxxxv. p. 310, 311, 312) has given this interesting detail of the private life of Julian. He himself (in *Misopogon*, p. 350) mentions his vegetable diet, and upbraids the gross and sensual appetite of the people of Antioch.

<sup>50</sup> "Lectulus . . . Vestalium toris purior," is the praise which Mamertinus (*Panegy. Vet. xi. [x.] 13*) addresses to Julian himself. Libanius affirms, in sober preceptory language, that Julian never knew a woman before his marriage or after the death of his wife (*Orat. Parent. c. lxxxviii. p. 313*). The chastity of Julian is confirmed by the impartial testimony of Ammianus (xxv. 4) and the partial silence of the Christians. Yet Julian ironically urges the reproach of the people

of fresh secretaries who had slept the preceding day; and his servants were obliged to wait alternately, while their indefatigable master allowed himself scarcely any other refreshment than the change of occupations. The predecessors of Julian—his uncle, his brother, and his cousin—indulged their puerile taste for the games of the Circus under the specious pretence of complying with the inclinations of the people; and they frequently remained the greatest part of the day as idle spectators, and as a part of the splendid spectacle, till the ordinary round of twenty-four races<sup>51</sup> was completely finished. On solemn festivals, Julian, who felt and professed an unfashionable dislike to these frivolous amusements, condescended to appear in the Circus; and, after bestowing a careless glance on five or six of the races, he hastily withdrew with the impatience of a philosopher who considered every moment as lost that was not devoted to the advantage of the public or the improvement of his own mind.<sup>52</sup> By this avarice of time he seemed to protract the short duration of his reign; and, if the dates were less securely ascertained, we should refuse to believe that only

December,  
A.D. 361.  
March,  
A.D. 363.

sixteen months elapsed between the death of Constantius and the departure of his successor for the Persian war. The actions of Julian can only be preserved by the care of the historian; but the portion of his voluminous writings which is still extant remains as a monument of the application as well as of the genius of the emperor. The Misopogon, the Cæsars, several of his orations, and his

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of Antioch that he *almost always* (ὥς ἔπιπταν, in Misopogon, p. 345) lay alone. This suspicious expression is explained by the Abbé de la Bletterie (Hist. de Jo vien, tom. ii. p. 103–109) with candor and ingenuity.

<sup>51</sup> See Salmasius ad Sueton. in Claud. c. xxi. A twenty-fifth race, or *missus* was added to complete the number of one hundred chariots, four of which—the four colors—started each heat.

Centum quadrijugos agitabo ad flumina currus.

It appears that they ran five or seven times round the *Meta* (Sueton. in Domitian. c. 4); and (from the measure of the Circus Maximus at Rome, the Hippodrome at Constantinople, etc.) it might be about a four-mile course.

<sup>52</sup> Julian, in Misopogon, p. 340. Julius Cæsar had offended the Roman people by reading his despatches during the actual race. Augustus indulged their taste, or his own, by his constant attention to the important business of the Circus, for which he professed the warmest inclination. Sueton. in August. c. xlv.



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### A CHARIOT RACE IN THE CIRCUS

"And they (Emperors) frequently remained the greater part of the day as idle spectators, and as a part of the splendid spectacle, till the ordinary round of twenty-four races was completely finished."

Gibbon's Rome, Vol. II.

Painting by Ulpiano Checca





elaborate work against the Christian religion were composed in the long nights of the two winters, the former of which he passed at Constantinople, and the latter at Antioch.

The reformation of the imperial court was one of the first and most necessary acts of the government of Julian.<sup>53</sup> Soon after his entrance into the palace of Constantinople, Reformation  
of the palace. he had occasion for the service of a barber. An officer, magnificently dressed, immediately presented himself. "It is a barber," exclaimed the prince, with affected surprise, "that I want, and not a receiver-general of the finances."<sup>54</sup> He questioned the man concerning the profits of his employment, and was informed that, besides a large salary and some valuable perquisites, he enjoyed a daily allowance of twenty servants and as many horses. A thousand barbers, a thousand cupbearers, a thousand cooks, were distributed in the several offices of luxury; and the number of eunuchs could be compared only with the insects of a summer's day.<sup>55</sup> The monarch who resigned to his subjects the superiority of merit and virtue was distinguished by the oppressive magnificence of his dress, his table, his buildings, and his train. The stately palaces erected by Constantine and his sons were decorated with many-colored marbles and ornaments of massy gold. The most exquisite dainties were procured to gratify their pride rather than their taste: birds of the most distant climates, fish from the most remote seas, fruits out of their natural season, winter roses and summer snows.<sup>56</sup> The domestic crowd of the

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<sup>53</sup> The reformation of the palace is described by Ammianus (xxii. 4), Libanius (Orat. Parent. c. lxii. p. 288, etc.), Mamertinus (in Panegy. Vet. xi. [x.] 11), Socrates (l. iii. c. 1), and Zonaras (tom. ii. l. xiii. [c. 12] p. 24).

<sup>54</sup> "Ego non *rationalem* jussi sed tonsorem acciri." Zonaras uses the less natural image of a *senator*. Yet an officer of the finances who was satiated with wealth might desire and obtain the honors of the senate.

<sup>55</sup> Μαγείρους μὲν χιλίους, κουρέας δὲ οὐκ ἐλάττους, οἰνοχόους δὲ πλείους, σμῆνην τραπεζοποιῶν ἐννούχους ὑπὲρ τὰς μυρίας παρὰ τοῖς ποιμέσιν ἐν ἡρῇ, are the original words of Libanius, which I have faithfully quoted lest I should be suspected of magnifying the abuses of the royal household.

<sup>56</sup> The expressions of Mamertinus [l. c.] are lively and forcible: "Quin etiam prandiorum et cœnarum elaboratas magnitudines Respublica sentiebat; cum quæsitissimæ dapes non gustu, sed difficultatibus æstimarentur; miracula avium, longinqui maris pisces, alieni temporis poma, æstivæ nives, hibernæ rosæ."

palace surpassed the expense of the legions; yet the smallest part of this costly multitude was subservient to the use, or even to the splendor, of the throne. The monarch was disgraced and the people was injured by the creation and sale of an infinite number of obscure and even titular employments; and the most worthless of mankind might purchase the privilege of being maintained, without the necessity of labor, from the public revenue. The waste of an enormous household, the increase of fees and perquisites which were soon claimed as a lawful debt, and the bribes which they extorted from those who feared their enmity or solicited their favor, suddenly enriched these haughty menials. They abused their fortune without considering their past or their future condition; and their rapine and venality could be equalled only by the extravagance of their dissipations. Their silken robes were embroidered with gold, their tables were served with delicacy and profusion; the houses which they built for their own use would have covered the farm of an ancient consul; and the most honorable citizens were obliged to dismount from their horses and respectfully to salute a eunuch whom they met on the public highway. The luxury of the palace excited the contempt and indignation of Julian, who usually slept on the ground, who yielded with reluctance to the indispensable calls of nature, and who placed his vanity not in emulating, but in despising, the pomp of royalty.

By the total extirpation of a mischief which was magnified even beyond its real extent, he was impatient to relieve the distress and to appease the murmurs of the people, who support with less uneasiness the weight of taxes if they are convinced that the fruits of their industry are appropriated to the service of the State. But in the execution of this salutary work, Julian is accused of proceeding with too much haste and inconsiderate severity. By a single edict he reduced the palace of Constantinople to an immense desert, and dismissed with ignominy the whole train of slaves and dependents<sup>67</sup> with-

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<sup>67</sup> Yet Julian himself was accused of bestowing whole towns on the eunuchs (Orat. vii. against Polyclet. p. 117-127). Libanius contents himself with a cold

out providing any just, or at least benevolent, exceptions for the age, the services, or the poverty of the faithful domestics of the imperial family. Such, indeed, was the temper of Julian, who seldom recollected the fundamental maxim of Aristotle, that true virtue is placed at an equal distance between the opposite vices. The splendid and effeminate dress of the Asiatics, the curls and paint, the collars and bracelets, which had appeared so ridiculous in the person of Constantine, were consistently rejected by his philosophic successor. But with the fopperies, Julian affected to renounce the decencies, of dress, and seemed to value himself for his neglect of the laws of cleanliness. In a satirical performance which was designed for the public eye, the emperor descants with pleasure, and even with pride, on the length of his nails and the inky blackness of his hands; protests that, although the greatest part of his body was covered with hair, the use of the razor was confined to his head alone; and celebrates with visible complacency the shaggy and *populous*<sup>58</sup> beard which he fondly cherished, after the example of the philosophers of Greece. Had Julian consulted the simple dictates of reason, the first magistrate of the Romans would have scorned the affectation of Diogenes as well as that of Darius.

But the work of public reformation would have remained imperfect if Julian had only corrected the abuses without punishing the crimes of his predecessor's reign. "We are now delivered," says he, in a familiar letter to one of his intimate friends—"we are now surprisingly deliv-

Chamber of  
Justice.

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but positive denial of the fact, which seems, indeed, to belong more properly to Constantius. This charge, however, may allude to some unknown circumstance.

<sup>58</sup> In the *Misopogon* (p. 338, 339) he draws a very singular picture of himself, and the following words are strangely characteristic: *αὐτὸς προσέθεικα τὸν βαθὺν τούτου πώγωνα . . . ταῦτά τοι διαθέοντων ἀνέχουμαι τῶν φθειρῶν ὥσπερ ἐν λοχμῇ τῶν Σηρίων*. The friends of the Abbé de la Bletterie adjured him, in the name of the French nation, not to translate this passage, so offensive to their delicacy (*Hist. de Jovien*, tom. ii. p. 94). Like him, I have contented myself with a transient allusion; but the little animal which Julian names is a beast familiar to man, and signifies love.

ered from the voracious jaws of the Hydra."<sup>59</sup> I do not mean to apply that epithet to my brother Constantius. He is no more—may the earth lie light on his head! But his artful and cruel favorites studied to deceive and exasperate a prince whose natural mildness cannot be praised without some efforts of adulation. It is not, however, my intention that even those men should be oppressed; they are accused, and they shall enjoy the benefit of a fair and impartial trial." To conduct this inquiry, Julian named six judges of the highest rank in the State and army; and as he wished to escape the reproach of condemning his personal enemies, he fixed this extraordinary tribunal at Chalcedon, on the Asiatic side of the Bosphorus, and transferred to the commissioners an absolute power to pronounce and execute their final sentence without delay and without appeal. The office of president was exercised by the venerable Præfect of the East, a *second* Sallust,<sup>60</sup> whose virtues conciliated the esteem of Greek sophists and of Christian bishops. He was assisted by the eloquent Mamertinus,<sup>61</sup> one of the consuls elect, whose merit is loudly celebrated by the doubtful evidence of his own applause. But the civil wisdom of two magistrates was overbalanced by the ferocious violence of four generals—Nevitta, Agilo, Jovinus, and Arbetio. Arbetio, whom the public would have seen with less surprise at the bar than on the bench, was supposed to possess the secret of the commission. The armed and angry leaders of the Jovian and Herculan bands encompassed

<sup>59</sup> Julian, Epist. xxiii. p. 389. He uses the words *πολυκέφαλον ὕδραν* in writing to his friend Hermogenes, who, like himself, was conversant with the Greek poets.

<sup>60</sup> The two Sallusts, the Præfect of Gaul and the Præfect of the East, must be carefully distinguished (Hist. des Empereurs, tom. iv. p. 696). I have used the surname of *Secundus* as a convenient epithet. The second Sallust extorted the esteem of the Christians themselves; and Gregory Nazianzen, who condemned his religion, has celebrated his virtues (Orat. iii. p. 90). See a curious note of the Abbé de la Bletterie, Vie de Julien, p. 363.

<sup>61</sup> Mamertinus praises the emperor (xi. [x.] 1) for bestowing the offices of treasurer and præfect on a man of wisdom, firmness, integrity, etc., like himself. Yet Ammianus ranks him (xxi. 1) among the ministers of Julian: "quorum merita nôrat et fidem."



the tribunal, and the judges were alternately swayed by the laws of justice and by the clamors of faction.<sup>62</sup>

The chamberlain Eusebius, who had so long abused the favor of Constantius, expiated, by an ignominious death, the insolence, the corruption, and cruelty of his servile reign. The executions of Paul and Apodemius (the former of whom was burned alive) were accepted as an adequate atonement by the widows and orphans of so many hundred Romans whom those legal tyrants had betrayed and murdered. But Justice herself (if we may use the pathetic expression of Ammianus<sup>63</sup>) appeared to weep over the fate of Ursulus, the treasurer of the empire; and his blood accused the ingratitude of Julian, whose distress had been seasonably relieved by the intrepid liberality of that honest minister. The rage of the soldiers, whom he had provoked by his indiscretion, was the cause and the excuse of his death; and the emperor, deeply wounded by his own reproaches and those of the public, offered some consolation to the family of Ursulus by the restitution of his confiscated fortunes. Before the end of the year in which they had been adorned with the ensigns of the præfecture and consulship,<sup>64</sup> Taurus and Florentius were reduced to implore the clemency of the inexorable tribunal of Chalcedon. The former was banished to Vercellæ, in Italy, and a sentence of death was pronounced against the latter. A wise prince should have rewarded the crime of Taurus: the faithful minister, when he was no longer able to oppose the progress of a rebel, had taken refuge in the court of his benefactor and his lawful sovereign. But the guilt of Florentius justified the severity of the judges, and his escape

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<sup>62</sup> The proceedings of this chamber of justice are related by Ammianus (xxii. 3) and praised by Libanius (Orat. Parent. c. 74, p. 299, 300).

<sup>63</sup> "Ursuli vero necem ipsa mihi videtur flesse Justitia" [Amm. l. c.]. Libanius, who imputes his death to the soldiers, attempts to criminate the count of the largesses.

<sup>64</sup> Such respect was still entertained for the venerable names of the commonwealth that the public was surprised and scandalized to hear Taurus summoned as a criminal under the consulship of Taurus. The summons of his colleague Florentius was probably delayed till the commencement of the ensuing year.

served to display the magnanimity of Julian, who nobly checked the interested diligence of an informer, and refused to learn what place concealed the wretched fugitive from his just resentment.<sup>65</sup> Some months after the tribunal of Chalcedon had been dissolved, the Prætorian vicegerent of Africa, the notary Gaudentius, and Artemius,<sup>66</sup> Duke of Egypt, were executed at Antioch. Artemius had reigned the cruel and corrupt tyrant of a great province; Gaudentius had long practised the arts of calumny against the innocent, the virtuous, and even the person of Julian himself. Yet the circumstances of their trial and condemnation were so unskilfully managed that these wicked men obtained, in the public opinion, the glory of suffering for the obstinate loyalty with which they had supported the cause of Constantius. The rest of his servants were protected by a general act of oblivion, and they were left to enjoy with impunity the bribes which they had accepted either to defend the oppressed or to oppress the friendless. This measure, which, on the soundest principles of policy, may deserve our approbation, was executed in a manner which seemed to degrade the majesty of the throne. Julian was tormented by the importunities of a multitude, particularly of Egyptians, who loudly re-demanded the gifts which they had imprudently or illegally bestowed. He foresaw the endless prosecution of vexatious suits; and he engaged a promise, which ought always to have been sacred, that if they would repair to Chalcedon, he would meet them in person, to hear and determine their complaints. But as soon as they were landed, he issued an absolute order, which prohibited the watermen from transporting any Egyptian to Constantinople, and thus detained his disappointed clients on the Asiatic shore, till, their patience and money being utterly ex-

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<sup>65</sup> Ammian. xxii. 7.

<sup>66</sup> For the guilt and punishment of Artemius, see Julian (Epist. x. p. 379) and Ammianus (xxii. 11, and Vales. ad loc.). The merit of Artemius, who demolished temples and was put to death by an apostate, has tempted the Greek and Latin churches to honor him as a martyr. But as ecclesiastical history attests that he was not only a tyrant, but an Arian, it is not altogether easy to justify this indirect promotion. Tillemont, *Mém. Ecclés.* tom. vii. p. 1319.

hausted, they were obliged to return, with indignant murmurs, to their native country.<sup>67</sup>

The numerous army of spies, of agents, and informers enlisted by Constantius to secure the repose of one man, and to interrupt that of millions, was immediately disbanded by his generous successor. Clemency of Julian. Julian was slow in his suspicions and gentle in his punishments; and his contempt of treason was the result of judgment, of vanity, and of courage. Conscious of superior merit, he was persuaded that few among his subjects would dare to meet him in the field, to attempt his life, or even to seat themselves on his vacant throne. The philosopher could excuse the hasty sallies of discontent, and the hero could despise the ambitious projects which surpassed the fortune or the abilities of the rash conspirators. A citizen of Ancyra had prepared for his own use a purple garment; and this indiscreet action, which, under the reign of Constantius, would have been considered as a capital offence,<sup>68</sup> was reported to Julian by the officious importunity of a private enemy. The monarch, after making some inquiry into the rank and character of his rival, despatched the informer with a present of a pair of purple slippers, to complete the magnificence of his imperial habit. A more dangerous conspiracy was formed by ten of the domestic guards, who had resolved to assassinate Julian in the field of exercise near Antioch. Their intemperance revealed their guilt, and they were conducted in chains to the presence of their injured sovereign, who, after a lively representation of the wickedness and folly of their enterprise, instead of a death of torture, which they deserved and expected, pronounced a sentence of exile against the two principal offenders. The only instance

<sup>67</sup> See Ammian. xxii. 6, and Vales. ad loc. ; and the Codex Theodosianus, l. ii. tit. xxix. leg. 1; and Godefroy's Commentary, tom. i. p. 218, ad loc.

<sup>68</sup> The president Montesquieu (*Considérations sur la Grandeur, etc., des Romains*, c. xiv. in his works, tom. iii. p. 448, 449) excuses this minute and absurd tyranny by supposing that actions the most indifferent in our eyes might excite in a Roman mind the idea of guilt and danger. This strange apology is supported by a strange misapprehension of the English laws, "chez une nation . . . où il est défendu de boire à la santé d'une certaine personne."

in which Julian seemed to depart from his accustomed clemency was the execution of a rash youth, who, with a feeble hand, had aspired to seize the reins of empire. But that youth was the son of Marcellus, the general of cavalry, who, in the first campaign of the Gallic war, had deserted the standard of the Cæsar and the republic. Without appearing to indulge his personal resentment, Julian might easily confound the crime of the son and of the father; but he was reconciled by the distress of Marcellus, and the liberality of the emperor endeavored to heal the wound which had been inflicted by the hand of justice.<sup>69</sup>

Julian was not insensible of the advantages of freedom.<sup>70</sup> From his studies he had imbibed the spirit of ancient sages and heroes; his life and fortunes had depended on the caprice of a tyrant; and, when he ascended the throne, his pride was sometimes mortified by the reflection that the slaves who would not dare to censure his defects were not worthy to applaud his virtues.<sup>71</sup> He sincerely abhorred the system of Oriental despotism which Diocletian, Constantine, and the patient habits of fourscore years had established in the empire. A motive of superstition prevented the execution of the design which Julian had frequently meditated, of relieving his head from the weight of a costly diadem;<sup>72</sup> but he absolutely refused the title of *Dominus*, or *Lord*,<sup>73</sup> a word which was grown so familiar to the ears of the

His love of  
freedom and  
the republic.

<sup>69</sup> The clemency of Julian, and the conspiracy which was formed against his life at Antioch, are described by Ammianus (xxii. 9, 10, and Vales. ad loc.) and Libanius (Orat. Parent. c. 99, p. 323).

<sup>70</sup> According to some, says Aristotle (as he is quoted by Julian ad Themist. p. 261), the form of absolute government, the *παμβασιλεια*, is contrary to nature. Both the prince and the philosopher choose, however, to involve this eternal truth in artful and labored obscurity.

<sup>71</sup> That sentiment is expressed almost in the words of Julian himself. Ammian. xxii. 10.

<sup>72</sup> Libanius (Orat. Parent. c. 95, p. 320), who mentions the wish and design of Julian, insinuates in mysterious language (*θεῶν οὕτω γρόντων . . . ἀλλ' ἦν ἀμείνων ὁ κωλύων*) that the emperor was restrained by some particular revelation.

<sup>73</sup> Julian, in Misopogon, p. 343. As he never abolished by any public law the proud appellations of *Despot* and *Dominus*, they are still extant on his medals (Du-



Romans that they no longer remembered its servile and humiliating origin. The office, or rather the name, of consul was cherished by a prince who contemplated with reverence the ruins of the republic; and the same behavior which had been assumed by the prudence of Augustus was adopted by Julian from choice and inclination. On the calends of January, at

A.D. 363.  
Jan. 1.

break of day, the new consuls, Mamertinus and Nevitta, hastened to the palace to salute the emperor.

As soon as he was informed of their approach, he leaped from his throne, eagerly advanced to meet them, and compelled the blushing magistrates to receive the demonstrations of his affected humility. From the palace they proceeded to the senate. The emperor, on foot, marched before their litters, and the gazing multitude admired the image of ancient times, or secretly blamed a conduct which, in their eyes, degraded the majesty of the purple.<sup>72</sup> But the behavior of Julian was uniformly supported. During the games of the Circus, he had, imprudently or designedly, performed the manumission of a slave in the presence of the consul. The moment he was reminded that he had trespassed on the jurisdiction of *another* magistrate, he condemned himself to pay a fine of ten pounds of gold, and embraced this public occasion of declaring to the world that he was subject, like the rest of his fellow-citizens, to the laws,<sup>73</sup> and even to the forms, of the republic. The spirit of his administration, and his regard for the place of his na-

cange, *Fam. Byzantin.* p. 38, 39); and the private displeasure which he affected to express only gave a different tone to the servility of the court. The Abbé de la Bletterie (*Hist. de Jovien*, tom. ii. p. 99-102) has curiously traced the origin and progress of the word *Dominus* under the imperial government.

<sup>74</sup> *Ammian.* xxii. 7. The consul Mamertinus (in *Panegy. Vet.* xi. [x.] 28, 29, 30) celebrates the auspicious day, like an eloquent slave, astonished and intoxicated by the condescension of his master.

<sup>75</sup> Personal satire was condemned by the laws of the Twelve Tables:

Si mala condiderit in quem quis carmina, jus est,  
Judiciumque . . .—*Horat. Sat.* ii. 1, 82.

Julian (in *Misopogon*, p. 337) owns himself subject to the law; and the Abbé de la Bletterie (*Hist. de Jovien*, tom. ii. p. 92) has eagerly embraced a declaration so agreeable to his own system, and indeed to the true spirit of the imperial constitution.

tivity, induced Julian to confer on the senate of Constantinople the same honors, privileges, and authority which were still enjoyed by the senate of ancient Rome.<sup>76</sup> A legal fiction was introduced and gradually established that one half of the national council had migrated into the East; and the despotic successors of Julian, accepting the title of Senators, acknowledged themselves the members of a respectable body which was permitted to represent the majesty of the Roman name. From Constantinople the attention of the monarch was extended to the municipal senates of the provinces. He abolished by repeated edicts the unjust and pernicious exemptions which had withdrawn so many idle citizens from the service of their country; and, by imposing an equal distribution of public duties, he restored the strength, the splendor, or, according to the glowing expression of Libanius,<sup>77</sup> the soul, of the expiring cities of his empire. The venerable age of Greece excited the most tender compassion in the mind of Julian, which kindled into rapture when he recollected the gods, the heroes, and the men superior to heroes and to gods, who had bequeathed to the latest posterity the monuments of their genius or the example of their virtues. He relieved the distress and restored the beauty of the cities of Epirus and Peloponnesus.<sup>78</sup> Athens acknowledged him for her benefactor, Argos for her deliverer. The pride of Corinth, again rising from her ruins with the honors of a Roman colony, exacted a tribute from the adjacent republics for the purpose of defraying the games of the Isthmus, which were celebrated in the amphitheatre with the hunting of bears and panthers.

His care of  
the Grecian  
cities.

<sup>76</sup> Zosimus, l. iii. [c. 11] p. 158.

<sup>77</sup> Ἡ τῆς βοῦλης ἰσχυρὴ ψυχὴ πόλειως ἔστιν. See Libanius (Orat. Parent. c. 71, p. 296), Ammianus (xxii. 9), and the Theodosian Code (l. xii. tit. i. leg. 50–55) with Godefroy's Commentary (tom. iv. p. 390–402). Yet the whole subject of the *Curia*, notwithstanding very ample materials, still remains the most obscure in the legal history of the empire.

<sup>78</sup> "Quæ paulo ante arida et siti anhelantia visebantur, ea nunc perlui, mundari, madere; Fora, Deambulacra, Gymnasia, lætis et gaudentibus populis frequentari; dies festos, et celebrari veteres, et novos in honorem principis consecrari" (Mamertin. xi. [x.] 9). He particularly restored the city of Nicopolis, and the Actiac games, which had been instituted by Augustus.

From this tribute the cities of Elis, of Delphi, and of Argos, which had inherited from their remote ancestors the sacred office of perpetuating the Olympic, the Pythian, and the Nemean games, claimed a just exemption. The immunity of Elis and Delphi was respected by the Corinthians; but the poverty of Argos tempted the insolence of oppression, and the feeble complaints of its deputies were silenced by the decree of a provincial magistrate, who seems to have consulted only the interest of the capital in which he resided. Seven years after this sentence, Julian<sup>79</sup> allowed the cause to be referred to a superior tribunal, and his eloquence was interposed, most probably with success, in the defence of a city which had been the royal seat of Agamemnon,<sup>80</sup> and had given to Macedonia a race of kings and conquerors.<sup>81</sup>

The laborious administration of military and civil affairs, which were multiplied in proportion to the extent of the empire, exercised the abilities of Julian; but he frequently assumed the two characters of Orator<sup>82</sup> and of Judge,<sup>83</sup> which are almost unknown to the mod-

Julian an orator and a judge.

<sup>79</sup> Julian, Epist. xxxv. p. 407-411. This epistle, which illustrates the declining age of Greece, is omitted by the Abbé de la Bletterie; and strangely disfigured by the Latin translator, who, by rendering ἀρεῖα *tributum*, and ἰδιῶται *populus*, directly contradicts the sense of the original.

<sup>80</sup> He reigned in Mycenæ, at the distance of fifty stadia, or six miles, from Argos; but those cities, which alternately flourished, are confounded by the Greek poets. Strabo, l. viii. p. 579, edit. Amstel. 1707 [p. 377, edit. Casaub.].

<sup>81</sup> Marsham, Canon. Chron. p. 421. This pedigree from Temenus and Hercules may be suspicious; yet it was allowed, after a strict inquiry by the judges of the Olympic games (Herodot. l. v. c. 22), at a time when the Macedonian kings were obscure and unpopular in Greece. When the Achæan league declared against Philip, it was thought decent that the deputies of Argos should retire (T. Liv. xxxii. 22).

<sup>82</sup> His eloquence is celebrated by Libanius (Orat. Parent. c. 75, 76, p. 300, 301), who distinctly mentions the orators of Homer. Socrates (l. iii. c. 1) has rashly asserted that Julian was the only prince since Julius Cæsar who harangued the senate. All the predecessors of Nero (Tacit. Annal. xiii. 3), and many of his successors, possessed the faculty of speaking in public; and it might be proved by various examples that they frequently exercised it in the senate.

<sup>83</sup> Ammianus (xxii. 10) has impartially stated the merits and defects of his judicial proceedings. Libanius (Orat. Parent. c. 90, 91, p. 315, etc.) has seen only the fair side; and his picture, if it flatters the person, expresses at least the duties of

ern sovereigns of Europe. The arts of persuasion, so diligently cultivated by the first Cæsars, were neglected by the military ignorance and Asiatic pride of their successors; and, if they condescended to harangue the soldiers, whom they feared, they treated with silent disdain the senators, whom they despised. The assemblies of the senate, which Constantius had avoided, were considered by Julian as the place where he could exhibit with the most propriety the maxims of a republican and the talents of a rhetorician. He alternately practised, as in a school of declamation, the several modes of praise, of censure, of exhortation; and his friend Libanius has remarked that the study of Homer taught him to imitate the simple, concise style of Menelaus, the copiousness of Nestor, whose words descended like the flakes of a winter's snow, or the pathetic and forcible eloquence of Ulysses. The functions of a judge, which are sometimes incompatible with those of a prince, were exercised by Julian not only as a duty, but as an amusement; and although he might have trusted the integrity and discernment of his Prætorian præfects, he often placed himself by their side on the seat of judgment. The acute penetration of his mind was agreeably occupied in detecting and defeating the chicanery of the advocates, who labored to disguise the truth of facts and to pervert the sense of the laws. He sometimes forgot the gravity of his station, asked indiscreet or unseasonable questions, and betrayed, by the loudness of his voice and the agitation of his body, the earnest vehemence with which he maintained his opinion against the judges, the advocates, and their clients. But his knowledge of his own temper prompted him to encourage, and even to solicit, the reproof of his friends and ministers; and whenever they ventured to oppose the irregular sallies of his passions, the spectators could observe the shame as well as the gratitude of their monarch. The decrees of Julian were almost always founded on the principles of justice, and he had the firmness to resist the two

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the judge. Gregory Nazianzen (Orat. iv. p. 120), who suppresses the virtues and exaggerates even the venial faults of the Apostate, triumphantly asks whether such a judge was fit to be seated between Minos and Rhadamanthus in the Elysian Fields.



most dangerous temptations which assault the tribunal of a sovereign under the specious forms of compassion and equity. He decided the merits of the cause without weighing the circumstances of the parties; and the poor, whom he wished to relieve, were condemned to satisfy the just demands of a noble and wealthy adversary. He carefully distinguished the judge from the legislator;<sup>64</sup> and though he meditated a necessary reformation of the Roman jurisprudence, he pronounced sentence according to the strict and literal interpretation of those laws which the magistrates were bound to execute and the subjects to obey.

The generality of princes, if they were stripped of their purple and cast naked into the world, would immediately sink to the lowest rank of society without a hope of emerging from their obscurity. But the personal merit of Julian was in some measure independent of his fortune. Whatever had been his choice of life, by the force of intrepid courage, lively wit, and intense application, he would have obtained, or at least he would have deserved, the highest honors of his profession; and Julian might have raised himself to the rank of minister, or general of the State in which he was born a private citizen. If the jealous caprice of power had disappointed his expectations; if he had prudently declined the paths of greatness, the employment of the same talents in studious solitude would have placed beyond the reach of kings his present happiness and his immortal fame. When we inspect with minute, or perhaps malevolent, attention the portrait of Julian, something seems wanting to the grace and perfection of the whole figure. His genius was less powerful and sublime than that of Cæsar, nor did he possess the consummate prudence of Augustus. The virtues of Trajan appear more steady and natural, and the philosophy of Marcus is more simple and consistent. Yet Julian sustained adversity with firm-

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<sup>64</sup> Of the laws which Julian enacted in a reign of sixteen months, fifty-four have been admitted into the codes of Theodosius and Justinian (Gothofred. Chron. Legum, p. 64-67). The Abbé de la Bletterie (tom. ii. p. 329-336) has chosen one of these laws to give an idea of Julian's Latin style, which is forcible and elaborate, but less pure than his Greek.

ness and prosperity with moderation. After an interval of one hundred and twenty years from the death of Alexander Severus, the Romans beheld an emperor who made no distinction between his duties and his pleasures, who labored to relieve the distress and to revive the spirit of his subjects, and who endeavored always to connect authority with merit, and happiness with virtue. Even faction, and religious faction, was constrained to acknowledge the superiority of his genius in peace as well as in war, and to confess, with a sigh, that the apostate Julian was a lover of his country, and that he deserved the empire of the world.<sup>85 a</sup>

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——— Ductor fortissimus armis,  
 Conditor et legum celeberrimus, ore manuque  
 Consultor patriæ, sed non consultor habendæ  
 Religionis, amans tercentum millia Divum.  
 Perfidus ille Deo, quamvis non perfidus orbi.

Prudent. Apotheosis, 450, etc.

The consciousness of a generous sentiment seems to have raised the Christian poet above his usual mediocrity.

<sup>a</sup> The most important work on Julian since the time of Gibbon is by Neander, Ueber den Kaiser Julian und sein Zeitalter, Leipzig, 1812, of which an English translation was published in 1850.—S.

## CHAPTER XXIII.

**The Religion of Julian.—Universal Toleration.—He Attempts to Restore and Reform the Pagan Worship—to Rebuild the Temple of Jerusalem.—His Artful Persecution of the Christians.—Mutual Zeal and Injustice.**

THE character of Apostate has injured the reputation of Julian; and the enthusiasm which clouded his virtues has exaggerated the real and apparent magnitude of his faults. Our partial ignorance may represent him as a philosophic monarch, who studied to protect, with an equal hand, the religious factions of the empire, and to allay the theological fever which had inflamed the minds of the people from the edicts of Diocletian to the exile of Athanasius. A more accurate view of the character and conduct of Julian will remove this favorable prepossession for a prince who did not escape the general contagion of the times. We enjoy the singular advantage of comparing the pictures which have been delineated by his fondest admirers and his implacable enemies. The actions of Julian are faithfully related by a judicious and candid historian—the impartial spectator of his life and death. The unanimous evidence of his contemporaries is confirmed by the public and private declarations of the emperor himself; and his various writings express the uniform tenor of his religious sentiments, which policy would have prompted him to dissemble rather than to affect. A devout and sincere attachment for the gods of Athens and Rome constituted the ruling passion of Julian;<sup>1</sup> the powers of an enlightened understand-

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<sup>1</sup> I shall transcribe some of his own expressions from a short religious discourse which the imperial pontiff composed to censure the bold impiety of a Cynic: 'Ἄλλ' ὅμως οὕτω δὴ τι τοὺς θεοὺς πέφρικα, καὶ φίλῳ, καὶ σέβῳ, καὶ ἄζομαι, καὶ πάνθ' ἀπλῶς τὰ τοιαῦτα πρὸς αὐτοὺς πάσχω, ὅσα περ ἂν τις καὶ οἷα πρὸς ἀγαθοὺς δεσπότας, πρὸς διδασκάλους, πρὸς πατέρας, πρὸς κηδεμόνας.—Orat. vii. p. 212. The variety and copiousness of the Greek tongue seem inadequate to the fervor of his devotion.

ing were betrayed and corrupted by the influence of superstitious prejudice; and the phantoms which existed only in the mind of the emperor had a real and pernicious effect on the government of the empire. The vehement zeal of the Christians, who despised the worship and overturned the altars of those fabulous deities, engaged their votary in a state of irreconcilable hostility with a very numerous party of his subjects; and he was sometimes tempted, by the desire of victory or the shame of a repulse, to violate the laws of prudence, and even of justice. The triumph of the party which he deserted and opposed has fixed a stain of infamy on the name of Julian; and the unsuccessful Apostate has been overwhelmed with a torrent of pious invectives, of which the signal was given by the sonorous trumpet<sup>2</sup> of Gregory Nazianzen.<sup>3</sup> The interesting nature of the events which were crowded into the short reign of this active emperor deserves a just and circumstantial narrative. His motives, his counsels, and his actions, as far as they are connected with the history of religion, will be the subject of the present chapter.

The cause of his strange and fatal apostasy may be derived from the early period of his life, when he was left an orphan in the hands of the murderers of his family. The names of Christ and of Constantius, the ideas of slavery and of religion, were soon associated in a youthful imagination which was susceptible of the most lively impressions. The care of his infancy was intrusted to Eusebius, Bishop of Nicomedia,<sup>4</sup> who was related to him on the side of his mother;

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<sup>2</sup> The orator, with some eloquence, much enthusiasm, and more vanity, addresses his discourse to heaven and earth, to men and angels, to the living and the dead, and, above all, to the great Constantius (*εἰ τις αἰσθησις*, an odd pagan expression). He concludes with a bold assurance that he has erected a monument not less durable and much more portable than the columns of Hercules. See Greg. Nazianzen, Orat. iii. p. 50, iv. p. 134.

<sup>3</sup> See this long invective, which has been injudiciously divided into two orations in Gregory's Works, tom. i. p. 49-134, Paris, 1630. It was published by Gregory and his friend Basil (iv. p. 133), about six months after the death of Julian, when his remains had been carried to Tarsus (iv. p. 120), but while Jovian was still on the throne (iii. p. 54, iv. p. 117). I have derived much assistance from a French version and remarks, printed at Lyons 1735.

<sup>4</sup> "Nicomediæ ab Eusebio educatus Episcopo, quem genere longius continebat"



and till Julian reached the twentieth year of his age, he received from his Christian preceptors the education, not of a hero, but of a saint. The emperor, less jealous of a heavenly than of an earthly crown, contented himself with the imperfect character of a catechumen, while he bestowed the advantages of baptism<sup>5</sup> on the nephews of Constantine.<sup>6</sup> They were even admitted to the inferior offices of the ecclesiastical order; and Julian publicly read the Holy Scriptures in the church of Nicomedia. The study of religion, which they assiduously cultivated, appeared to produce the fairest fruits of faith and devotion.<sup>7</sup> They prayed, they fasted, they distributed alms to the poor, gifts to the clergy, and oblations to the tombs of the martyrs; and the splendid monument of St. Mamas at Cæsarea was erected, or at least was undertaken, by the joint labor of Gallus and Julian.<sup>8</sup> They respectfully conversed with the bishops who were eminent for superior sanctity, and solicited the benediction of the monks and hermits who had introduced into Cappadocia the voluntary hardships of the ascetic life.<sup>9</sup> As the two princes advanced towards the years of manhood, they discovered in their religious sentiments the

(Ammian. xxii. 9). Julian never expresses any gratitude towards that Arian prelate; but he celebrates his preceptor, the eunuch Mardonius, and describes his mode of education, which inspired his pupil with a passionate admiration for the genius, and perhaps the religion, of Homer. Misopogon, p. 351, 352.

<sup>5</sup> Greg. Naz. iii. p. 70. He labored to efface that holy mark in the blood, perhaps, of a Taurobolium. Baron. Annal. Eccles. A.D. 361, No. 3, 4.

<sup>6</sup> Julian himself (Epist. li. p. 434) assures the Alexandrians that he had been a Christian (he must mean a sincere one) till the twentieth year of his age.

<sup>7</sup> See his Christian, and even ecclesiastical, education in Gregory (iii. p. 58), Socrates (l. iii. c. 1), and Sozomen (l. v. c. 2). He escaped very narrowly from being a bishop, and perhaps a saint.

<sup>8</sup> The share of the work which had been allotted to Gallus was prosecuted with vigor and success; but the earth obstinately rejected and subverted the structures which were imposed by the sacrilegious hand of Julian. Greg. iii. p. 59, 60, 61. Such a partial earthquake, attested by many living spectators, would form one of the clearest miracles in ecclesiastical story.

<sup>9</sup> The *philosopher* (Fragment, p. 288) ridicules the iron chains, etc., of these solitary fanatics (see Tillemont, Mém. Ecclés. tom. ix. p. 661, 662), who had forgotten that man is by nature a gentle and social animal, ἀνθρώπου φύσει πολιτικού ζώου καὶ ἡμέτερον. The *pagan* supposes that because they had renounced the gods, they were possessed and tormented by evil demons.

difference of their characters. The dull and obstinate understanding of Gallus embraced with implicit zeal the doctrines of Christianity, which never influenced his conduct or moderated his passions. The mild disposition of the younger brother was less repugnant to the precepts of the Gospel; and his active curiosity might have been gratified by a theological system which explains the mysterious essence of the Deity and opens the boundless prospect of invisible and future worlds. But the independent spirit of Julian refused to yield the passive and unresisting obedience which was required, in the name of religion, by the haughty ministers of the Church. Their speculative opinions were imposed as positive laws and guarded by the terrors of eternal punishments; but while they prescribed the rigid formulary of the thoughts, the words, and the actions of the young prince—whilst they silenced his objections and severely checked the freedom of his inquiries—they secretly provoked his impatient genius to disclaim the authority of his ecclesiastical guides. He was educated in the Lesser Asia amidst the scandals of the Arian controversy.<sup>10</sup> The fierce contests of the Eastern bishops, the incessant alterations of their creeds, and the profane motives which appeared to actuate their conduct insensibly strengthened the prejudice of Julian that they neither understood nor believed the religion for which they so fiercely contended. Instead of listening to the proofs of Christianity with that favorable attention which adds weight to the most respectable evidence, he heard with suspicion, and disputed with obstinacy and acuteness, the doctrines for which he already entertained an invincible aversion. Whenever the young princes were directed to compose declamations on the subject of the prevailing controversies, Julian always declared himself the advocate of paganism, under the specious excuse that, in the defence of the weaker cause, his learning and ingenuity might be more advantageously exercised and displayed.

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<sup>10</sup> See Julian apud Cyril. l. vi. p. 206, l. viii. p. 253, 262. "You persecute," says he, "those heretics who do not mourn the dead man precisely in the way which you approve." He shows himself a tolerable theologian; but he maintains that the Christian Trinity is not derived from the doctrine of Paul, of Jesus, or of Moses.

As soon as Gallus was invested with the honors of the purple, Julian was permitted to breathe the air of freedom, of literature, and of paganism.<sup>11</sup> The crowd of sophists who were attracted by the taste and liberality of their royal pupil had formed a strict alliance between the learning and the religion of Greece; and the poems of Homer, instead of being admired as the original productions of human genius, were seriously ascribed to the heavenly inspiration of Apollo and the Muses. The deities of Olympus, as they are painted by the immortal bard, imprint themselves on the minds which are the least addicted to superstitious credulity. Our familiar knowledge of their names and characters, their forms and attributes, *seems* to bestow on those airy beings a real and substantial existence; and the pleasing enchantment produces an imperfect and momentary assent of the imagination to those fables which are the most repugnant to our reason and experience. In the age of Julian every circumstance contributed to prolong and fortify the illusion—the magnificent temples of Greece and Asia; the works of those artists who had expressed, in painting or in sculpture, the divine conceptions of the poet; the pomp of festivals and sacrifices; the successful arts of divination; the popular traditions of oracles and prodigies; and the ancient practice of two thousand years. The weakness of polytheism was in some measure excused by the moderation of its claims; and the devotion of the pagans was not incompatible with the most licentious scepticism.<sup>12</sup> Instead of an indivisible and regular system which occupies the whole extent of the believing mind, the mythology of the Greeks was composed of a thousand loose and flexible parts, and the servant of the gods was at liberty to define the degree and measure of his religious faith. The creed which Julian adopted for his own use was of the largest dimensions; and, by a strange contradiction, he disdained the

<sup>11</sup> Libanius, Orat. Parentalis, c. 9, 10, p. 232, etc. Greg. Nazianzen, Orat. iii. p. 61. Eunap. Vit. Sophist. in Maximo, p. 88 seq., edit. Commelin [1596].

<sup>12</sup> A modern philosopher has ingeniously compared the different operation of theism and polytheism with regard to the doubt or conviction which they produce in the human mind. See Hume's Essays, vol. ii. p. 444-457, in 8vo edit. 1777.

salutary yoke of the Gospel, whilst he made a voluntary offering of his reason on the altars of Jupiter and Apollo. One of the orations of Julian is consecrated to the honor of Cybele, the mother of the gods, who required from her effeminate priests the bloody sacrifice so rashly performed by the madness of the Phrygian boy. The pious emperor condescends to relate, without a blush and without a smile, the voyage of the goddess from the shores of Pergamus to the mouth of the Tiber, and the stupendous miracle which convinced the senate and people of Rome that the lump of clay which their ambassadors had transported over the seas was endowed with life and sentiment and divine power.<sup>13</sup> For the truth of this prodigy he appeals to the public monuments of the city, and censures, with some acrimony, the sickly and affected taste of those men who impertinently derided the sacred traditions of their ancestors.<sup>14</sup>

But the devout philosopher, who sincerely embraced and warmly encouraged the superstition of the people, reserved  
 The allego- for himself the privilege of a liberal interpretation,  
 ries. and silently withdrew from the foot of the altars into the sanctuary of the temple. The extravagance of the Grecian mythology proclaimed, with a clear and audible voice, that the pious inquirer, instead of being scandalized or satisfied with the literal sense, should diligently explore the occult wisdom, which had been disguised, by the prudence of antiquity, under the mask of folly and of fable.<sup>15</sup> The philosophers

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<sup>13</sup> The Idæan mother landed in Italy about the end of the second Punic war. The miracle of Claudia, either virgin or matron, who cleared her fame by disgracing the graver modesty of the Roman ladies, is attested by a cloud of witnesses. Their evidence is collected by Drakenborch (ad Silium Italicum, xvii. 33); but we may observe that Livy (xxix. 14) slides over the transaction with discreet ambiguity.

<sup>14</sup> I cannot refrain from transcribing the emphatical words of Julian: *ἐμοὶ δὲ δοκεῖ ταῖς πόλεσι πιστεύειν μᾶλλον τὰ τοιαῦτα, ἢ τοιούτοις τοῖς κομφοῖς, ὧν τὸ ψυχάριον ὀρμιὺν μὲν, ὕγιες δὲ οὐδὲ ἐν βλέπει.*—Orat. v. p. 161. Julian likewise declares his firm belief in the *ancilia*, the holy shields which dropped from heaven on the Quirinal Hill, and pities the strange blindness of the Christians, who preferred the cross to these celestial trophies. Apud Cyril. l. vi. p. 194.

<sup>15</sup> See the principles of allegory in Julian (Orat. vii. p. 216, 222). His reasoning is less absurd than that of some modern theologians, who assert that an extravagant or contradictory doctrine *must* be divine, since no man alive could have thought of inventing it.



of the Platonic school<sup>16</sup>—Plotinus, Porphyry, and the divine Iamblichus—were admired as the most skilful masters of this allegorical science, which labored to soften and harmonize the deformed features of paganism. Julian himself, who was directed in the mysterious pursuit by Ædesius, the venerable successor of Iamblichus, aspired to the possession of a treasure which he esteemed, if we may credit his solemn asseverations, far above the empire of the world.<sup>17</sup> It was indeed a treasure which derived its value only from opinion; and every artist who flattered himself that he had extracted the precious ore from the surrounding dross claimed an equal right of stamping the name and figure the most agreeable to his peculiar fancy. The fable of Atys and Cybele had been already explained by Porphyry; but his labors served only to animate the pious industry of Julian, who invented and published his own allegory of that ancient and mystic tale. This freedom of interpretation, which might gratify the pride of the Platonists, exposed the vanity of their art. Without a tedious detail, the modern reader could not form a just idea of the strange allusions, the forced etymologies, the solemn trifling, and the impenetrable obscurity of these sages, who professed to reveal the system of the universe. As the traditions of pagan mythology were variously related, the sacred interpreters were at liberty to select the most convenient circumstances; and as they translated an arbitrary cipher, they could extract from *any* fable *any* sense which was adapted to their favorite system of religion and philosophy. The lascivious form of a naked Venus was tortured into the discovery of some moral precept or some physical truth; and the castration of Atys explained the revolution of the sun between the tropics, or the separation of the human soul from vice and error.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> Eunapius has made these sophists the subject of a partial and fanatical history; and the learned Brucker (*Hist. Philosoph.* tom. ii. p. 217–303) has employed much labor to illustrate their obscure lives and incomprehensible doctrines.

<sup>17</sup> Julian, *Orat.* vii. p. 222. He swears with the most fervent and enthusiastic devotion; and trembles lest he should betray too much of these holy mysteries, which the profane might deride with an impious sardonic laugh.

<sup>18</sup> See the fifth oration of Julian. But all the allegories which ever issued from the Platonic school are not worth the short poem of Catullus on the same extraor-

The theological system of Julian appears to have contained the sublime and important principles of natural religion. But as the faith which is not founded on revelation must remain destitute of any firm assurance, the disciple of Plato imprudently relapsed into the habits of vulgar superstition; and the popular and philosophic notion of the Deity seems to have been confounded in the practice, the writings, and even in the mind of Julian.<sup>19</sup> The pious emperor acknowledged and adored the Eternal Cause of the universe, to whom he ascribed all the perfections of an infinite nature, invisible to the eyes and inaccessible to the understanding of feeble mortals. The Supreme God had created, or rather, in the Platonic language, had generated, the gradual succession of dependent spirits, of gods, of demons, of heroes, and of men; and every being which derived its existence immediately from the First Cause received the inherent gift of immortality. That so precious an advantage might not be lavished upon unworthy objects, the Creator had intrusted to the skill and power of the inferior gods the office of forming the human body, and of arranging the beautiful harmony of the animal, the vegetable, and the mineral kingdoms. To the conduct of these divine ministers he delegated the temporal government of this lower world; but their imperfect administration is not exempt from discord or error. The earth and its inhabitants are divided among them; and the characters of Mars or Minerva, of Mercury or Venus, may be distinctly traced in the laws and manners of their peculiar votaries. As long as our immortal souls are confined in a mortal prison, it is our interest, as well as our duty, to solicit the favor and to deprecate the wrath of the powers of Heaven, whose pride is gratified by the devotion of mankind, and whose grosser

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dinary subject. The transition of Atys from the wildest enthusiasm to sober pathetic complaint for his irretrievable loss must inspire a man with pity, a eunuch with despair.

<sup>19</sup> The true religion of Julian may be deduced from the Cæsars, p. 308, with Spanheim's notes and illustrations; from the fragments in Cyril, l. ii. p. 57, 58; and especially from the theological oration in Solem Regem, p. 130-158, addressed, in the confidence of friendship, to the præfect Sallust.

parts may be supposed to derive some nourishment from the fumes of sacrifice.<sup>20</sup> The inferior gods might sometimes condescend to animate the statues, and to inhabit the temples, which were dedicated to their honor. They might occasionally visit the earth, but the heavens were the proper throne and symbol of their glory. The invariable order of the sun, moon, and stars was hastily admitted by Julian as a proof of their *eternal* duration; and their eternity was a sufficient evidence that they were the workmanship, not of an inferior deity, but of the Omnipotent King. In the system of the Platonists the visible was a type of the invisible world. The celestial bodies, as they were informed by a divine spirit, might be considered as the objects the most worthy of religious worship. The SUN, whose genial influence pervades and sustains the universe, justly claimed the adoration of mankind, as the bright representative of the Logos—the lively, the rational, the beneficent image of the intellectual Father.<sup>21</sup>

In every age the absence of genuine inspiration is supplied by the strong illusions of enthusiasm and the mimic arts of imposture. If, in the time of Julian, these arts had been practised only by the pagan priests, for the support of an expiring cause, some indulgence might perhaps be allowed to the interest and habits of the sacerdotal character. But it may appear a subject of surprise and scandal that the philosophers themselves should have contributed to abuse the superstitious credulity of mankind,<sup>22</sup> and that the

Fanaticism  
of the phi-  
losophers.

<sup>20</sup> Julian adopts this gross conception by ascribing it to his favorite Marcus Antoninus (Cæsares, p. 333). The Stoics and Platonists hesitated between the analogy of bodies and the purity of spirits; yet the gravest philosophers inclined to the whimsical fancy of Aristophanes and Lucian, that an unbelieving age might starve the immortal gods. See Observations de Spanheim, p. 284, 444, etc.

<sup>21</sup> "Ἡλιον λέγω, τὸ ζῶν ἄγαλμα καὶ ἐμψυχον, καὶ ἔννοον, καὶ ἀγαθοεργὸν τοῦ νοη-  
τοῦ πατρὸς.—Julian, Epist. li. [p. 434]. In another place (apud Cyril. l. ii. p. 69) he calls the sun God, and the throne of God. Julian believed the Platonic Trinity; and only blames the Christians for preferring a mortal to an immortal Logos.

<sup>22</sup> The sophists of Eunapius perform as many miracles as the saints of the desert; and the only circumstance in their favor is, that they are of a less gloomy complexion. Instead of devils with horns and tails, Iamblichus evoked the genii of love, Eros and Anteros, from two adjacent fountains. Two beautiful boys is-

Grecian mysteries should have been supported by the magic or theurgy of the modern Platonists. They arrogantly pretended to control the order of nature, to explore the secrets of futurity, to command the service of the inferior demons, to enjoy the view and conversation of the superior gods, and, by disengaging the soul from her material bands, to reunite that immortal particle with the Infinite and Divine Spirit.

The devout and fearless curiosity of Julian tempted the philosophers with the hopes of an easy conquest, which, from the situation of their young proselyte, might be productive of the most important consequences.<sup>25</sup> Julian imbibed the first rudiments of the Platonic doctrines from the mouth of *Ædesius*, who had fixed at Pergamus his wandering and persecuted school. But as the declining strength of that venerable sage was unequal to the ardor, the diligence, the rapid conception of his pupil, two of his most learned disciples, *Chrysanthos*<sup>a</sup> and *Eusebius*, supplied, at his own desire, the place of their aged master. These philosophers seem to have prepared and distributed their respective parts; and they artfully contrived, by dark hints and affected disputes, to excite the impatient hopes of the *aspirant* till they delivered him into the hands of their associate, *Maximus*, the boldest and most skilful master of the theurgic science. By his hands Julian was secretly initiated at Ephesus, in the twentieth year of his age. His residence at Athens confirmed this unnatural alliance of philosophy and superstition. He obtained the privilege of a solemn initiation into the mysteries of Eleusis, which, amidst the general decay of the Grecian worship, still retained some vestiges of their primeval sanctity; and such was the zeal of Julian that he afterwards invited the Eleusinian pontiff to the court of Gaul, for the sole purpose of consummating,

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sued from the water, fondly embraced him as their father, and retired at his command. P. 26, 27.

<sup>25</sup> The dexterous management of these sophists, who played their credulous pupil into each other's hands, is fairly told by *Eunapius* [in *Maximo*, p. 85 seq., ed. *Commel.*] with unsuspecting simplicity. The *Abbé de la Bletterie* understands, and neatly describes, the whole comedy (*Vie de Julien*, p. 61-67).

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<sup>a</sup> *Chrysanthius* is the correct form of the name.—S.



by mystic rites and sacrifices, the great work of his sanctification. As these ceremonies were performed in the depth of caverns and in the silence of the night, and as the inviolable secret of the mysteries was preserved by the discretion of the initiated, I shall not presume to describe the horrid sounds and fiery apparitions which were presented to the senses or the imagination of the credulous aspirant,<sup>24</sup> till the visions of comfort and knowledge broke upon him in a blaze of celestial light.<sup>25</sup> In the caverns of Ephesus and Eleusis the mind of Julian was penetrated with sincere, deep, and unalterable enthusiasm; though he might sometimes exhibit the vicissitudes of pious fraud and hypocrisy which may be observed, or at least suspected, in the characters of the most conscientious fanatics. From that moment he consecrated his life to the service of the gods; and while the occupations of war, of government, and of study seemed to claim the whole measure of his time, a stated portion of the hours of the night was invariably reserved for the exercise of private devotion. The temperance which adorned the severe manners of the soldier and the philosopher was connected with some strict and frivolous rules of religious abstinence; and it was in honor of Pan or Mercury, of Hecate or Isis, that Julian, on particular days, denied himself the use of some particular food which might have been offensive to his tutelar deities. By these voluntary fasts he prepared his senses and his understanding for the frequent and familiar visits with which he was honored by the celestial powers. Notwithstanding the modest silence of Julian himself, we may learn from his faithful friend, the orator Libanius, that he lived in a perpetual intercourse with the gods and goddesses; that they descended upon earth to enjoy the con-

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<sup>24</sup> When Julian, in a momentary panic, made the sign of the cross, the demons instantly disappeared (Greg. Naz. Orat. iii. p. 71). Gregory supposes that they were frightened, but the priests declared that they were indignant. The reader, according to the measure of his faith, will determine this profound question.

<sup>25</sup> A dark and distant view of the terrors and joys of initiation is shown by Dion Chrysostom, Themistius, Proclus, and Stobæus. The learned author of the *Divine Legation* has exhibited their words (vol. i. p. 239, 247, 248, 280, edit. 1765), which he dexterously or forcibly applies to his own hypothesis.

versation of their favorite hero; that they gently interrupted his slumbers by touching his hand or his hair; that they warned him of every impending danger, and conducted him, by their infallible wisdom, in every action of his life; and that he had acquired such an intimate knowledge of his heavenly guests as readily to distinguish the voice of Jupiter from that of Minerva, and the form of Apollo from the figure of Hercules.<sup>26</sup> These sleeping or waking visions, the ordinary effects of abstinence and fanaticism, would almost degrade the emperor to the level of an Egyptian monk. But the useless lives of Antony and Pachomius were consumed in these vain occupations. Julian could break from the dream of superstition to arm himself for battle; and after vanquishing in the field the enemies of Rome, he calmly retired into his tent, to dictate the wise and salutary laws of an empire, or to indulge his genius in the elegant pursuits of literature and philosophy.

The important secret of the apostasy of Julian was intrusted to the fidelity of the *initiated*, with whom he was united by the sacred ties of friendship and religion.<sup>27</sup> The pleasing rumor was cautiously circulated among the adherents of the ancient worship; and his future greatness became the object of the hopes, the prayers, and the predictions of the pagans in every province of the empire. From the zeal and virtues of their royal proselyte they fondly expected the cure of every evil and the restoration of every blessing; and instead of disapproving of the ardor of their pious wishes, Julian ingenuously confessed that he was ambitious to attain a situation in which he might be useful to his country and to his religion. But this religion was viewed with a hostile eye by the successor of Constantine, whose capricious passions alternately saved and threatened the life of Ju-

His religious  
dissimula-  
tion.

<sup>26</sup> Julian's modesty confined him to obscure and occasional hints; but Libanius expatiates with pleasure on the fasts and visions of the religious hero (Legat. ad Julian. p. 157, and Orat. Parental. c. lxxxiii. p. 309, 310).

<sup>27</sup> Libanius, Orat. Parental. c. x. p. 233, 234. Gallus had some reason to suspect the secret apostasy of his brother; and in a letter, which may be received as genuine, he exhorts Julian to adhere to the religion of their *ancestors*—an argument which, as it should seem, was not yet perfectly ripe. See Julian. Op. p. 454 [edit. Spanheim, Lips. 1696], and Hist. de Jovien, tom. ii. p. 141.

lian. The arts of magic and divination were strictly prohibited under a despotic government which condescended to fear them; and if the pagans were reluctantly indulged in the exercise of their superstition, the rank of Julian would have exempted him from the general toleration. The Apostate soon became the presumptive heir of the monarchy, and his death could alone have appeased the just apprehensions of the Christians.<sup>28</sup> But the young prince, who aspired to the glory of a hero rather than of a martyr, consulted his safety by dissembling his religion; and the easy temper of polytheism permitted him to join in the public worship of a sect which he inwardly despised. Libanius has considered the hypocrisy of his friend as a subject, not of censure, but of praise. "As the statues of the gods," says that orator, "which have been defiled with filth are again placed in a magnificent temple, so the beauty of truth was seated in the mind of Julian after it had been purified from the errors and follies of his education. His sentiments were changed; but as it would have been dangerous to have avowed his sentiments, his conduct still continued the same. Very different from the ass in Æsop, who disguised himself with a lion's hide, our lion was obliged to conceal himself under the skin of an ass; and, while he embraced the dictates of reason, to obey the laws of prudence and necessity."<sup>29</sup> The dissimulation of Julian lasted above ten years, from his secret initiation at Ephesus to the beginning of the civil war; when he declared himself at once the implacable enemy of Christ and of Constantius. This state of constraint might contribute to strengthen his devotion; and as soon as he had satisfied the obligation of assisting, on solemn festivals, at the assemblies of the Christians, Julian returned, with the impatience of a lover, to burn his free and voluntary incense on the domestic chapels of Jupiter and Mercury. But as every act of dissimulation must be painful to an ingenuous spirit, the profession of Christianity increased the aversion of Julian for

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<sup>28</sup> Gregory (iii. p. 50), with inhuman zeal, censures Constantius for sparing the infant apostate (*κἀκως σώθεντα*). His French translator (p. 265) cautiously observes that such expressions must not be "prises à la lettre."

<sup>29</sup> Libanius, Orat. Parental. c. ix. p. 233

a religion which oppressed the freedom of his mind, and compelled him to hold a conduct repugnant to the noblest attributes of human nature—sincerity and courage.

The inclination of Julian might prefer the gods of Homer and of the Scipios to the new faith which his uncle had established in the Roman empire, and in which he himself had been sanctified by the sacrament of baptism. But, as a philosopher, it was incumbent on him to justify his dissent from Christianity, which was supported by the number of its converts, by the chain of prophecy, the splendor of miracles, and the weight of evidence. The elaborate work<sup>30</sup> which he composed amidst the preparations of the Persian war contained the substance of those arguments which he had long revolved in his mind. Some fragments have been transcribed and preserved by his adversary, the vehement Cyril of Alexandria;<sup>31</sup> and they exhibit a very singular mixture of wit and learning, of sophistry and falacism. The elegance of the style and the rank of the author recommended his writings to the public attention;<sup>32</sup> and in the impious list of the enemies of Christianity the celebrated name of Porphyry was effaced by the superior merit or reputation of Julian. The minds of the faithful were either seduced, or scandalized, or alarmed; and the pagans, who sometimes presumed to engage in the unequal dispute, derived from the popular work of their imperial missionary an inexhaustible supply of fallacious objections. But in the assiduous prosecution of these theological studies the Emperor of the

He writes  
against Chris-  
tianity.

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<sup>30</sup> Fabricius (Biblioth. Græc. l. v. c. viii. p. 88–90) and Lardner (Heathen Testimonies, vol. iv. p. 44–47) have accurately compiled all that can now be discovered of Julian's work against the Christians.

<sup>31</sup> About seventy years after the death of Julian, he executed a task which had been feebly attempted by Philip of Side, a prolix and contemptible writer. Even the work of Cyril has not entirely satisfied the most favorable judges; and the Abbé de la Bletterie (Préface à l'Hist. de Jovien, p. 30, 32) wishes that some *théologien philosophe* (a strange centaur) would undertake the refutation of Julian.

<sup>32</sup> Libanius (Orat. Parental. c. lxxxvii. p. 313), who has been suspected of assisting his friend, prefers this divine vindication (Orat. ix. in necem Julian. p. 257, edit. Morel.) to the writings of Porphyry. His judgment may be arraigned (Socrates, l. iii. c. 23), but Libanius cannot be accused of flattery to a dead prince.



Romans imbibed the illiberal prejudices and passions of a polemic divine. He contracted an irrevocable obligation to maintain and propagate his religious opinions; and whilst he secretly applauded the strength and dexterity with which he wielded the weapons of controversy, he was tempted to distrust the sincerity or to despise the understandings of his antagonists, who could obstinately resist the force of reason and eloquence.

The Christians, who beheld with horror and indignation the apostasy of Julian, had much more to fear from his power than from his arguments. The pagans, who were conscious of his fervent zeal, expected, perhaps with impatience, that the flames of persecution should be immediately kindled against the enemies of the gods, and that the ingenious malice of Julian would invent some cruel refinements of death and torture which had been unknown to the rude and inexperienced fury of his predecessors. But the hopes as well as the fears of the religious factions were apparently disappointed by the prudent humanity of a prince<sup>99</sup> who was careful of his own fame, of the public peace, and of the rights of mankind. Instructed by history and reflection, Julian was persuaded that, if the diseases of the body may sometimes be cured by salutary violence, neither steel nor fire can eradicate the erroneous opinions of the mind. The reluctant victim may be dragged to the foot of the altar; but the heart still abhors and disclaims the sacrilegious act of the hand. Religious obstinacy is hardened and exasperated by oppression; and, as soon as the persecution subsides, those who have yielded are restored as penitents, and those who have resisted are honored as saints and martyrs. If Julian adopted the unsuccessful cruelty of Diocletian and his colleagues, he was sensible that he should stain his memory with the name of tyrant, and add new glories to the Catholic Church, which had de-

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<sup>99</sup> Libanius (*Orat. Parental.* c. lviii. p. 283, 284) has eloquently explained the tolerating principles and conduct of his imperial friend. In a very remarkable epistle to the people of Bostra, Julian himself (*Epist.* lii. [p. 436]) professes his moderation, and betrays his zeal, which is acknowledged by Ammianus and exposed by Gregory (*Orat.* iii. p. 72).

rived strength and increase from the severity of the pagan magistrates. Actuated by these motives, and apprehensive of disturbing the repose of an unsettled reign, Julian surprised the world by an edict which was not unworthy of a statesman or a philosopher. He extended to all the inhabitants of the Roman world the benefits of a free and equal toleration; and the only hardship which he inflicted on the Christians was to deprive them of the power of tormenting their fellow-subjects, whom they stigmatized with the odious titles of idolaters and heretics. The pagans received a gracious permission, or rather an express order, to open ALL their temples;<sup>34</sup> and they were at once delivered from the oppressive laws and arbitrary vexations which they had sustained under the reign of Constantine and of his sons. At the same time, the bishops and clergy who had been banished by the Arian monarch were recalled from exile, and restored to their respective churches; the Donatists, the Novatians, the Macedonians, the Eunomians, and those who, with a more prosperous fortune, adhered to the doctrine of the Council of Nice. Julian, who understood and derided their theological disputes, invited to the palace the leaders of the hostile sects, that he might enjoy the agreeable spectacle of their furious encounters. The clamor of controversy sometimes provoked the emperor to exclaim, "Hear me! the Franks have heard me, and the Alemanni;" but he soon discovered that he was now engaged with more obstinate and implacable enemies; and though he exerted the powers of oratory to persuade them to live in concord, or at least in peace, he was perfectly satisfied, before he dismissed them from his presence, that he had nothing to dread from the union of the Christians. The impartial Ammianus has ascribed this affected clemency to the desire of fomenting the intestine divisions of the Church; and the insidious design of undermining the

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<sup>34</sup> In Greece the temples of Minerva were opened by his express command, before the death of Constantius (Liban. Orat. Parent. c. 55, p. 280); and Julian declares himself a pagan in his public manifesto to the Athenians. This unquestionable evidence may correct the hasty assertion of Ammianus, who seems to suppose Constantinople to be the place where he discovered his attachment to the gods.

foundations of Christianity was inseparably connected with the zeal which Julian professed to restore the ancient religion of the empire."

As soon as he ascended the throne, he assumed, according to the custom of his predecessors, the character of supreme pontiff, not only as the most honorable title of imperial greatness, but as a sacred and important office, the duties of which he was resolved to execute with pious diligence. As the business of the State prevented the emperor from joining every day in the public devotion of his subjects, he dedicated a domestic chapel to his tutelary deity the Sun. His gardens were filled with statues and altars of the gods; and each apartment of the palace displayed the appearance of a magnificent temple. Every morning he saluted the parent of light with a sacrifice; the blood of another victim was shed at the moment when the Sun sank below the horizon; and the Moon, the Stars, and the Genii of the night received their respective and seasonable honors from the indefatigable devotion of Julian. On solemn festivals he regularly visited the temple of the god or goddess to whom the day was peculiarly consecrated, and endeavored to excite the religion of the magistrates and people by the example of his own zeal. Instead of maintaining the lofty state of a monarch, distinguished by the splendor of his purple and encompassed by the golden shields of his guards, Julian solicited with respectful eagerness the meanest offices which contributed to the worship of the gods. Amidst the sacred but licentious crowd of priests, of inferior ministers, and of female dancers, who were dedicated to the service of the temple, it was the business of the emperor to bring the wood, to blow the fire, to handle the knife, to slaughter the victim, and, thrusting his bloody hands into the bowels of the expiring animal, to draw forth the heart or liver, and to read, with the

<sup>86</sup> Ammianus, xxii. 5. Sozomen, l. v. c. 5. "Bestia moritur, tranquillitas redit . . . omnes episcopi qui de propriis sedibus fuerant exterminati per indulgentiam novi principis ad ecclesias redeunt."—Hieron. adversus Luciferianos, tom. ii. p. 143 [tom. ii. p. 191, edit. Vallars.]. Optatus accuses the Donatists for owing their safety to an apostate (l. ii. c. 16, p. 36, 37, edit. Dupin).

Zeal and  
devotion of  
Julian in the  
restoration of  
paganism.

consummate skill of an *haruspex*, the imaginary signs of future events. The wisest of the pagans censured this extravagant superstition, which affected to despise the restraints of prudence and decency. Under the reign of a prince who practised the rigid maxims of economy, the expense of religious worship consumed a very large portion of the revenue. A constant supply of the scarcest and most beautiful birds was transported from distant climates to bleed on the altars of the gods; a hundred oxen were frequently sacrificed by Julian on one and the same day; and it soon became a popular jest that, if he should return with conquest from the Persian war, the breed of horned cattle must infallibly be extinguished. Yet this expense may appear inconsiderable when it is compared with the splendid presents which were offered, either by the hand or by order of the emperor, to all the celebrated places of devotion in the Roman world, and with the sums allotted to repair and decorate the ancient temples which had suffered the silent decay of time or the recent injuries of Christian rapine. Encouraged by the example, the exhortations, the liberality of their pious sovereign, the cities and families resumed the practice of their neglected ceremonies. "Every part of the world," exclaims Libanius, with devout transport, "displayed the triumph of religion, and the grateful prospect of flaming altars, bleeding victims, the smoke of incense, and a solemn train of priests and profits, without fear and without danger. The sound of prayer and of music was heard on the tops of the highest mountains; and the same ox afforded a sacrifice for the gods and a supper for their joyous votaries."<sup>36</sup>

But the genius and power of Julian were unequal to the enterprise of restoring a religion which was destitute of theological principles, of moral precepts, and

Reformation  
of paganism.

<sup>36</sup> The restoration of the pagan worship is described by Julian (*Misopogon*, p. 346), Libanius (*Orat. Parent.* c. 60, p. 286, 287, and *Orat. Consular. ad Julian.* p. 245, 246, edit. Morel.), Ammianus (xxii. 12), and Gregory Nazianzen (*Orat.* iv. p. 121). These writers agree in the essential, and even minute, facts; but the different lights in which they view the extreme devotion of Julian are expressive of the gradations of self-applause, passionate admiration, mild reproof, and partial invective.



of ecclesiastical discipline; which rapidly hastened to decay and dissolution, and was not susceptible of any solid or consistent reformation. The jurisdiction of the supreme pontiff, more especially after that office had been united with the imperial dignity, comprehended the whole extent of the Roman empire. Julian named for his vicars, in the several provinces, the priests and philosophers, whom he esteemed the best qualified to co-operate in the execution of his great design; and his pastoral letters,<sup>37</sup> if we may use that name, still represent a very curious sketch of his wishes and intentions. He directs that in every city the sacerdotal order should be composed, without any distinction of birth or fortune, of those persons who were the most conspicuous for their love of the gods and of men. "If they are guilty," continues he, "of any scandalous offence, they should be censured or degraded by the superior pontiff; but as long as they retain their rank, they are entitled to the respect of the magistrates and people. Their humility may be shown in the plainness of their domestic garb; their dignity, in the pomp of holy vestments. When they are summoned in their turn to officiate before the altar, they ought not, during the appointed number of days, to depart from the precincts of the temple; nor should a single day be suffered to elapse without the prayers and the sacrifice which they are obliged to offer for the prosperity of the State and of individuals. The exercise of their sacred functions requires an immaculate purity both of mind and body; and even when they are dismissed from the temple to the occupations of common life, it is incumbent on them to excel in decency and virtue the rest of their fellow-citizens. The priest of the gods should never be seen in theatres or taverns. His conversation should be chaste, his diet temperate, his friends of honorable reputation; and if he sometimes visits the Forum or the Palace, he should appear only as the advocate of those who have vainly solicited either justice or mercy.

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<sup>37</sup> See Julian. Epistol. xlix. lxii. lxiii., and a long and curious fragment, without beginning or end (p. 288-305). The supreme pontiff derides the Mosaic history and the Christian discipline, prefers the Greek poets to the Hebrew prophets, and palliates, with the skill of a Jesuit, the *relative* worship of images.

His studies should be suited to the sanctity of his profession. Licentious tales, or comedies, or satires must be banished from his library, which ought solely to consist of historical and philosophical writings—of history which is founded in truth, and of philosophy which is connected with religion. The impious opinions of the Epicureans and sceptics deserve his abhorrence and contempt;<sup>38</sup> but he should diligently study the systems of Pythagoras, of Plato, and of the Stoics, which unanimously teach that there *are* gods; that the world is governed by their providence; that their goodness is the source of every temporal blessing; and that they have prepared for the human soul a future state of reward or punishment.” The imperial pontiff inculcates, in the most persuasive language, the duties of benevolence and hospitality; exhorts his inferior clergy to recommend the universal practice of those virtues; promises to assist their indigence from the public treasury; and declares his resolution of establishing hospitals in every city, where the poor should be received without any invidious distinction of country or of religion. Julian beheld with envy the wise and humane regulations of the Church; and he very frankly confesses his intention to deprive the Christians of the applause as well as advantage which they had acquired by the exclusive practice of charity and beneficence.<sup>39</sup> The same spirit of imitation might dispose the emperor to adopt several ecclesiastical institutions, the use and importance of which were approved by the success of his enemies. But if these imaginary plans of reformation had been realized, the forced and imperfect copy would have been less beneficial to paganism than honorable to Christianity.<sup>40</sup> The Gentiles, who

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<sup>38</sup> The exultation of Julian (p. 301) that these impious sects, and even their writings, are extinguished may be consistent enough with the sacerdotal character; but it is unworthy of a philosopher to wish that any opinions and arguments the most repugnant to his own should be concealed from the knowledge of mankind.

<sup>39</sup> Yet he insinuates that the Christians, under the pretence of charity, inveigled children from their religion and parents, conveyed them on shipboard, and devoted those victims to a life of poverty or servitude in a remote country (p. 305). Had the charge been proved, it was his duty not to complain, but to punish.

<sup>40</sup> Gregory Nazianzen is facetious, ingenious, and argumentative (Orat. iii. p.

peaceably followed the customs of their ancestors, were rather surprised than pleased with the introduction of foreign manners; and, in the short period of his reign, Julian had frequent occasions to complain of the want of fervor of his own party.<sup>41</sup>

The enthusiasm of Julian prompted him to embrace the friends of Jupiter as his personal friends and brethren; and, though he partially overlooked the merit of Christian constancy, he admired and rewarded the noble perseverance of those Gentiles who had preferred the favor of the gods to that of the emperor.<sup>42</sup> If they cultivated the literature as well as the religion of the Greeks, they acquired an additional claim to the friendship of Julian, who ranked the Muses in the number of his tutelar deities. In the religion which he had adopted, piety and learning were almost synonymous;<sup>43</sup> and a crowd of poets, of rhetoricians, and of philosophers hastened to the imperial court to occupy the vacant places of the bishops who had seduced the credulity of Constantius. His successor esteemed the ties of common initiation as far more sacred than those of consanguinity; he chose his favorites among the sages who were deeply skilled in the occult sciences of magic and divination, and every impostor who pretended to reveal the secrets of futurity was assured of enjoying the present hour in honor and affluence.<sup>44</sup>

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101, 102, etc.). He ridicules the folly of such vain imitation, and amuses himself with inquiring what lessons, moral or theological, could be extracted from the Grecian fables.

<sup>41</sup> He accuses one of his pontiffs of a secret confederacy with the Christian bishops and presbyters (Epist. lxii.). Ὅρων οὖν πολλήν μὲν ὀλιγωρίαν οὔσαν ἡμῖν πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς; and again, ἡμᾶς δὲ οὕτω ῥαθύμως, etc.—Epist. lxiii.

<sup>42</sup> He praises the fidelity of Callixene, priestess of Ceres, who had been twice as constant as Penelope, and rewards her with the priesthood of the Phrygian goddess at Pessinus (Julian. Epist. xxi. [p. 389]). He applauds the firmness of Sopater of Hierapolis, who had been repeatedly pressed by Constantius and Gallus to apostatize (Epist. xxvii. p. 401).

<sup>43</sup> Ὁ δὲ νομιζὼν ἀδελφὰ λόγους τε καὶ θεῶν ἱερά. Orat. Parent. c. 77, p. 302. The same sentiment is frequently inculcated by Julian, Libanius, and the rest of their party.

<sup>44</sup> The curiosity and credulity of the emperor, who tried every mode of divination, are fairly exposed by Ammianus, xxii. 12.

Among the philosophers, Maximus obtained the most eminent rank in the friendship of his royal disciple, who communicated, with unreserved confidence, his actions, his sentiments, and his religious designs during the anxious suspense of the civil war.<sup>45</sup> As soon as Julian had taken possession of the palace of Constantinople, he despatched an honorable and pressing invitation to Maximus, who then resided at Sardes, in Lydia, with Chrysanthius, the associate of his art and studies. The prudent and superstitious Chrysanthius refused to undertake a journey which showed itself, according to the rules of divination, with the most threatening and malignant aspect; but his companion, whose fanaticism was of a bolder cast, persisted in his interrogations till he had extorted from the gods a seeming consent to his own wishes and those of the emperor. The journey of Maximus through the cities of Asia displayed the triumph of philosophic vanity, and the magistrates vied with each other in the honorable reception which they prepared for the friend of their sovereign. Julian was pronouncing an oration before the senate, when he was informed of the arrival of Maximus. The emperor immediately interrupted his discourse, advanced to meet him, and, after a tender embrace, conducted him by the hand into the midst of the assembly, where he publicly acknowledged the benefits which he had derived from the instructions of the philosopher. Maximus,<sup>46</sup> who soon acquired the confidence and influenced the councils of Julian, was insensibly corrupted by the temptations of a court. His dress became more splendid, his demeanor more lofty, and he was exposed, under a succeeding reign, to a disgraceful in-

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<sup>45</sup> Julian. *Epist.* xxxviii. Three other epistles (xv. xvi. xxxix.), in the same style of friendship and confidence, are addressed to the philosopher Maximus.

<sup>46</sup> Eunapius<sup>a</sup> (in *Maximo*, p. 77, 78, 79, and in *Chrysanthio*, p. 147, 148 [p. 94 seq. and 191 seq., edit. *Comm.*]) has minutely related these anecdotes, which he conceives to be the most important events of the age. Yet he fairly confesses the frailty of Maximus. His reception at Constantinople is described by Libanius (*Orat. Parent.* c. 76, p. 301) and Ammianus (xxii. 7).

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<sup>a</sup> Eunapius wrote a continuation of the *History of Dexippus*. Some valuable fragments of this work have been recovered by M. Mai, and reprinted in Niebuhr's edition of the *Byzantine Historians*.—M.



quiry into the means by which the disciple of Plato had accumulated, in the short duration of his favor, a very scandalous proportion of wealth. Of the other philosophers and sophists who were invited to the imperial residence by the choice of Julian or by the success of Maximus, few were able to preserve their innocence or their reputation.<sup>47</sup> The liberal gifts of money, lands, and houses were insufficient to satiate their rapacious avarice, and the indignation of the people was justly excited by the remembrance of their abject poverty and disinterested professions. The penetration of Julian could not always be deceived, but he was unwilling to despise the characters of those men whose talents deserved his esteem; he desired to escape the double reproach of imprudence and inconstancy, and he was apprehensive of degrading, in the eyes of the profane, the honors of letters and of religion.<sup>48</sup>

The favor of Julian was almost equally divided between the pagans who had firmly adhered to the worship of their ancestors and the Christians who prudently embraced the religion of their sovereign. The acquisition of new proselytes<sup>49</sup> gratified the ruling passions of his soul, superstition and vanity; and he was heard to declare, with the enthusiasm of a missionary, that if he could render each individual richer than Midas, and every city greater than Babylon, he should not esteem himself the benefactor of mankind unless at the same time he could reclaim his subjects from their im-

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<sup>47</sup> Chrysanthius, who had refused to quit Lydia, was created high-priest of the province. His cautious and temperate use of power secured him after the revolution, and he lived in peace; while Maximus, Priscus, etc., were persecuted by the Christian ministers. See the adventures of these fanatic sophists, collected by Brucker, tom. ii. p. 281-293.

<sup>48</sup> See Libanius (Orat. Parent. c. 100, 101, p. 324, 325, 326) and Eunapius (Vit. Sophist. in Proæresio, p. 126 [p. 160, edit. Comm.]). Some students, whose expectations perhaps were groundless or extravagant, retired in disgust (Greg. Naz. Orat. iv. p. 120). It is strange that we should not be able to contradict the title of one of Tillemont's chapters (Hist. des Empereurs, tom. iv. p. 960), "*La Cour de Julien est pleine de philosophes et de gens perdus.*"

<sup>49</sup> Under the reign of Lewis XIV. his subjects of every rank aspired to the glorious title of *convertisseur*, expressive of their zeal and success in making proselytes. The word and the idea are growing obsolete in France; may they never be introduced into England!

pious revolt against the immortal gods.<sup>60</sup> A prince who had studied human nature, and who possessed the treasures of the Roman empire, could adapt his arguments, his promises, and his rewards to every order of Christians;<sup>61</sup> and the merit of a seasonable conversion was allowed to supply the defects of a candidate, or even to expiate the guilt of a criminal. As the army is the most forcible engine of absolute power, Julian applied himself with peculiar diligence to corrupt the religion of his troops, without whose hearty concurrence every measure must be dangerous and unsuccessful, and the natural temper of soldiers made this conquest as easy as it was important. The legions of Gaul devoted themselves to the faith as well as to the fortunes of their victorious leader; and even before the death of Constantius, he had the satisfaction of announcing to his friends that they assisted with fervent devotion and voracious appetite at the sacrifices, which were repeatedly offered in his camp, of whole hecatombs of fat oxen.<sup>62</sup> The armies of the East, which had been trained under the standard of the cross and of Constantius, required a more artful and expensive mode of persuasion. On the days of solemn and public festivals the emperor received the homage and rewarded the merit of the troops. His throne of state was encircled with the military ensigns of Rome and the republic; the holy name of Christ was erased from the *Labarum*; and the symbols of war, of majesty, and of pagan superstition were so dexterously blended that the faithful subject incurred the guilt

<sup>60</sup> See the strong expressions of Libanius, which were probably those of Julian himself (Orat. Parent. c. 59, p. 285).

<sup>61</sup> When Gregory Nazianzen (Orat. x. p. 167) is desirous to magnify the Christian firmness of his brother Cæsarius, physician to the imperial court, he owns that Cæsarius disputed with a formidable adversary, *πόλυν ἐν ὀπλοῖς, καὶ μέγαν ἐν λόγων δεινότητι*. In his invectives he scarcely allows any share of wit or courage to the Apostate.

<sup>62</sup> Julian. Epist. xxxviii. [p. 415]. Ammianus, xxii. 12. "Adeo ut in dies pæne singulos milites carnis distentiore saginâ victitantes incultius, potusque aviditate correpti, humeris impositi transeuntium per plateas, ex publicis ædibus . . . ad sua diversoria portarentur." The devout prince and the indignant historian describe the same scene; and in Illyricum or Antioch similar causes must have produced similar effects.

of idolatry when he respectfully saluted the person or image of his sovereign. The soldiers passed successively in review, and each of them, before he received from the hand of Julian a liberal donative proportioned to his rank and services, was required to cast a few grains of incense into the flame which burned upon the altar. Some Christian confessors might resist and others might repent; but the far greater number, allured by the prospect of gold and awed by the presence of the emperor, contracted the criminal engagement, and their future perseverance in the worship of the gods was enforced by every consideration of duty and of interest. By the frequent repetition of these arts, and at the expense of sums which would have purchased the service of half the nations of Scythia, Julian gradually acquired for his troops the imaginary protection of the gods, and for himself the firm and effectual support of the Roman legions.<sup>53</sup> It is indeed more than probable that the restoration and encouragement of paganism revealed a multitude of pretended Christians, who, from motives of temporal advantage, had acquiesced in the religion of the former reign, and who afterwards returned with the same flexibility of conscience to the faith which was professed by the successors of Julian.

While the devout monarch incessantly labored to restore and propagate the religion of his ancestors, he embraced the extraordinary design of rebuilding the Temple of  
The Jews.
 Jerusalem. In a public epistle<sup>54</sup> to the nation or community of the Jews dispersed through the provinces, he pities their misfortunes, condemns their oppressors, praises their constancy, declares himself their gracious protector, and expresses a pious hope that after his return from the Persian

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<sup>53</sup> Gregory (Orat. iii. p. 74, 75, 83-86) and Libanius (Orat. Parent. c. lxxxi.-lxxxii. p. 307, 308), *περί ταύτην τήν σπουδὴν, οὐκ ἀρνούμαι πλοῦτον ἀνηλῶσθαι μέγαν*. The sophist owns and justifies the expense of these military conversions.

<sup>54</sup> Julian's epistle (xxv.) is addressed to the community of the Jews. Aldus (Venet. 1499) has branded it with an εἰ γνήσιος; but this stigma is justly removed by the subsequent editors, Petavius and Spanheim. The epistle is mentioned by Sozomen (l. v. c. 22), and the purport of it is confirmed by Gregory (Orat. iv. p. 111) and by Julian himself (Fragment. p. 295).

war, he may be permitted to pay his grateful vows to the Almighty in his holy city of Jerusalem. The blind superstition and abject slavery of those unfortunate exiles must excite the contempt of a philosophic emperor, but they deserved the friendship of Julian by their implacable hatred of the Christian name. The barren synagogue abhorred and envied the fecundity of the rebellious Church. The power of the Jews was not equal to their malice, but their gravest rabbis approved the private murder of an apostate,<sup>65</sup> and their seditious clamors had often awakened the indolence of the pagan magistrates. Under the reign of Constantine, the Jews became the subjects of their revolted children; nor was it long before they experienced the bitterness of domestic tyranny. The civil immunities which had been granted or confirmed by Severus were gradually repealed by the Christian princes; and a rash tumult, excited by the Jews of Palestine,<sup>66</sup> seemed to justify the lucrative modes of oppression which were invented by the bishops and eunuchs of the court of Constantius. The Jewish patriarch, who was still permitted to exercise a precarious jurisdiction, held his residence at Tiberias;<sup>67</sup> and the neighboring cities of Palestine were filled with the remains of a people who fondly adhered to the promised land. But the edict of Hadrian was renewed and enforced, and they viewed from afar the walls of the holy city, which were profaned in their eyes by the triumph of the cross and the devotion of the Christians.<sup>68</sup>

In the midst of a rocky and barren country, the walls of Je-

<sup>65</sup> The Mishna denounced death against those who abandoned the foundation. The judgment of zeal is explained by Marsham (*Canon. Chron.* p. 161, 162, edit. fol. London, 1672) and Basnage (*Hist. des Juifs*, tom. viii. p. 120). Constantine made a law to protect Christian converts from Judaism. *Cod. Theod.* l. xvi. tit. viii. leg. 1. Godefroy, tom. vi. p. 215.

<sup>66</sup> Et interea (during the civil war of Magnentius) *Judæorum seditio, qui Patrium nefarie in regni speciem sustulerunt, oppressa.*—Aurelius Victor in *Constantio*, c. xlii. See Tillemont, *Hist. des Empereurs*, tom. iv. p. 379, in 4to.

<sup>67</sup> The city and synagogue of Tiberias are curiously described by Reland, *Palæstin.* tom. ii. p. 1036–1042.

<sup>68</sup> Basnage has fully illustrated the state of the Jews under Constantine and his successors (tom. viii. c. iv. p. 111–153).



Jerusalem.<sup>59</sup> enclosed the two mountains of Sion and Acra within an oval figure of about three English miles.<sup>60</sup> Towards the south, the upper town and the fortress of David were erected on the lofty ascent of Mount Sion. On the north side, the buildings of the lower town covered the spacious summit of Mount Acra; and a part of the hill, distinguished by the name of Moriah and levelled by human industry, was crowned with the stately temple of the Jewish nation. After the final destruction of the temple by the arms of Titus and Hadrian, a ploughshare was drawn over the consecrated ground as a sign of perpetual interdiction. Sion was deserted, and the vacant space of the lower city was filled with the public and private edifices of the Ælian colony, which spread themselves over the adjacent hill of Calvary. The holy places were polluted with monuments of idolatry, and, either from design or accident, a chapel was dedicated to Venus on the spot which had been sanctified by the death and resurrection of Christ.<sup>61</sup> Almost three hundred years after those stu-

<sup>59</sup> Reland (Palæstin. l. i. p. 309, 390, l. iii. p. 838) describes, with learning and perspicuity, Jerusalem and the face of the adjacent country.

<sup>60</sup> I have consulted a rare and curious treatise of M. d'Anville (sur l'Ancienne Jérusalem, Paris, 1747, p. 75). The circumference of the ancient city (Euseb. Preparat. Evangel. l. ix. c. 36) was 27 stadia, or 2550 toises. A plan taken on the spot assigns no more than 1980 for the modern town. The circuit is defined by natural landmarks which cannot be mistaken or removed.<sup>b</sup>

<sup>61</sup> See two curious passages in Jerome (tom. i. p. 102, tom. vi. p. 315), and the ample details of Tillemont (Hist. des Empereurs, tom. i. p. 569, tom. ii. p. 289, 294, 4to edition).

<sup>a</sup> On the site of the Holy Sepulchre, compare the chapter in Professor Robinson's Travels in Palestine, which has renewed the old controversy with great vigor. To me this Temple of Venus, said to have been erected by Hadrian to insult the Christians, is not the least suspicious part of the whole legend.—M. 1845.

<sup>b</sup> Both Mr. Williams (Holy City, vol. i. p. 149) and Dr. Robinson (Bibl. Res. in Palestine, vol. i. p. 467) agree that Josephus's account (Bell. Jud. v. c. 4, s. 8) of the circumference of the *ancient* city of Jerusalem, viz. 33 stadia, or nearly 3½ geographical miles, is correct. After its destruction by Titus, Jerusalem seems to have lain in ruins till the time of Hadrian, who rebuilt it under the name of Ælia Capitolina. The circumference of his walls was considerably smaller, as a part of Mount Zion was excluded. Robinson (l. c.) is of opinion that the walls of Hadrian embraced about the same circumference as the modern city, or about 2½ geographical miles. This must have been its size when Julian attempted to rebuild the temple—the period of which Gibbon speaks, whose measurement, if he speaks of the city before Titus, is too small; if of its state after Hadrian, too large. He proceeded on the authority of D'Anville, whose plan of Jerusalem (according to Mr. Williams, vol. i. suppt. p. 6) is very inaccurate.—S.

pendous events, the profane chapel of Venus was demolished by the order of Constantine, and the removal of the earth and stones revealed the holy sepulchre to the eyes of mankind. A magnificent church was erected on that mystic ground by the first Christian emperor, and the effects of his pious munificence were extended to every spot which had been consecrated by the footsteps of patriarchs, of prophets, and of the Son of God.<sup>62</sup>

The passionate desire of contemplating the original monuments of their redemption attracted to Jerusalem a successive crowd of pilgrims from the shores of the Atlantic Ocean and the most distant countries of the East;<sup>63</sup> and their piety was authorized by the example of the Empress Helena, who appears to have united the credulity of age with the warm feelings of a recent conversion. Sages and heroes who have visited the memorable scenes of ancient wisdom or glory have confessed the inspiration of the genius of the place;<sup>64</sup> and the Christian who knelt before the holy sepulchre ascribed his lively faith and his fervent devotion to the more immediate influence of the Divine Spirit. The zeal, perhaps the avarice, of the clergy of Jerusalem cherished and multiplied these beneficial visits. They fixed, by unquestionable tradition, the scene of each memorable event. They exhibited the instruments which had been used in the passion of Christ; the nails and the lance that had pierced his hands, his feet, and his side; the crown of thorns that was planted on his head; the pillar at which he was scourged; and, above

<sup>62</sup> Eusebius in Vit. Constantin. l. iii. c. 25-47, 51-53. The emperor likewise built churches at Bethlehem, the Mount of Olives, and the Oak of Mambre. The holy sepulchre is described by Sandys (Travels, p. 125-133), and curiously delineated by Le Bruyn (Voyage au Levant, p. 288-296).

<sup>63</sup> The Itinerary from Bordeaux to Jerusalem was composed in the year 333 for the use of the pilgrims, among whom Jerome (tom. i. p. 126) mentions the Britons and the Indians. The causes of this superstitious fashion are discussed in the learned and judicious preface of Wesseling (Itinerar. p. 537-545).<sup>a</sup>

<sup>64</sup> Cicero (de Finibus, v. 1) has beautifully expressed the common-sense of mankind.

<sup>a</sup> Much curious information on this subject is collected in the first chapter of Wilken, Geschichte der Kreuzzüge.—M.

all, they showed the cross on which he suffered, and which was dug out of the earth in the reign of those princes who inserted the symbol of Christianity in the banners of the Roman legions.<sup>66</sup> Such miracles as seemed necessary to account for its extraordinary preservation and seasonable discovery were gradually propagated without opposition. The custody of the *true cross*, which on Easter-Sunday was solemnly exposed to the people, was intrusted to the Bishop of Jerusalem; and he alone might gratify the curious devotion of the pilgrims by the gift of small pieces, which they encased in gold or gems, and carried away in triumph to their respective countries. But as this gainful branch of commerce must soon have been annihilated, it was found convenient to suppose that the marvellous wood possessed a secret power of vegetation, and that its substance, though continually diminished, still remained entire and unimpaired.<sup>66</sup> It might, perhaps, have been expected that the influence of the place and the belief of a perpetual miracle should have produced some salutary effects on the morals as well as on the faith of the people. Yet the most respectable of the ecclesiastical writers have been obliged to confess, not only that the streets of Jerusalem were filled with the incessant tumult of business and

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<sup>66</sup> Baronius (Annal. Eccles. A.D. 326, No. 42-50) and Tillemont (Mém. Ecclés. tom. vii. p. 8-16) are the historians and champions of the miraculous *invention* of the cross under the reign of Constantine. Their oldest witnesses are Paulinus, Sulpicius Severus, Rufinus, Ambrose, and, perhaps, Cyril of Jerusalem. The silence of Eusebius and the Bordeaux pilgrim, which satisfies those who think, perplexes those who believe. See Jortin's sensible remarks, vol. ii. p. 238-248.

<sup>66</sup> This multiplication is asserted by Paulinus (Epist. xxxvi.; see Dupin. Biblioth. Ecclés. tom. iii. p. 149), who seems to have improved a rhetorical flourish of Cyril into a real fact. The same supernatural privilege must have been communicated to the Virgin's milk (Erasmii Opera, tom. i. p. 778, Lugd. Batav. 1703, in Colloq. de Peregrinat. Religionis ergo), saints' heads, etc., and other relics which are repeated in so many different churches.<sup>a</sup>

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<sup>a</sup> Lord Mahon, in a memoir read before the Society of Antiquaries (Feb. 1831), has traced in a brief but interesting manner the singular adventures of the "true" cross. It is curious to inquire what authority we have, except of *late* tradition, for the *Hill* of Calvary. There is none in the sacred writings: the uniform use of the common word *τόπος*, instead of any word expressing ascent or acclivity, is against the notion.—M.

pleasure,<sup>67</sup> but that every species of vice—adultery, theft, idolatry, poisoning, murder—was familiar to the inhabitants of the holy city.<sup>68</sup> The wealth and pre-eminence of the Church of Jerusalem excited the ambition of Arian as well as orthodox candidates; and the virtues of Cyril, who since his death has been honored with the title of saint, were displayed in the exercise rather than in the acquisition of his episcopal dignity.<sup>69</sup>

The vain and ambitious mind of Julian might aspire to restore the ancient glory of the Temple of Jerusalem.<sup>70</sup> As the

Christians were firmly persuaded that a sentence of everlasting destruction had been pronounced against the whole fabric of the Mosaic law, the imperial sophist would have converted the success of his undertaking into a specious argument against the faith of prophecy and the truth of revelation.<sup>71</sup> He was displeased with the spiritual worship of the synagogue; but he approved the institutions of Moses, who had not disdained to adopt many of the rites and ceremonies of Egypt.<sup>72</sup> The local and national deity of

Julian attempts to rebuild the temple.

<sup>67</sup> Jerome (tom. i. p. 103), who resided in the neighboring village of Bethlehem, describes the vices of Jerusalem from his personal experience.

<sup>68</sup> Gregor. Nyssen. apud Wesseling, p. 539. The whole epistle, which condemns either the use or the abuse of religious pilgrimage, is painful to the Catholic divines, while it is dear and familiar to our Protestant polemics.

<sup>69</sup> He renounced his orthodox ordination, officiated as a deacon, and was re-ordained by the hands of the Arians. But Cyril afterwards changed with the times, and prudently conformed to the Nicene faith. Tillemont (Mém. Ecclés. tom. viii.), who treats his memory with tenderness and respect, has thrown his virtues into the text, and his faults into the notes, in decent obscurity, at the end of the volume.

<sup>70</sup> Imperii sui memoriam magnitudine operum gestiens propagare.—Ammian. xxiii. 1. The Temple of Jerusalem had been famous even among the Gentiles. They had many temples in each city (at Sichem five, at Gaza eight, at Rome four hundred and twenty-four); but the wealth and religion of the Jewish nation were centred in one spot.

<sup>71</sup> The secret intentions of Julian are revealed by the late Bishop of Gloucester, the learned and dogmatic Warburton, who, with the authority of a theologian, prescribes the motives and conduct of the Supreme Being. The discourse entitled *Julian* (second edition, London, 1751) is strongly marked with all the peculiarities which are imputed to the Warburtonian school.

<sup>72</sup> I shelter myself behind Maimonides, Marsham, Spencer, Le Clerc, Warburton, etc., who have fairly derided the fears, the folly, and the falsehood of some superstitious divines. See *Divine Legation*, vol. iv. p. 25, etc.



the Jews was sincerely adored by a polytheist who desired only to multiply the number of the gods;<sup>73</sup> and such was the appetite of Julian for bloody sacrifice that his emulation might be excited by the piety of Solomon, who had offered at the feast of the Dedication twenty-two thousand oxen and one hundred and twenty thousand sheep.<sup>74</sup> These considerations might influence his designs; but the prospect of an immediate and important advantage would not suffer the impatient monarch to expect the remote and uncertain event of the Persian war. He resolved to erect, without delay, on the commanding eminence of Moriah, a stately temple, which might eclipse the splendor of the Church of the Resurrection on the adjacent hill of Calvary; to establish an order of priests whose interested zeal would detect the arts and resist the ambition of their Christian rivals; and to invite a numerous colony of Jews, whose stern fanaticism would be always prepared to second, and even to anticipate, the hostile measures of the pagan government. Among the friends of the emperor (if the names of emperor and of friend are not incompatible) the first place was assigned, by Julian himself, to the virtuous and learned Alypius.<sup>75</sup> The humanity of Alypius was tempered by severe justice and manly fortitude; and while he exercised his abilities in the civil administration of Britain, he imitated, in his poetical compositions, the harmony and softness of the odes of Sappho. This minister, to whom Julian communicated, with-

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<sup>73</sup> Julian (Fragment. p. 295) respectfully styles him μέγας Θεός, and mentions him elsewhere (Epist. lxiii.) with still higher reverence. He doubly condemns the Christians for believing and for renouncing the religion of the Jews. Their Deity was a *true*, but not the *only*, God. Apud Cyril. l. ix. p. 305, 306.

<sup>74</sup> 1 Kings viii. 63. 2 Chronicles vii. 5. Joseph. Antiquitat. Judaic. l. viii. c. 4 [§ 5], p. 431, edit. Havercamp. As the blood and smoke of so many hecatombs might be inconvenient, Lightfoot, the Christian Rabbi, removes them by a miracle. Le Clerc (ad loca) is bold enough to suspect the fidelity of the numbers.<sup>a</sup>

<sup>75</sup> Julian. Epist. xxix. xxx. [p. 402 seq.]. La Bletterie has neglected to translate the second of these epistles.

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<sup>a</sup> According to the historian Kotobeddym, quoted by Burckhardt (Travels in Arabia, p. 276), the caliph Mokteder sacrificed during his pilgrimage to Mecca, in the year of the Hegira 350, forty thousand camels and cows and fifty thousand sheep. Barthema describes thirty thousand oxen slain, and their carcasses given to the poor. Quarterly Review, xiii. p. 39.—M.

out reserve, his most careless levities and his most serious counsels, received an extraordinary commission to restore, in its pristine beauty, the Temple of Jerusalem; and the diligence of Alypius required and obtained the strenuous support of the Governor of Palestine. At the call of their great deliverer, the Jews from all the provinces of the empire assembled on the holy mountain of their fathers; and their insolent triumph alarmed and exasperated the Christian inhabitants of Jerusalem. The desire of rebuilding the temple has in every age been the ruling passion of the children of Israel. In this propitious moment the men forgot their avarice and the women their delicacy; spades and pickaxes of silver were provided by the vanity of the rich, and the rubbish was transported in mantles of silk and purple. Every purse was opened in liberal contributions; every hand claimed a share in the pious labor; and the commands of a great monarch were executed by the enthusiasm of a whole people.<sup>76</sup>

Yet, on this occasion, the joint efforts of power and enthusiasm were unsuccessful; and the ground of the Jewish temple, which is now covered by a Mahometan mosque,<sup>77</sup> still continued to exhibit the same edifying spectacle of ruin and desolation. Perhaps the absence and death of the emperor, and the new maxims of a Christian reign, might explain the interruption of an arduous work, which was attempted only in the last six months of the life of Julian.<sup>78</sup> But the Christians entertained a natural and pious expectation that in this memorable contest the honor of religion would be vindicated by some signal miracle. An

The enter-  
prise is de-  
feated;

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<sup>76</sup> See the zeal and impatience of the Jews in Gregory Nazianzen (Orat. iv. p. 111) and Theodoret (l. iii. c. 20).

<sup>77</sup> Built by Omar, the second caliph, who died A.D. 644. This great mosque covers the whole consecrated ground of the Jewish temple, and constitutes almost a square of seven hundred and sixty toises, or one Roman mile, in circumference. See D'Anville, Jérusalem, p. 45.

<sup>78</sup> Ammianus records the consuls of the year 363 before he proceeds to mention the *thoughts* of Julian. "Templum . . . instaurare sumptibus cogitabat immodicis." Warburton has a secret wish to anticipate the design; but he must have understood, from former examples, that the execution of such a work would have demanded many years.

earthquake, a whirlwind, and a fiery eruption, which overturned and scattered the new foundations of the temple, are attested, with some variations, by contemporary and respectable evidence.<sup>79</sup> This public event is described by Ambrose,<sup>80</sup> Bishop of Milan, in an epistle to the Emperor Theodosius, which must provoke the severe animadversion of the Jews; by the eloquent Chrysostom,<sup>81</sup> who might appeal to the memory of the elder part of his congregation at Antioch; and by Gregory Nazianzen,<sup>82</sup> who published his account of the miracle before the expiration of the same year. The

perhaps by a  
preternatural  
event.

last of these writers has boldly declared that this preternatural event was not disputed by the infi-

dels; and his assertion, strange as it may seem, is confirmed by the unexceptionable testimony of Ammianus Marcellinus.<sup>83</sup> The philosophic soldier, who loved the virtues without adopting the prejudices of his master, has recorded, in his judicious and candid history of his own times, the extraordinary obstacles which interrupted the restoration of the Temple of Jerusalem: "Whilst Alypius, assisted by the governor of the prov-

<sup>79</sup> The subsequent witnesses—Socrates, Sozomen, Theodoret, Philostorgius, etc.—add contradictions rather than authority. Compare the objections of Basnage (*Hist. des Juifs*, tom. viii. p. 157–168) with Warburton's answers (*Julian*, p. 174–258). The bishop has ingeniously explained the miraculous crosses which appeared on the garments of the spectators by a similar instance and the natural effects of lighting.

<sup>80</sup> Ambros. tom. ii. Epist. xl. p. 946, edit. Benedictin. He composed this fanatic epistle (A.D. 388) to justify a bishop who had been condemned by the civil magistrate for burning a synagogue.

<sup>81</sup> Chrysostom, tom. i. p. 580, advers. Judæos et Gentes [c. 16], tom. ii. p. 574, de S<sup>to</sup> Babylâ [c. 22], edit. Montfaucon. I have followed the common and natural supposition; but the learned Benedictine, who dates the composition of these sermons in the year 383, is confident they were never pronounced from the pulpit.

<sup>82</sup> Greg. Nazianzen, Orat. iv. p. 110–113. Τὸ δὲ οὖν περιβύητον πᾶσι θαῦμα, καὶ οὐδὲ τοῖς ἀθέοις αὐτοῖς ἀπιστοῦμενον, λέξων ἐρχόμεναι.

<sup>83</sup> Ammian. xxiii. 1. "Cum itaque rei fortiter instaret Alypius, juvaretque provincie rector, metuendi globi flammaram prope fundamenta crebris assultibus erumpentes fecere locum exustis aliquoties operantibus inaccessum; hocque modo elemento destinatus repellente, cessavit inceptum." Warburton labors (p. 60–90) to extort a confession of the miracle from the mouths of Julian and Libanius, and to employ the evidence of a rabbi who lived in the fifteenth century. Such witnesses can only be received by a very favorable judge.

ince, urged with vigor and diligence the execution of the work, horrible balls of fire, breaking out near the foundations, with frequent and reiterated attacks, rendered the place from time to time inaccessible to the scorched and blasted workmen; and the victorious element continuing in this manner obstinately and resolutely bent, as it were, to drive them to a distance, the undertaking was abandoned.”<sup>a</sup> Such authority should satisfy

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<sup>a</sup> Michaelis has given an ingenious and sufficiently probable explanation of this remarkable incident, which the positive testimony of Ammianus, a contemporary and a pagan, will not permit us to call in question. It was suggested by a passage in Tacitus. That historian, speaking of Jerusalem, says: “The temple itself was a kind of citadel, which had its own walls, superior in their workmanship and construction to those of the city. The porticoes themselves, which surrounded the temple, were an excellent fortification. There was a fountain of constantly running water; *subterranean excavations under the mountain; reservoirs and cisterns to collect the rain-water.*”—Tac. Hist. v. 12. These excavations and reservoirs must have been very considerable. The latter furnished water during the whole siege of Jerusalem to 1,100,000 inhabitants, for whom the fountain of Siloe could not have sufficed, and who had no fresh rain-water, the siege having taken place from the month of April to the month of August, a period of the year during which it rarely rains in Jerusalem. As to the excavations, they served after, and even before, the return of the Jews from Babylon to contain not only magazines of oil, wine, and corn, but also the treasures which were laid up in the temple. Josephus has related several incidents which show their extent. When Jerusalem was on the point of being taken by Titus, the rebel chiefs, placing their last hopes in these vast subterranean cavities (*ὑπονόμους, ὑπογαῖα, δώρυγας*), formed a design of concealing themselves there, and remaining during the conflagration of the city and until the Romans had retired to a distance. The greater part had not time to execute their design; but one of them, Simon, the son of Gioras, having provided himself with food, and tools to excavate the earth, descended into this retreat with some companions. He remained there till Titus had set out for Rome. Under the pressure of famine, he issued forth on a sudden, in the very place where the temple had stood, and appeared in the midst of the Roman guard. He was seized and carried to Rome for the triumph. His appearance made it be suspected that other Jews might have chosen the same asylum; search was made, and a great number discovered. Joseph. de Bell. Jud. l. vii. c. 2. It is probable that the greater part of these excavations were the remains of the time of Solomon, when it was the custom to work to a great extent under ground; no other date can be assigned to them. The Jews, on their return from the Captivity, were too poor to undertake such works; and although Herod, on rebuilding the temple, made some excavations (Joseph. Ant. Jud. xv. 11, vii.), the haste with which that building was completed will not allow us to suppose that they belonged to that period. Some were used for sewers and drains, others served to conceal the immense treasures of which Crassus, a hundred and twenty years before, plundered the Jews, and which doubtless had been since replaced. The temple was destroyed A.D. 70. The attempt of Julian to rebuild it, and the fact related by Ammianus, coincide with the year 363. There had then elapsed between these two epochs an interval of near three hundred years, during which the excavations, choked up with ruins, must have become full of inflammable air. The workmen employed by Julian, as they were digging, arrived at the excavations of the temple. They would take torches to explore them; sudden flames repelled those who approached; explosions were heard; and these phenomena were renewed every



a believing, and must astonish an incredulous, mind. Yet a philosopher may still require the original evidence of impartial and intelligent spectators. At this important crisis any singular accident of nature would assume the appearance and produce the effects of a real prodigy. This glorious deliverance would be speedily improved and magnified by the pious art of the clergy of Jerusalem and the active credulity of the Christian world; and, at the distance of twenty years, a Roman historian, careless of theological disputes, might adorn his work with the specious and splendid miracle.\*

The restoration of the Jewish temple was secretly connected with the ruin of the Christian Church. Julian still continued

Partiality of  
Julian.

to maintain the freedom of religious worship, without distinguishing whether this universal toleration proceeded from his justice or his clemency. He affected to pity the unhappy Christians, who were mistaken in the most important object of their lives; but his pity was degraded by contempt; his contempt was embittered by hatred; and the sentiments of Julian were expressed in a style of sarcastic wit

\* Dr. Lardner, perhaps alone of the Christian critics, presumes to doubt the truth of this famous miracle (Jewish and Heathen Testimonies, vol. iv. p. 47-71).\* The silence of Jerome would lead to a suspicion that the same story which was celebrated at a distance might be despised on the spot.

time that they penetrated into new subterranean passages.\* This explanation is confirmed by the relation of an event nearly similar by Josephus. King Herod having heard that immense treasures had been concealed in the sepulchre of David, he descended into it with a few confidential persons. He found in the first subterranean chamber only jewels and precious stuffs; but, having wished to penetrate into a second chamber which had been long closed, he was repelled, when he opened it, by flames which killed those who accompanied him (Ant. Jud. xvi. 7, i.). As here there is no room for miracle, this fact may be considered as a new proof of the veracity of that related by Ammianus and the contemporary writers.—G.

To the illustrations of the extent of the subterranean chambers adduced by Michaelis may be added, that when John of Gischala, during the siege, surprised the temple, the party of Eleazar took refuge within them. Bell. Jud. vi. 3, i. The sudden sinking of the Hill of Sion, when Jerusalem was occupied by Barchocab, may have been connected with similar excavations. Hist. of Jews, vol. iii. 122 and 186.—M.

\* Gibbon has forgotten Basnage, to whom Warburton replied.—M.

\* It is a fact now popularly known that, when mines which have been long closed are opened, one of two things takes place: either the torches are extinguished and the men fall first into a swoon and soon die; or, if the air is inflammable, a little flame is seen to flicker round the lamp, which spreads and multiplies till the conflagration becomes general, is followed by an explosion, and kills all who are in the way.—G.

which inflicts a deep and deadly wound whenever it issues from the mouth of a sovereign. As he was sensible that the Christians gloried in the name of their Redeemer, he countenanced, and perhaps enjoined, the use of the less honorable appellation of GALILÆANS.<sup>66</sup> He declared that, by the folly of the Galilæans (whom he describes as a sect of fanatics, contemptible to men and odious to the gods), the empire had been reduced to the brink of destruction; and he insinuates in a public edict that a frantic patient might sometimes be cured by salutary violence.<sup>66</sup> An ungenerous distinction was admitted into the mind and counsels of Julian that, according to the difference of their religious sentiments, one part of his subjects deserved his favor and friendship, while the other was entitled only to the common benefits that his justice could not refuse to an obedient people.<sup>67</sup> According to a principle pregnant with mischief and oppression, the emperor transferred to the pontiffs of his own religion the management of the liberal allowances from the public revenue which had been granted to the Church by the piety of Constantine and his sons. The proud system of clerical honors and immunities, which had been constructed with so much art and labor, was levelled to the ground; the hopes of testamentary donations were intercepted by the rigor of the laws; and the priests of the Christian sect were confounded with the last and most ignominious class of the people. Such of these regulations as appeared necessary to check the ambition and avarice of the ecclesiastics were

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<sup>66</sup> Greg. Naz. Orat. iii. p. 81. And this law was confirmed by the invariable practice of Julian himself. Warburton has justly observed (p. 35) that the Platonists believed in the mysterious virtue of words; and Julian's dislike for the name of Christ might proceed from superstition as well as from contempt.

<sup>66</sup> Fragment. Julian. p. 288. He derides the *υωρία Γαλιλαίων* (Epist. vii.), and so far loses sight of the principles of toleration as to wish (Epist. xlii. [p. 424]) *ἄκοντας ἰᾶσθαι*.

<sup>67</sup>

*Οὐ γάρ μοι θέμις ἐστὶ κομιζέμεν ἢ ἐλαίρειν  
Ἄνερας, οἳ κε θεοῖσιν ἀπέχθωντ' ἀθανάτοισιν.*

These two lines, which Julian has changed and perverted in the true spirit of a bigot (Epist. xlix. [p. 432]), are taken from the speech of Æolus, when he refuses to grant Ulysses a fresh supply of winds (Odyss. x. 73). Libanius (Orat. Parent. c. lix. p. 286) attempts to justify this partial behavior by an apology, in which persecution peeps through the mask of candor.

soon afterwards imitated by the wisdom of an orthodox prince. The peculiar distinctions which policy has bestowed or superstition has lavished on the sacerdotal order *must* be confined to those priests who profess the religion of the State. But the will of the legislator was not exempt from prejudice and passion; and it was the object of the insidious policy of Julian to deprive the Christians of all the temporal honors and advantages which rendered them respectable in the eyes of the world.<sup>88</sup>

A just and severe censure has been inflicted on the law which prohibited the Christians from teaching the arts of grammar and rhetoric.<sup>89</sup> The motives alleged by the emperor to justify this partial and oppressive measure might command, during his lifetime, the silence of slaves and the applause of flatterers. Julian abuses the ambiguous meaning of a word which might be indifferently applied to the language and the religion of the GREEKS: he contemptuously observes that the men who exalt the merit of implicit faith are unfit to claim or to enjoy the advantages of science; and he vainly contends that, if they refuse to adore the gods of Homer and Demosthenes, they ought to content themselves with expounding Luke and Matthew in the churches of the Galilæans.<sup>90</sup> In all the cities of the Roman world the education of the youth was intrusted to masters of grammar and rhetoric, who were elected by the magistrates, maintained at the public expense, and distinguished by many lucrative and honorable privileges. The edict of Julian appears to have included the physicians, and professors of all the liberal arts; and the emperor, who reserved to him-

He prohibits  
the Chris-  
tians from  
teaching  
schools.

<sup>88</sup> These laws which affected the clergy may be found in the slight hints of Julian himself (Epist. lii. [p. 433 seq.]), in the vague declamations of Gregory (Orat. iii. p. 86, 87), and in the positive assertions of Sozomen (l. v. c. 5).

<sup>89</sup> Inclemens . . . perenni obruendum silentio.—Ammian. xxii. 10, xxv. 5.

<sup>90</sup> The edict itself, which is still extant among the epistles of Julian (xlii. [p. 422]), may be compared with the loose invectives of Gregory (Orat. iii. p. 96). Tillemont (Mém. Ecclés. tom. vii. p. 1291–1294) has collected the seeming differences of ancients and moderns. They may be easily reconciled. The Christians were *directly* forbidden to teach; they were *indirectly* forbidden to learn, since they would not frequent the schools of the pagans.

self the approbation of the candidates, was authorized by the laws to corrupt or to punish the religious constancy of the most learned of the Christians.<sup>91</sup> As soon as the resignation of the more obstinate<sup>92</sup> teachers had established the unrivalled dominion of the pagan sophists, Julian invited the rising generation to resort with freedom to the public schools, in a just confidence that their tender minds would receive the impressions of literature and idolatry. If the greatest part of the Christian youth should be deterred by their own scruples, or by those of their parents, from accepting this dangerous mode of instruction, they must, at the same time, relinquish the benefits of a liberal education. Julian had reason to expect that, in the space of a few years, the Church would relapse into its primeval simplicity, and that the theologians, who possessed an adequate share of the learning and eloquence of the age, would be succeeded by a generation of blind and ignorant fanatics, incapable of defending the truth of their own principles, or of exposing the various follies of polytheism.<sup>93</sup>

It was undoubtedly the wish and the design of Julian to deprive the Christians of the advantages of wealth, of knowledge, and of power; but the injustice of excluding them from all offices of trust and profit seems to have been the result of his general policy rather

Disgrace and  
oppression of  
the Chris-  
tians.

<sup>91</sup> Codex Theodos. l. xiii. tit. iii. De Medicis et Professoribus, leg. 5 (published the 17th of June, received, at Spoleto, in Italy, the 29th of July, A.D. 363), with Godefroy's Illustrations, tom. v. p. 31.

<sup>92</sup> Orosius celebrates their disinterested resolution: "Sicut a majoribus nostris compertum habemus, omnes ubique propemodum . . . officium quam fidem deserere maluerunt" (vii. 30). Proæresius, a Christian sophist, refused to accept the partial favor of the emperor. Hieronym. in Chron. p. 185, edit. Scaliger [tom. viii. p. 805, edit. Vallars.]. Eunapius in Proæresio, p. 126 [p. 160, edit. Comm.].

<sup>93</sup> They had recourse to the expedient of composing books for their own schools. Within a few months Apollinaris produced his Christian imitations of Homer (a sacred history in twenty-four books), Pindar, Euripides, and Menander; and Sozomen is satisfied that they equalled, or excelled, the originals.<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Socrates, however, implies that, on the death of Julian, they were contemptuously thrown aside by the Christians. *Τῶν δὲ οἱ πόνοι, ἐν ἰσῷ τοῦ μὴ γραφῆναι, λεγίζονται.*—Socr. Hist. iii. 16.—M.



than the immediate consequence of any positive law.<sup>94</sup> Superior merit might deserve and obtain some extraordinary exceptions; but the greater part of the Christian officers were gradually removed from their employments in the State, the army, and the provinces. The hopes of future candidates were extinguished by the declared partiality of a prince who maliciously reminded them that it was unlawful for a Christian to use the sword, either of justice or of war, and who studiously guarded the camp and the tribunals with the ensigns of idolatry. The powers of government were intrusted to the pagans, who professed an ardent zeal for the religion of their ancestors; and as the choice of the emperor was often directed by the rules of divination, the favorites whom he preferred as the most agreeable to the gods did not always obtain the approbation of mankind.<sup>95</sup> Under the administration of their enemies, the Christians had much to suffer and more to apprehend. The temper of Julian was averse to cruelty; and the care of his reputation, which was exposed to the eyes of the universe, restrained the philosophic monarch from violating the laws of justice and toleration which he himself had so recently established. But the provincial ministers of his authority were placed in a less conspicuous station. In the exercise of arbitrary power, they consulted the wishes, rather than the commands, of their sovereign; and ventured to exercise a secret and vexatious tyranny against the sectaries on whom they were not permitted to confer the honors of martyrdom. The emperor, who dissembled as long as possible his knowledge of the injustice that was exercised in his name, expressed his real sense of the conduct of his officers by gentle reproofs and substantial rewards.<sup>96</sup>

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<sup>94</sup> It was the instruction of Julian to his magistrates (Epist. vii.) *προτιμᾶσθαι μὲντοι τοὺς θεοσεβεῖς καὶ πάνυ φημί δεῖν*. Sozomen (l. v. c. 18) and Socrates (l. iii. c. 13) must be reduced to the standard of Gregory (Orat. iii. p. 95), not less prone to exaggeration, but more restrained by the actual knowledge of his contemporary readers.

<sup>95</sup> *Ψηφῶ θεῶν καὶ διδόνς καὶ μὴ διδόνς*.—Libanius, Orat. Parent. c. 88, p. 314.

<sup>96</sup> Greg. Naz. Orat. iii. p. 74, 91, 92. Socrates, l. iii. c. 14. Theodoret, l. iii. c. 6. Some drawback may, however, be allowed for the violence of *their* zeal, not less partial than the zeal of Julian.

The most effectual instrument of oppression with which they were armed was the law that obliged the Christians to make full and ample satisfaction for the temples which they had destroyed under the preceding reign. The zeal of the triumphant Church had not always expected the sanction of the public authority; and the bishops, who were secure of impunity, had often marched at the head of their congregations to attack and demolish the fortresses of the prince of darkness. The consecrated lands, which had increased the patrimony of the sovereign or of the clergy, were clearly defined and easily restored. But on these lands, and on the ruins of pagan superstition, the Christians had frequently erected their own religious edifices; and as it was necessary to remove the church before the temple could be rebuilt, the justice and piety of the emperor were applauded by one party, while the other deplored and execrated his sacrilegious violence.<sup>97</sup> After the ground was cleared, the restitution of those stately structures which had been levelled with the dust, and of the precious ornaments which had been converted to Christian uses, swelled into a very large account of damages and debt. The authors of the injury had neither the ability nor the inclination to discharge this accumulated demand; and the impartial wisdom of a legislator would have been displayed in balancing the adverse claims and complaints by an equitable and temperate arbitration. But the whole empire, and particularly the East, was thrown into confusion by the rash edicts of Julian; and the pagan magistrates, inflamed by zeal and revenge, abused the rigorous privilege of the Roman law, which substitutes, in the place of his inadequate property, the person of the insolvent debtor. Under the preceding reign, Mark, Bishop of Arethusa,<sup>98</sup> had labored in the conversion of his people with arms

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<sup>97</sup> If we compare the gentle language of Libanius (*Orat. Parent. c. 60, p. 286*) with the passionate exclamations of Gregory (*Orat. iii. p. 86, 87*) we may find it difficult to persuade ourselves that the two orators are really describing the same events.

<sup>98</sup> Restan, or Arethusa, at the equal distance of sixteen miles between Emesa (*Hems*) and Epiphania (*Hamath*), was founded, or at least named, by Seleucus

more effectual than those of persuasion.<sup>99</sup> The magistrates required the full value of a temple which had been destroyed by his intolerant zeal; but as they were satisfied of his poverty, they desired only to bend his inflexible spirit to the promise of the slightest compensation. They apprehended the aged prelate, they inhumanly scourged him, they tore his beard; and his naked body, anointed with honey, was suspended in a net between heaven and earth, and exposed to the stings of insects and the rays of a Syrian sun.<sup>100</sup> From this lofty station, Mark still persisted to glory in his crime, and to insult the impotent rage of his persecutors. He was at length rescued from their hands, and dismissed to enjoy the honor of his divine triumph. The Arians celebrated the virtue of their pious confessor; the Catholics ambitiously claimed his alliance;<sup>101</sup> and the pagans, who might be susceptible of shame or remorse, were deterred from the repetition of such unavailing cruelty.<sup>102</sup> Julian spared his life; but if the Bishop of Are-

Nicator. Its peculiar era dates from the year of Rome 685, according to the medals of the city. In the decline of the Seleucides, Emesa and Arethusa were usurped by the Arab Sampsiceramus, whose posterity, the vassals of Rome, were not extinguished in the reign of Vespasian. See D'Anville's Maps and Géographie Ancienne, tom. ii. p. 134; Wesseling, Itineraria, p. 188; and Noris. Epoch. Syro-Macedon. p. 80, 481, 482.

<sup>99</sup> Sozomen, l. v. c. 10. It is surprising that Gregory and Theodoret should suppress a circumstance which, in their eyes, must have enhanced the religious merit of the confessor.

<sup>100</sup> The sufferings and constancy of Mark, which Gregory has so tragically painted (Orat. iii. p. 88-91), are confirmed by the unexceptionable and reluctant evidence of Libanius. *Μάρκος ἐκεῖνος κρεμάμενος, καὶ μαστιγοῦμενος, καὶ τοῦ πώγωνος αὐτῷ τιλλομένου, πάντα ἐνεγκὼν ἀνδρείως, νῦν ἰσόθεός ἐστι ταῖς τιμαῖς, κἀν φανῇ πον, περιμάχητος εἰθός.*—Epist. 730, p. 350, 351, edit. Wolf. Amstel. 1738.

<sup>101</sup> “*Περιμάχητος, certatim eum sibi (Christiani) vindicant.*” It is thus that La Croze and Wolfius (ad loc.) have explained a Greek word whose true signification had been mistaken by former interpreters, and even by Le Clerc (Bibliothèque Ancienne et Moderne, tom. iii. p. 371). Yet Tillemont is strangely puzzled to understand (Mém. Ecclési. tom. vii. p. 1309) how Gregory and Theodoret could mistake a Semi-Arian bishop for a saint.

<sup>102</sup> See the probable advice of Sallust (Greg. Nazianzen, Orat. iii. 90, 91). Libanius intercedes for a similar offender, lest they should find many Marks; yet he allows that if Orion had secreted the consecrated wealth, he deserved to suffer the punishment of Marsyas—to be flayed alive (Epist. 730, p. 349-351).

thusa had saved the infancy of Julian,<sup>103</sup> posterity will condemn the ingratitude, instead of praising the clemency, of the emperor.

At the distance of five miles from Antioch, the Macedonian kings of Syria had consecrated to Apollo one of the most elegant places of devotion in the pagan world.<sup>104</sup> A magnificent temple rose in honor of the god of light; and his colossal figure<sup>105</sup> almost filled the capacious sanctuary, which was enriched with gold and gems, and adorned by the skill of the Grecian artists. The deity was represented in a bending attitude, with a golden cup in his hand, pouring out a libation on the earth; as if he supplicated the venerable mother to give to his arms the cold and beauteous DAPHNE: for the spot was ennobled by fiction; and the fancy of the Syrian poets had transported the amorous tale from the banks of the Peneus to those of the Orontes. The ancient rites of Greece were imitated by the royal colony of Antioch. A stream of prophecy, which rivalled the truth and reputation of the Delphic oracle, flowed from the *Castalian* fountain of Daphne.<sup>106</sup> In the adjacent fields a stadium was built by a special privilege,<sup>107</sup> which had been purchased from Elis; the

<sup>103</sup> Gregory (Orat. iii. p. 90) is satisfied that, by saving the Apostate, Mark had deserved still more than he had suffered.

<sup>104</sup> The Grove and Temple of Daphne are described by Strabo (l. xvi. p. 1089, 1090, edit. Amstel. 1707 [p. 750, edit. Casaub.]), Libanius (*Nænia*, p. 185–188; *Antiochic. Orat.* xi. p. 380, 381 [edit. Morell. 1627]), and Sozomen (l. v. c. 19). Wesseling (*Itinerar.* p. 581) and Casaubon (ad *Hist. August.* p. 64) illustrate this curious subject.

<sup>105</sup> *Simulacrum in eo Olympiaci Jovis imitamenti æquiparans magnitudinem.*—Ammian. xxii. 13. The Olympic Jupiter was sixty feet high, and his bulk was consequently equal to that of a thousand men. See a curious *Mémoire* of the Abbé Gedoy (Académie des Inscriptions, tom. ix. p. 198).

<sup>106</sup> Hadrian read the history of his future fortunes on a leaf dipped in the Castalian stream; a trick which, according to the physician Vandale (de *Oraculis*, p. 281, 282), might be easily performed by chemical preparations. The emperor stopped the source of such dangerous knowledge, which was again opened by the devout curiosity of Julian.

<sup>107</sup> It was purchased, A. D. 44, in the year 92 of the era of Antioch (Noris. *Epoch. Syro-Maced.* p. 139–174), for the term of ninety Olympiads. But the Olympic games of Antioch were not regularly celebrated till the reign of Commodus. See the curious details in the Chronicle of John Malala (tom. i. p. 291, 320, 372–381 [edit.



Olympic games were celebrated at the expense of the city; and a revenue of thirty thousand pounds sterling was annually applied to the public pleasures.<sup>108</sup> The perpetual resort of pilgrims and spectators insensibly formed, in the neighborhood of the temple, the stately and populous village of Daphne, which emulated the splendor, without acquiring the title, of a provincial city. The temple and the village were deeply bosomed in a thick grove of laurels and cypresses, which reached as far as a circumference of ten miles, and formed in the most sultry summers a cool and impenetrable shade. A thousand streams of the purest water, issuing from every hill, preserved the verdure of the earth and the temperature of the air; the senses were gratified with harmonious sounds and aromatic odors; and the peaceful grove was consecrated to health and joy, to luxury and love. The vigorous youth pursued, like Apollo, the object of his desires; and the blushing maid was warned, by the fate of Daphne, to shun the folly of unseasonable coyness. The soldier and the philosopher wisely avoided the temptation of this sensual paradise;<sup>109</sup> where pleasure, assuming the character of religion, imperceptibly dissolved the firmness of manly virtue. But the Groves of Daphne continued for many ages to enjoy the veneration of natives and strangers; the privileges of the holy ground were enlarged by the munificence of succeeding emperors; and every generation added new ornaments to the splendor of the temple.<sup>110</sup>

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Oxon. ; p. 225, 248, and 283 seq., edit. Bonn.]), a writer whose merit and authority are confined within the limits of his native city.<sup>a</sup>

<sup>108</sup> Fifteen talents of gold, bequeathed by Sosibius, who died in the reign of Augustus. The theatrical merits of the Syrian cities in the age of Constantine are compared in the *Expositio Totius Mundi*, p. 6 (Hudson, *Geograph. Minor.* tom. iii.).

<sup>109</sup> "Avidio Cassio Syriacas legiones dedi luxuriâ diffuentes et *Daphnicis* moribus." These are the words of the Emperor Marcus Antoninus, in an original letter preserved by his biographer in *Hist. August.* p. 41 [Vulcat. Gallic. in *Vitâ Avid. Cass.* c. 6]. Cassius dismissed or punished every soldier who was seen at Daphne.

<sup>110</sup> *Aliquantum agrorum Daphnensibus dedit (Pompey), quo locus ibi spatiosior*

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<sup>a</sup> Malala has erroneously mentioned Commodus instead of Caracalla. The games were celebrated in the 260th year of the era of Antioch; that is, in A.D. 212, in the second year of the reign of Caracalla. They were discontinued at the close of the 568th year of Antioch; that is, A.D. 520. Clinton, *Fast. Rom.* vol. i. p. 220. On the Olympic games of Antioch, see Krause, *Olympia*, Wien, 1838, p. 207 seq.—S.

When Julian, on the day of the annual festival, hastened to adore the Apollo of Daphne, his devotion was raised to the highest pitch of eagerness and impatience. His lively imagination anticipated the grateful pomp of victims, of libations, and of incense; a long procession of youths and virgins, clothed in white robes, the symbol of their innocence; and the tumultuous concourse of an innumerable people. But the zeal of Antioch was diverted, since the reign of Christianity, into a different channel. Instead of hecatombs of fat oxen sacrificed by the tribes of a wealthy city to their tutelar deity, the emperor complains that he found only a single goose, provided at the expense of a priest, the pale and solitary inhabitant of this decayed temple.<sup>111</sup> The altar was deserted, the oracle had been reduced to silence, and the holy ground was profaned by the introduction of Christian and funereal rites. After Babylas<sup>112</sup> (a bishop of Antioch, who died in prison in the persecution of Decius) had rested near a century in his grave, his body, by the order of the Cæsar Gallus, was transported into the midst of the Grove of Daphne. A magnificent church was erected over his remains; a portion of the sacred lands was usurped for the maintenance of the clergy, and for the burial of the Christians of Antioch, who were ambitious of lying at the feet of their bishop; and the priests of Apollo retired, with their affrighted and indignant votaries. As soon as another revolution seemed to restore the fortune of paganism, the Church of St. Babylas was demolished, and new buildings were added to the mouldering edifice which had been raised by the piety of Syrian kings. But the first and most serious care of Julian was to deliver his oppressed deity from the odious presence

Neglect and  
profanation  
of Daphne.

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fieret; delectatus amœnitate loci et aquarum abundantia. — Eutropius, vi. 14 [11].  
Sextus Rufus, de Provinciis, c. 16.

<sup>111</sup> Julian (Misopogon, p. 361, 362) discovers his own character with that *naïveté*, that unconscious simplicity, which always constitutes genuine humor.

<sup>112</sup> Babylas is named by Eusebius in the succession of the bishops of Antioch (Hist. Eccles. i. vi. c. 29, 39). His triumph over two emperors (the first fabulous, the second historical) is diffusely celebrated by Chrysostom (tom. ii. p. 536–577, edit. Montfaucon). Tillemont (Mém. Eccles. tom. iii. part ii. p. 287–302, 459–465) becomes almost a sceptic.

of the dead and living Christians, who had so effectually suppressed the voice of fraud or enthusiasm.<sup>113</sup> The scene of infection was purified, according to the forms of ancient rituals;

Removal of  
the dead bod-  
ies, and con-  
flagration of  
the temple.

the bodies were decently removed; and the ministers of the church were permitted to convey the remains of St. Babylas to their former habitation within the walls of Antioch. The modest be-

havior which might have assuaged the jealousy of a hostile government was neglected on this occasion by the zeal of the Christians. The lofty car that transported the relics of Babylas was followed and accompanied and received by an innumerable multitude, who chanted, with thundering acclamations, the Psalms of David, the most expressive of their contempt for idols and idolaters. The return of the saint was a triumph; and the triumph was an insult on the religion of the emperor, who exerted his pride to dissemble his resentment. During the night which terminated this indiscreet procession, the Temple of Daphne was in flames; the statue of Apollo was consumed; and the walls of the edifice were left a naked and awful monument of ruin. The Christians of Antioch asserted with religious confidence that the powerful intercession of St. Babylas had pointed the lightnings of heaven against the devoted roof; but as Julian was reduced to the alternative of believing either a crime or a miracle, he chose, without hesitation, without evidence, but with some color of probability, to impute the fire of Daphne to the revenge of the Galilæans.<sup>114</sup> Their offence, had it been sufficiently proved,

Julian shuts  
the Cathedral  
of Antioch.

might have justified the retaliation, which was immediately executed by the order of Julian, of shutting the doors, and confiscating the wealth, of the

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<sup>113</sup> Ecclesiastical critics, particularly those who love relics, exult in the confession of Julian (Misopogon, p. 361) and Libanius (Nænia, p. 185) that Apollo was disturbed by the vicinity of *one* dead man. Yet Ammianus (xxii. 12) clears and purifies the whole ground, according to the rites which the Athenians formerly practised in the isle of Delos.

<sup>114</sup> Julian (in Misopogon, p. 361) rather insinuates than affirms their guilt. Ammianus (xxii. 13) treats the imputation as *levissimus rumor*, and relates the story with extraordinary candor.

Cathedral of Antioch. To discover the criminals who were guilty of the tumult, of the fire, or of secreting the riches of the church, several ecclesiastics were tortured;<sup>115</sup> and a presbyter, of the name of Theodoret, was beheaded by the sentence of the Count of the East. But this hasty act was blamed by the emperor, who lamented, with real or affected concern, that the imprudent zeal of his ministers would tarnish his reign with the disgrace of persecution.<sup>116</sup>

The zeal of the ministers of Julian was instantly checked by the frown of their sovereign; but when the father of his country declares himself the leader of a faction, the license of popular fury cannot easily be restrained nor consistently punished. Julian, in a public composition, applauds the devotion and loyalty of the holy cities of Syria, whose pious inhabitants had destroyed, at the first signal, the sepulchres of the Galilæans; and faintly complains that they had revenged the injuries of the gods with less moderation than he should have recommended.<sup>117</sup> This imperfect and reluctant confession may appear to confirm the ecclesiastical narratives—that in the cities of Gaza, Ascalon, Cæsarea, Heliopolis, etc., the pagans abused, without prudence or remorse, the moment of their prosperity; that the unhappy objects of their cruelty were released from torture only by death; that, as their mangled bodies were dragged through the streets, they were pierced (such was the universal rage) by the spits of cooks and the distaffs of enraged women; and that the entrails of Christian priests and virgins, after they had been tasted by those bloody fanatics, were mixed with barley and contemptuously thrown to

<sup>115</sup> “Quo tam atroci casu repente consumpto, ad id usque imperatoris ira provexit, ut quæstiones agitari juberet solito acriores” (yet Julian blames the lenity of the magistrates of Antioch), “et majorem ecclesiam Antiochiæ claudi.” [Amm. l. c.]. This interdiction was performed with some circumstances of indignity and profanation; and the seasonable death of the principal actor, Julian’s uncle, is related with much superstitious complacency by the Abbé de la Bletterie, *Vie de Julien*, p. 362–369.

<sup>116</sup> Besides the ecclesiastical historians, who are more or less to be suspected, we may allege the passion of St. Theodore, in the *Acta Sincera* of Ruinart, p. 591. The complaint of Julian gives it an original and authentic air.

<sup>117</sup> Julian *Misopogon*, p. 361.



the unclean animals of the city.<sup>118</sup> Such scenes of religious madness exhibit the most contemptible and odious picture of human nature; but the massacre of Alexandria attracts still more attention, from the certainty of the fact, the rank of the victims, and the splendor of the capital of Egypt.

George,<sup>119</sup> from his parents or his education, surnamed the Cappadocian, was born at Epiphania, in Cilicia, in a fuller's shop. From this obscure and servile origin he raised himself by the talents of a parasite; and the patrons whom he assiduously flattered procured for their worthless dependent a lucrative commission, or contract, to supply the army with bacon. His employment was mean; he rendered it infamous. He accumulated wealth by the basest arts of fraud and corruption; but his malversations were so notorious that George was compelled to escape from the pursuits of justice. After this disgrace, in which he appears to have saved his fortune at the expense of his honor, he embraced, with real or affected zeal, the profession of Arianism. From the love or the ostentation of learning, he collected a valuable library of history, rhetoric, philosophy, and theology;<sup>120</sup> and the choice of the prevailing faction promoted George of

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<sup>118</sup> See Gregory Nazianzen (Orat. iii. p. 87). Sozomen (l. v. c. 9) may be considered as an original, though not impartial, witness. He was a native of Gaza, and had conversed with the confessor Zeno, who, as Bishop of Maiuma, lived to the age of a hundred (l. vii. c. 28). Philostorgius (l. vii. c. 4, with Godefroy's Dissertations, p. 284) adds some tragic circumstances of Christians who were *literally* sacrificed at the altars of the gods, etc.

<sup>119</sup> The life and death of George of Cappadocia are described by Ammianus (xxii. 11), Gregory Nazianzen (Orat. xxi. p. 382, 385, 389, 390), and Epiphanius (Hæres. lxxvi. [p. 912, edit. Paris, 1622]). The invectives of the two saints might not deserve much credit unless they were confirmed by the testimony of the cool and impartial infidel.

<sup>120</sup> After the massacre of George, the Emperor Julian repeatedly sent orders to preserve the library for his own use, and to torture the slaves who might be suspected of secreting any books. He praises the merit of the collection, from whence he had borrowed and transcribed several manuscripts, while he pursued his studies in Cappadocia. He could wish indeed that the works of the Galilæans might perish; but he requires an exact account even of those theological volumes, lest other treatises more valuable should be confounded in their loss. — Julian. Epist. ix xxxvi. [p. 377, 411].

Cappadocia to the throne of Athanasius. The entrance of the new archbishop was that of a barbarian conqueror; and each moment of his reign was polluted by cruelty and avarice. The Catholics of Alexandria and Egypt were abandoned to a tyrant, qualified, by nature and education, to exercise the office of persecution; but he oppressed with an impartial hand the various inhabitants of his extensive diocese. The Primate of Egypt assumed the pomp and insolence of his lofty station; but he still betrayed the vices of his base and servile extraction. The merchants of Alexandria were impoverished by the unjust and almost universal monopoly, which he acquired, of nitre, salt, paper, funerals, etc.; and the spiritual father of a great people condescended to practise the vile and pernicious arts of an informer. The Alexandrians could never forget nor forgive the tax which he suggested on all the houses of the city, under an obsolete claim that the royal founder had conveyed to his successors, the Ptolemies and the Cæsars, the perpetual property of the soil. The pagans, who had been flattered with the hopes of freedom and toleration, excited his devout avarice; and the rich temples of Alexandria were either pillaged or insulted by the haughty prelate, who exclaimed in a loud and threatening tone, "How long will these sepulchres be permitted to stand?" Under the reign of Constantius he was expelled by the fury, or rather by the justice, of the people; and it was not without a violent struggle that the civil and military powers of the State could restore his authority and gratify his revenge. The messenger who proclaimed at Alexandria the accession of Julian announced the downfall of the archbishop. George, with two of his obsequious ministers—Count Diodorus, and Dracontius, master of the mint—were ignominiously dragged in chains to the public prison. At the end of twenty-four days the prison was forced open by the rage of a superstitious multitude, impatient of the tedious forms of judicial proceedings. The enemies of gods and men expired under their cruel insults; the lifeless bodies of the archbishop and his associates were carried in triumph through the streets on

A. D. 356.

Oppresses Alexandria and Egypt.

A. D. 361.  
Nov. 30.

He is massacred by the people.  
Dec. 24.

the back of a camel;\* and the inactivity of the Athanasian party<sup>121</sup> was esteemed a shining example of evangelical patience. The remains of these guilty wretches were thrown into the sea; and the popular leaders of the tumult declared their resolution to disappoint the devotion of the Christians and to intercept the future honors of these *martyrs*, who had been punished, like their predecessors, by the enemies of their religion.<sup>122</sup> The fears of the pagans were just, and their precautions ineffectual. The meritorious death of the archbishop obliterated the memory of his life. The rival of Athanasius was dear and sacred to the Arians, and the seeming conversion of those sectaries introduced his worship into the bosom of the Catholic Church.<sup>123</sup> The odious stranger, disguising every circumstance of time and place, assumed the mask of a martyr, a saint, and a Christian hero;<sup>124</sup> and the infamous George of Cappadocia has been transformed<sup>125</sup>

and worshipped as a saint and martyr.

<sup>121</sup> Philostorgius, with cautious malice, insinuates their guilt, *καὶ τὴν Ἀθανασίου γνώμην στρατηγήσαι τῆς πράξεως*, l. vii. c. 2. Godefroy, p. 267.

<sup>122</sup> Cineres projecit in mare, id metuens ut clamabat, ne, collectis supremis, ædes illis extruerentur ut reliquis, qui deviare a religione compulsi, pertulere cruciabiles pœnas, adusque gloriosam mortem intemeratâ fide progressi, et nunc MARTYRES appellatur.—Ammian. xxii. 11. Epiphanius proves to the Arians that George was not a martyr.

<sup>123</sup> Some Donatists (Optatus Milev. p. 60, 303, edit. Dupin; and Tillemont, Mém. Ecclés. tom. vi. p. 713, in 4to) and Priscillianists (Tillemont, Mém. Ecclés. tom. viii. p. 517, in 4to) have in like manner usurped the honors of Catholic saints and martyrs.

<sup>124</sup> The saints of Cappadocia, Basil and the Gregories, were ignorant of their holy companion. Pope Gelasius (A.D. 494), the first Catholic who acknowledges St. George, places him among the martyrs “qui Deo magis quam hominibus noti sunt.” He rejects his Acts as the composition of heretics. Some, perhaps not the oldest, of the spurious Acts are still extant; and, through a cloud of fiction, we may yet distinguish the combat which St. George of Cappadocia sustained, in the presence of Queen *Alexandra*, against the *magician Athanasius*.

<sup>125</sup> This transformation is not given as absolutely certain, but as *extremely probable*. See the Longueruana, tom. i. p. 194.<sup>b</sup>

\* Julian himself says that they tore him to pieces like dogs, *τολμᾷ δῆμος, ὥσπερ οἱ κύνες, σπαράττειν*. Epist. x. [p. 380].—M.

<sup>b</sup> The late Dr. Milner (the Roman Catholic bishop) wrote a tract to vindicate the existence and the orthodoxy of the tutelar saint of England. He succeeds, I think, in tracing the worship of St. George up to a period which makes it improbable that so notorious an Arian could be palmed upon the Catholic Church as a saint

into the renowned St. George of England, the patron of arms, of chivalry, and of the Garter.<sup>126</sup>

About the same time that Julian was informed of the tumult of Alexandria, he received intelligence from Edessa that the proud and wealthy faction of the Arians had insulted the weakness of the Valentinians, and committed such disorders as ought not to be suffered with impunity in a well-regulated State. Without expecting the slow forms of justice, the exasperated prince directed his mandate to the magistrates of Edessa,<sup>127</sup> by which he confiscated the whole property of the Church; the money was distributed among the soldiers; the lands were added to the domain; and this act of oppression was aggravated by the most ungenerous irony. "I show myself," says Julian, "the true friend of the Galilæans. Their *admirable* law has promised the kingdom of heaven to the poor; and they will advance with more diligence in the paths of virtue and salvation when they are relieved by my assistance from the load of temporal possessions. Take care," pursued the monarch, in a more serious tone—"take care how you provoke my patience and humanity. If these disorders continue, I will revenge on the magistrates the crimes of the people; and you will have reason to dread, not only confiscation and exile, but fire and the sword." The tumults of Alexandria were doubtless of a more bloody and dangerous nature; but a Christian bishop had fallen by the hands of the pagans, and the public epistle of Julian affords a very lively proof of the partial spirit of his administration. His reproaches to the citizens of Alexandria are mingled with expressions of esteem

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<sup>126</sup> A curious history of the worship of St. George, from the sixth century (when he was already revered in Palestine, in Armenia, at Rome, and at Treves in Gaul), might be extracted from Dr. Heylin (History of St. George, second edition, London, 1633, in 4to, p. 429) and the Bollandists (Act. SS. Mens. April. tom. iii. p. 100-163). His fame and popularity in Europe, and especially in England, proceeded from the Crusades.

<sup>127</sup> Julian. Epist. xliii. [p. 424].

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and a martyr. The Acts rejected by Gelasius may have been of Arian origin, and designed to engraft the story of their hero on the obscure adventures of some earlier saint. See an Historical and Critical Inquiry into the Existence and Character of St. George, in a letter to the Earl of Leicester, by the Rev. J. Milner, F.S.A. London, 1792.—M.



and tenderness; and he laments that on this occasion they should have departed from the gentle and generous manners which attested their Grecian extraction. He gravely censures the offence which they had committed against the laws of justice and humanity; but he recapitulates, with visible complacency, the intolerable provocations which they had so long endured from the impious tyranny of George of Cappadocia. Julian admits the principle that a wise and vigorous government should chastise the insolence of the people; yet, in consideration of their founder Alexander, and of Serapis their tutelary deity, he grants a free and gracious pardon to the guilty city, for which he again feels the affection of a brother.<sup>128</sup>

After the tumult of Alexandria had subsided, Athanasius, amidst the public acclamations, seated himself on the throne

Restoration  
of Athana-  
sius.  
A.D. 362.  
Feb. 21.

from whence his unworthy competitor had been precipitated; and as the zeal of the archbishop was tempered with discretion, the exercise of his authority tended not to inflame, but to reconcile, the minds of the people. His pastoral labors were not confined to the narrow limits of Egypt. The state of the Christian world was present to his active and capacious mind; and the age, the merit, the reputation of Athanasius enabled him to assume, in a moment of danger, the office of Ecclesiastical Dictator.<sup>129</sup> Three years were not yet elapsed since the majority of the bishops of the West had, ignorantly or reluctantly, subscribed the Confession of Rimini. They repented, they believed, but they dreaded the unseasonable rigor of their orthodox brethren; and if their pride was stronger than their faith, they might throw themselves into the arms of the Arians to escape the indignity of a public penance which must degrade them to the condition of obscure laymen. At the same time, the domestic differences concerning the union and distinction of the divine persons were agitated with some heat among the Catholic doc-

<sup>128</sup> Julian. Epist. x. [p. 378]. He allowed his friends to assuage his anger. Ammian. xxii. 11.

<sup>129</sup> See Athanas. ad Rufin. tom. ii. p. 40, 41; and Greg. Nazianzen, Orat. xxi. p. 395, 396, who justly states the temperate zeal of the primate as much more meritorious than his prayers, his fasts, his persecutions, etc.

tors; and the progress of this metaphysical controversy seemed to threaten a public and lasting division of the Greek and Latin churches. By the wisdom of a select synod, to which the name and presence of Athanasius gave the authority of a general council, the bishops who had unwarily deviated into error were admitted to the communion of the Church on the easy condition of subscribing the Nicene Creed, without any formal acknowledgment of their past fault, or any minute definition of their scholastic opinions. The advice of the Primate of Egypt had already prepared the clergy of Gaul and Spain, of Italy and Greece, for the reception of this salutary measure; and, notwithstanding the opposition of some ardent spirits,<sup>130</sup> the fear of the common enemy promoted the peace and harmony of the Christians.<sup>131</sup>

The skill and diligence of the Primate of Egypt had improved the season of tranquillity before it was interrupted by the hostile edicts of the emperor.<sup>132</sup> Julian, who despised the Christians, honored Athanasius with his sincere and peculiar hatred. For his sake alone he introduced an arbitrary distinction, repugnant, at least, to the spirit of his former declarations. He maintained that the Galilæans whom he had recalled from exile were not restored by that general indulgence to the possession of their respective churches. And he expressed his astonishment that a criminal who had been repeatedly condemned by the judgment of the emperors should dare to insult the majesty of the laws, and insolently usurp the archiepiscopal throne of Alexan-

He is persecuted and expelled by Julian.  
A.D. 362.  
Oct. 23.

<sup>130</sup> I have not leisure to follow the blind obstinacy of Lucifer of Cagliari. See his adventures in Tillemont (*Mém. Ecclés.* tom. vii. p. 900-926), and observe how the color of the narrative insensibly changes as the confessor becomes a schismatic.

<sup>131</sup> "Assensus est huic sententiæ Occidens, et, per tam necessarium concilium, Satanæ faucibus mundus ereptus." The lively and artful dialogue of Jerome against the Luciferians (tom. ii. p. 135-155 [tom. ii. p. 193, edit. Vallars.]) exhibits an original picture of the ecclesiastical policy of the times.

<sup>132</sup> Tillemont, who supposes that George was massacred in August, crowds the actions of Athanasius into a narrow space (*Mém. Ecclés.* tom. viii. p. 360). An original fragment, published by the Marquis Maffei, from the old Chapter library of Verona (*Osservazioni Letterarie*, tom. iii. p. 60-92), affords many important dates, which are authenticated by the computation of Egyptian months.

dria without expecting the orders of his sovereign. As a punishment for the imaginary offence, he again banished Athanasius from the city; and he was pleased to suppose that this act of justice would be highly agreeable to his pious subjects. The pressing solicitations of the people soon convinced him that the majority of the Alexandrians were Christians, and that the greatest part of the Christians were firmly attached to the cause of their oppressed primate. But the knowledge of their sentiments, instead of persuading him to recall his decree, provoked him to extend to all Egypt the term of the exile of Athanasius. The zeal of the multitude rendered Julian still more inexorable. He was alarmed by the danger of leaving at the head of a tumultuous city a daring and popular leader; and the language of his resentment discovers the opinion which he entertained of the courage and abilities of Athanasius. The execution of the sentence was still delayed by the caution or negligence of Ecdicius, Præfect of Egypt, who was at length awakened from his lethargy by a severe reprimand. "Though you neglect," says Julian, "to write to me on any other subject, at least it is your duty to inform me of your conduct towards Athanasius, the enemy of the gods. My intentions have been long since communicated to you. I swear by the great Serapis that unless, on the calends of December, Athanasius has departed from Alexandria—nay, from Egypt—the officers of your government shall pay a fine of one hundred pounds of gold. You know my temper: I am slow to condemn, but I am still slower to forgive." This epistle was enforced by a short postscript written with the emperor's own hand. "The contempt that is shown for all the gods fills me with grief and indignation. There is nothing that I should see, nothing that I should hear, with more pleasure than the expulsion of Athanasius from all Egypt. The abominable wretch! Under my reign the baptism of several Grecian ladies of the highest rank has been the effect of his persecutions."<sup>133</sup> The death of Athanasius was not *expressly* com-

<sup>133</sup> Τὸν μαρὸν, ὃς ἐτόλμησεν Ἑλληνίδας, ἐπ' ἐμοῦ, γυναῖκας τῶν ἐπισήμων βαπτίσαι, διώκεσθαι [Julian. Ep. vi. p. 376]. I have preserved the ambiguous sense of the last word, the ambiguity of a tyrant who wished to find or to create guilt.

manded; but the Præfect of Egypt understood that it was safer for him to exceed than to neglect the orders of an irritated master. The archbishop prudently retired to the monasteries of the Desert; eluded, with his usual dexterity, the snares of the enemy; and lived to triumph over the ashes of a prince who, in words of formidable import, had declared his wish that the whole venom of the Galilæan school were contained in the single person of Athanasius.<sup>134</sup>

I have endeavored faithfully to represent the artful system by which Julian proposed to obtain the effects, without incurring the guilt or reproach, of persecution. But if the deadly spirit of fanaticism perverted the heart and understanding of a virtuous prince, it must, at the same time, be confessed that the *real* sufferings of the Christians were inflamed and magnified by human passions and religious enthusiasm. The meekness and resignation which had distinguished the primitive disciples of the Gospel was the object of the applause, rather than of the imitation, of their successors. The Christians, who had now possessed above forty years the civil and ecclesiastical government of the empire, had contracted the insolent vices of prosperity,<sup>135</sup> and the habit of believing that the saints alone were entitled to reign over the earth. As soon as the enmity of Julian deprived the clergy of the privileges which had been conferred by the favor of Constantine, they complained of the most cruel oppression; and the free toleration of idolaters and heretics was a subject of grief and scandal to the orthodox party.<sup>136</sup> The acts of violence, which were no longer countenanced by

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<sup>134</sup> The three epistles of Julian which explain his intentions and conduct with regard to Athanasius should be disposed in the following chronological order: xxvi. x. vi.<sup>a</sup> See likewise Greg. Nazianzen, xxi. p. 393; Sozomen, l. v. c. 15; Socrates, l. iii. c. 14; Theodoret, l. iii. c. 9; and Tillemont, Mém. Ecclési. tom. viii. p. 361-368, who has used some materials prepared by the Bollandists.

<sup>135</sup> See the fair confession of Gregory (Orat. iii. p. 61, 62).

<sup>136</sup> Hear the furious and absurd complaint of Optatus (De Schismat. Donatist. l. ii. c. 16, 17).

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<sup>a</sup> The sentence in the text is from Epist. li. addressed to the people of Alexandria.—M.



the magistrates, were still committed by the zeal of the people. At Pessinus the altar of Cybele was overturned almost in the presence of the emperor; and in the city of Cæsarea, in Cappadocia, the Temple of Fortune, the sole place of worship which had been left to the pagans, was destroyed by the rage of a popular tumult. On these occasions, a prince who felt for the honor of the gods was not disposed to interrupt the course of justice; and his mind was still more deeply exasperated when he found that the fanatics, who had deserved and suffered the punishment of incendiaries, were rewarded with the honors of martyrdom.<sup>137</sup> The Christian subjects of Julian were assured of the hostile designs of their sovereign; and, to their jealous apprehension, every circumstance of his government might afford some grounds of discontent and suspicion. In the ordinary administration of the laws, the Christians, who formed so large a part of the people, must frequently be condemned; but their indulgent brethren, without examining the merits of the cause, presumed their innocence, allowed their claims, and imputed the severity of their judge to the partial malice of religious persecution.<sup>138</sup> These present hardships, intolerable as they might appear, were represented as a slight prelude of the impending calamities. The Christians considered Julian as a cruel and crafty tyrant, who suspended the execution of his revenge till he should return victorious from the Persian war. They expected that, as soon as he had triumphed over the foreign enemies of Rome, he would lay aside the irksome mask of dissimulation; that the amphitheatres would stream with the blood of hermits and bishops; and that the Christians who still persevered in the profession of the faith would be deprived of the common benefits of nature and

<sup>137</sup> Greg. Nazianzen, Orat. iii. p. 91, iv. p. 133. He praises the rioters of Cæsarea, τοῦτων δὲ τῶν μεγαλοφυῶν καὶ θερμῶν εἰς εὐσεβείαν. See Sozomen, l. v. 4, 11. Tillemont (Mém. Ecclés. tom. vii. p. 649, 650) owns that their behavior was not “dans l'ordre commun;” but he is perfectly satisfied, as the great St. Basil always celebrated the festival of these blessed martyrs.

<sup>138</sup> Julian determined a lawsuit against the new Christian city at Maiuma, the port of Gaza; and his sentence, though it might be imputed to bigotry, was never reversed by his successors. Sozomen, l. v. c. 3. Reland, Palæstin. tom. ii. p. 791.

society.<sup>139</sup> Every calumny<sup>140</sup> that could wound the reputation of the Apostate was credulously embraced by the fears and hatred of his adversaries; and their indiscreet clamors provoked the temper of a sovereign whom it was their duty to respect and their interest to flatter. They still protested that prayers and tears were their only weapons against the impious tyrant, whose head they devoted to the justice of offended Heaven. But they insinuated, with sullen resolution, that their submission was no longer the effect of weakness, and that, in the imperfect state of human virtue, the patience which is founded on principle may be exhausted by persecution. It is impossible to determine how far the zeal of Julian would have prevailed over his good sense and humanity; but, if we seriously reflect on the strength and spirit of the Church, we shall be convinced that before the emperor could have extinguished the religion of Christ, he must have involved his country in the horrors of a civil war.<sup>141</sup>

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<sup>139</sup> Gregory (Orat. iii. p. 93, 94, 95; Orat. iv. p. 114) pretends to speak from the information of Julian's confidants, whom Orosius (vii. 30) could not have seen.

<sup>140</sup> Gregory (Orat. iii. p. 91) charges the Apostate with secret sacrifices of boys and girls, and positively affirms that the dead bodies were thrown into the Orontes. See Theodoret, l. iii. c. 26, 27; and the equivocal candor of the Abbé de la Bletterie, *Vie de Julien*, p. 351, 352. Yet *contemporary* malice could not impute to Julian the troops of martyrs, more especially in the West, which Baronius so greedily swallows and Tillemont so faintly rejects (*Mém. Ecclés. tom. vii. p. 1295-1315*).

<sup>141</sup> The resignation of Gregory is truly edifying (Orat. iv. p. 123, 124). Yet, when an officer of Julian attempted to seize the Church of Nazianzus, he would have lost his life if he had not yielded to the zeal of the bishop and people (Orat. xix. p. 308). See the reflections of Chrysostom as they are alleged by Tillemont (*Mém. Ecclés. tom. vii. p. 575*).

## CHAPTER XXIV.

**Residence of Julian at Antioch.**—His Successful Expedition against the Persians.  
 —Passage of the Tigris.—The Retreat and Death of Julian.—Election of Jovian.—He Saves the Roman Army by a Disgraceful Treaty.

THE philosophical fable which Julian composed under the name of the CÆSARS<sup>1</sup> is one of the most agreeable and instructive productions of ancient wit.<sup>2</sup> During the freedom and equality of the days of the Saturnalia, Romulus prepared a feast for the deities of Olympus, who had adopted him as a worthy associate, and for the Roman princes who had reigned over his martial people and the vanquished nations of the earth. The immortals were placed in just order on their thrones of state, and the table of the Cæsars was spread below the moon in the upper region of the air. The tyrants who would have disgraced the society of gods and men were thrown headlong, by the inexorable Nemesis, into the Tartarean abyss. The rest of the Cæsars successively advanced to their seats; and as they passed, the vices, the defects, the blemishes of their respective characters were maliciously noticed by old Silenus, a laughing moralist who disguised the wisdom of a philosopher under the mask of a

The Cæsars  
of Julian.

<sup>1</sup> See this fable or satire, p. 306–336 of the Leipzig edition of Julian's works. The French version of the learned Ezekiel Spanheim (Paris, 1683) is coarse, languid, and correct; and his notes, proofs, illustrations, etc., are piled on each other till they form a mass of 557 close-printed quarto pages. The Abbé de la Bletterie (Vie de Jovien, tom. i. p. 241–393) has more happily expressed the spirit as well as the sense of the original, which he illustrates with some concise and curious notes.

<sup>2</sup> Spanheim (in his preface) has most learnedly discussed the etymology, origin, resemblance, and disagreement of the Greek *satyr*s, a dramatic piece which was acted after the tragedy, and the Latin *satires* (from *satura*), a *miscellaneous* composition either in prose or verse. But the Cæsars of Julian are of such an original cast that the critic is perplexed to which class he should ascribe them.

Bacchanal.<sup>3</sup> As soon as the feast was ended, the voice of Mercury proclaimed the will of Jupiter that a celestial crown should be the reward of superior merit. Julius Cæsar, Augustus, Trajan, and Marcus Antoninus were selected as the most illustrious candidates. The effeminate Constantine<sup>4</sup> was not excluded from this honorable competition; and the great Alexander was invited to dispute the prize of glory with the Roman heroes. Each of the candidates was allowed to display the merit of his own exploits; but, in the judgment of the gods, the modest silence of Marcus pleaded more powerfully than the elaborate orations of his haughty rivals. When the judges of this awful contest proceeded to examine the heart and to scrutinize the springs of action, the superiority of the Imperial Stoic appeared still more decisive and conspicuous.<sup>5</sup> Alexander and Cæsar, Augustus, Trajan, and Constantine acknowledged, with a blush, that fame or power or pleasure had been the important object of *their* labors; but the gods themselves beheld with reverence and love a virtuous mortal, who had practised on the throne the lessons of philosophy, and who, in a state of human imperfection, had aspired to imitate the moral attributes of the Deity. The value of this agreeable composition (the Cæsars of Julian) is enhanced by the rank of the author. A prince who delineates with freedom the vices and virtues of his predecessors subscribes in every line the censure or approbation of his own conduct.

He resolves  
to march  
against the  
Persians.  
A.D. 362.

In the cool moments of reflection, Julian preferred the useful and benevolent virtues of Antoninus; but his ambitious spirit was inflamed by the glory of Alexander, and he solicited with equal ardor the esteem of the wise and the applause of the multitude. In

<sup>3</sup> This mixed character of Silenus is finely painted in the sixth eclogue of Virgil.

<sup>4</sup> Every impartial reader must perceive and condemn the partiality of Julian against his uncle Constantine and the Christian religion. On this occasion, the interpreters are compelled by a more sacred interest to renounce their allegiance and to desert the cause of their author.

<sup>5</sup> Julian was secretly inclined to prefer a Greek to a Roman. But when he seriously compared a hero with a philosopher, he was sensible that mankind had much greater obligations to Socrates than to Alexander (Orat. ad Themistium, p. 264).



the season of life when the powers of the mind and body enjoy the most active vigor, the emperor, who was instructed by the experience and animated by the success of the German war, resolved to signalize his reign by some more splendid and memorable achievement. The ambassadors of the East, from the continent of India and the isle of Ceylon,<sup>6</sup> had respectfully saluted the Roman purple.<sup>7</sup> The nations of the West esteemed and dreaded the personal virtues of Julian both in peace and war. He despised the trophies of a Gothic victory,<sup>8</sup> and was satisfied that the rapacious barbarians of the Danube would be restrained from any future violation of the faith of treaties by the terror of his name and the additional fortifications with which he strengthened the Thracian and Illyrian frontiers. The successor of Cyrus and Artaxerxes was the only rival whom he deemed worthy of his arms; and he resolved, by the final conquest of Persia, to chastise

<sup>6</sup> *Inde nationibus Indicis certatim cum donis optimates mittentibus . . . ab usque Divis et Serendis.*—Ammian. xxii. 7. This island, to which the names of Taprobana, Serendib, and Ceylon have been successively applied, manifests how imperfectly the seas and lands to the east of Cape Comorin were known to the Romans. 1. Under the reign of Claudius, a freedman who farmed the customs of the Red Sea was accidentally driven by the winds upon this strange and undiscovered coast. He conversed six months with the natives; and the king of Ceylon, who heard for the first time of the power and justice of Rome, was persuaded to send an embassy to the emperor (Plin. Hist. Nat. vi. 24). 2. The geographers (and even Ptolemy) have magnified above fifteen times the real size of this new world, which they extended as far as the equator and the neighborhood of China.<sup>a</sup>

<sup>7</sup> These embassies had been sent to Constantius. Ammianus, who unwarily deviates into gross flattery, must have forgotten the length of the way and the short duration of the reign of Julian.

<sup>8</sup> “*Gothos sæpe fallaces et perfidos; hostes quærere se meliores aiebat: illis enim sufficere mercatores Galatas per quos ubique sine conditionis discrimine venundantur*” [Ammian. xxii. 7]. Within less than fifteen years these Gothic slaves threatened and subdued their masters.

<sup>a</sup> The name of *Diva gens*, or *Divorum regio*, according to the probable conjecture of M. Letronne (Trois Mém. Acad. p. 127), was applied by the ancients to the whole eastern coast of the Indian peninsula, from Ceylon to the Ganges. The name may be traced in *Dévipatnam*, *Dévidan*, *Dévicotta*, *Divinely*, the point of *Divy*.

M. Letronne, p. 121, considers the freedman with his embassy from Ceylon to have been an impostor.—M.

the haughty nation which had so long resisted and insulted the majesty of Rome.<sup>9</sup> As soon as the Persian monarch was informed that the throne of Constantius was filled by a prince of a very different character, he condescended to make some artful, or perhaps sincere, overtures towards a negotiation of peace. But the pride of Sapor was astonished by the firmness of Julian, who sternly declared that he would never consent to hold a peaceful conference among the flames and ruins of the cities of Mesopotamia, and who added, with a smile of contempt, that it was needless to treat by ambassadors, as he himself had determined to visit speedily the court of Persia. The impatience of the emperor urged the diligence of the military preparations. The generals were named, a formidable army was destined for this important service; and Julian, marching from Constantinople through the provinces of Asia Minor, arrived at Antioch about eight months after the death of his predecessor. His ardent desire to march into the heart of Persia was checked by the indispensable duty of regulating the state of the empire, by his zeal to revive the worship of the gods, and by the advice of his wisest friends, who represented the necessity of allowing the salutary interval of winter-quarters to restore the exhausted strength of the legions of Gaul and the discipline and spirit of the Eastern troops. Julian was persuaded to fix, till the ensuing spring, his residence at Antioch, among a people maliciously disposed to deride the haste and to censure the delays of their sovereign.<sup>10</sup>

Julian proceeds from Constantinople to Antioch. August.

Licentious manners of the people of Antioch.

If Julian had flattered himself that his personal connection with the capital of the East would be productive of mutual satisfaction to the prince and people, he made a very false estimate of his own character and of the

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<sup>9</sup> Alexander reminds his rival, Cæsar, who depreciated the fame and merit of an Asiatic victory, that Crassus and Antony had felt the Persian arrows; and that the Romans, in a war of three hundred years, had not yet subdued the single province of Mesopotamia or Assyria (Cæsares, p. 324).

<sup>10</sup> The design of the Persian war is declared by Ammianus (xxii. 7, 12), Libanius (Orat. Farent. c. 79, 80, p. 305, 306 [Fabric. Bibl. Græc. edit. Hamb. 1715]), Zosimus (l. iii. [c. 11] p. 158), and Socrates (l. iii. c. 19).

manners of Antioch.<sup>11</sup> The warmth of the climate disposed the natives to the most intemperate enjoyment of tranquillity and opulence, and the lively licentiousness of the Greeks was blended with the hereditary softness of the Syrians. Fashion was the only law, pleasure the only pursuit, and the splendor of dress and furniture was the only distinction of the citizens of Antioch. The arts of luxury were honored, the serious and manly virtues were the subject of ridicule, and the contempt for female modesty and reverent age announced the universal corruption of the capital of the East. The love of spectacles was the taste, or rather passion, of the Syrians; the most skillful artists were procured from the adjacent cities.<sup>12</sup> A considerable share of the revenue was devoted to the public amusements, and the magnificence of the games of the theatre and circus was considered as the happiness and as the glory of Antioch. The rustic manners of a prince who disdained such glory, and was insensible of such happiness, soon disgusted the delicacy of his subjects, and the effeminate Orientals could neither imitate nor admire the severe simplicity which Julian always maintained and sometimes affected. The days of festivity, consecrated by ancient custom to the honor of the gods, were the only occasions in which Julian relaxed his philosophic severity, and those festivals were the only days in which the Syrians of Antioch could reject the allurements of pleasure. The majority of the people supported the glory of the Christian name, which had been first invented by their ancestors.<sup>13</sup> They contented themselves with disobeying the moral precepts, but they were scrupulously attached to the speculative doctrines, of their religion. The Church of Antioch was

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<sup>11</sup> The satire of Julian and the Homilies of St. Chrysostom exhibit the same picture of Antioch. The miniature which the Abbé de la Bletterie has copied from thence (*Vie de Julien*, p. 332) is elegant and correct.

<sup>12</sup> Laodicea furnished charioteers; Tyre and Berytus, comedians; Cæsarea, pantomimes; Heliopolis, singers; Gaza, gladiators; Ascalon, wrestlers; and Castabala, rope-dancers. See the *Expositio Totius Mundi*, p. 6, in the third tome of Hudson's *Minor Geographers*.

<sup>13</sup> *Χριστὸν δὲ ἀγαπῶντες ἔχετε πολιοῦχον ἀντὶ τοῦ Διός.* The people of Antioch ingeniously professed their attachment to the *Chi* (Christ) and the *Kappa* (Constantius). Julian, in *Misopogon*, p. 357.

distracted by heresy and schism; but the Arians and the Athanasians, the followers of Meletius and those of Paulinus,<sup>14</sup> were actuated by the same pious hatred of their common adversary.

The strongest prejudice was entertained against the character of an apostate, the enemy and successor of a prince who had engaged the affections of a very numerous sect; and the removal of St. Babylas excited an implacable opposition to the person of Julian. His subjects complained, with superstitious indignation, that famine had pursued the emperor's steps from Constantinople to Antioch, and the discontent of a hungry people was exasperated by the injudicious attempt to relieve their distress. The inclemency of the season had affected the harvests of Syria, and the price of bread<sup>15</sup> in the markets of Antioch had naturally risen in proportion to the scarcity of corn. But the fair and reasonable proportion was soon violated by the rapacious arts of monopoly. In this unequal contest, in which the produce of the land is claimed by one party as his exclusive property, is used by another as a lucrative object of trade, and is required by a third for the daily and necessary support of life, all the profits of the intermediate agents are accumulated on the head of the defenceless consumers. The hardships of their situation were exaggerated and increased by their own impatience and anxiety, and the apprehension of a scarcity gradually produced the appearances of a famine.

Their aversion to Julian.

Scarcity of corn, and public discontent.

<sup>14</sup> The schism of Antioch, which lasted eighty-five years (A.D. 330–415), was inflamed, while Julian resided in that city, by the indiscreet ordination of Paulinus. See Tillemont, *Mém. Ecclés.* tom. vii. p. 803 of the quarto edition (Paris, 1701, etc.), which henceforward I shall quote.

<sup>15</sup> Julian states three different proportions—of five, ten, or fifteen *modii* of wheat—for one piece of gold, according to the degrees of plenty and scarcity (in *Misopogon*, p. 369). From this fact, and from some collateral examples, I conclude that, under the successors of Constantine, the moderate price of wheat was about thirty-two shillings the English quarter, which is equal to the average price of the sixty four first years of the present century. See Arbuthnot's *Tables of Coins, Weights, and Measures*, p. 88, 89. *Plin. Hist. Natur.* xviii. 12. *Mém. de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, tom. xxviii. p. 718–721. *Smith's Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, vol. i. p. 246. This last I am proud to quote, as the work of a sage and a friend.



When the luxurious citizens of Antioch complained of the high price of poultry and fish, Julian publicly declared that a frugal city ought to be satisfied with a regular supply of wine, oil, and bread; but he acknowledged that it was the duty of a sovereign to provide for the subsistence of his people. With this salutary view, the emperor ventured on a very dangerous and doubtful step—of fixing, by legal authority, the value of corn. He enacted that, in a time of scarcity, it should be sold at a price which had seldom been known in the most plentiful years; and, that his own example might strengthen his laws, he sent into the market four hundred and twenty-two thousand *modii*, or measures, which were drawn by his order from the granaries of Hierapolis, of Chalcis, and even of Egypt. The consequences might have been foreseen, and were soon felt. The imperial wheat was purchased by the rich merchants; the proprietors of land or of corn withheld from the city the accustomed supply; and the small quantities that appeared in the market were secretly sold at an advanced and illegal price. Julian still continued to applaud his own policy, treated the complaints of the people as a vain and ungrateful murmur, and convinced Antioch that he had inherited the obstinacy, though not the cruelty, of his brother Gallus.<sup>16</sup> The remonstrances of the municipal senate served only to exasperate his inflexible mind. He was persuaded, perhaps with truth, that the senators of Antioch, who possessed lands or were concerned in trade, had themselves contributed to the calamities of their country; and he imputed the disrespectful boldness which they assumed to the sense, not of public duty, but of private interest. The whole body, consisting of two hundred of the most noble and wealthy citizens, were sent, under a guard, from the palace to the prison; and though they were permitted, before the close of evening, to return to their respective houses,<sup>17</sup> the emperor

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<sup>16</sup> Nunquam a proposito declinabat, Galli similis fratris, licet incruentus.—*Am-mian.* xxii. 14. The ignorance of the most enlightened princes may claim some excuse; but we cannot be satisfied with Julian's own defence (in *Misopogon*, p. 368, 369), or the elaborate apology of Libanius (*Orat. Parental.* c. xcvii. p. 321).

<sup>17</sup> Their short and easy confinement is gently touched by Libanius (*Orat. Parental.* c. xcvi. p. 322, 323).

himself could not obtain the forgiveness which he had so easily granted. The same grievances were still the subject of the same complaints, which were industriously circulated by the wit and levity of the Syrian Greeks. During the licentious days of the Saturnalia, the streets of the city resounded with insolent songs, which derided the laws, the religion, the personal conduct, and even the *beard*, of the emperor; and the spirit of Antioch was manifested by the connivance of the magistrates and the applause of the multitude.<sup>18</sup> The disciple of Socrates was too deeply affected by these popular insults; but the monarch, endowed with quick sensibility and possessed of absolute power, refused his passions the gratification of revenge. A tyrant might have proscribed, without distinction, the lives and fortunes of the citizens of Antioch; and the unwarlike Syrians must have patiently submitted to the lust, the rapaciousness, and the cruelty of the faithful legions of Gaul. A milder sentence might have deprived the capital of the East of its honors and privileges, and the courtiers, perhaps the subjects of Julian, would have applauded an act of justice which asserted the dignity of the supreme magistrate of the republic.<sup>19</sup> But instead of abusing or exerting the authority of the State to revenge his personal injuries, Julian contented himself with an inoffensive mode of retaliation, which it would be in the power of few princes to employ. He had been insulted by satires and libels; in his turn he composed, under the title of the *Enemy of the Beard*, an ironical confession of his own faults, and a severe satire of the licentious and effeminate manners of Antioch. This imperial reply was publicly exposed before the gates of the palace; and the MISOPOGON<sup>20</sup> still remains a singular monument of the resentment,

Julian com-  
poses a satire  
against Anti-  
och.

<sup>18</sup> Libanius (ad Antiochenos de Imperatoris Ira, c. 17, 18, 19, in Fabricius, Biblioth. Græc. tom. vii. p. 221–223), like a skilful advocate, severely censures the folly of the people, who suffered for the crime of a few obscure and drunken wretches.

<sup>19</sup> Libanius (ad Antiochen. c. vii. p. 213) reminds Antioch of the recent chastisement of Cæsarea; and even Julian (in Misopogon, p. 355) insinuates how severely Tarentum had expiated the insult to the Roman ambassadors.

<sup>20</sup> On the subject of the Misopogon, see Ammianus (xxii. 14), Libanius (Orat. Parentalis, c. xcix. p. 323), Gregory Nazianzen (Orat. iv. p. 133 [edit. Paris, 1609]), and the Chronicle of Antioch, by John Malala (tom. ii. p. 15, 16 [edit. Ox.; p. 328,

the wit, the humanity, and the indiscretion of Julian. Though he affected to laugh, he could not forgive.<sup>21</sup> His contempt was expressed, and his revenge might be gratified, by the nomination of a governor<sup>22</sup> worthy only of such subjects; and the emperor, forever renouncing the ungrateful city, proclaimed his resolution to pass the ensuing winter at Tarsus, in Cilicia.<sup>23</sup>

Yet Antioch possessed one citizen whose genius and virtues might atone, in the opinion of Julian, for the vice and folly of his country. The sophist Libanius was born in the capital of the East; he publicly professed the arts of rhetoric and declamation at Nice, Nicomedia, Constantinople, Athens, and, during the remainder of his life, at Antioch. His school was assiduously frequented by the Grecian youth; his disciples, who sometimes exceeded the number of eighty, celebrated their incomparable master; and the jealousy of his rivals, who persecuted him from one city to another, confirmed the favorable opinion which Libanius ostentatiously displayed of his superior merit. The preceptors of Julian had extorted a rash but solemn assurance that he would never attend the lectures of their adversary; the curiosity of the royal youth was checked and inflamed; he secretly procured the writings of this dangerous sophist, and gradually surpassed, in the perfect imitation of his style, the most laborious of his domestic pupils.<sup>24</sup> When Julian ascended the throne, he declared

The sophist  
Libanius.  
A. D. 314-390,  
etc.

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edit. Bonn]). I have essential obligations to the translation and notes of the Abbé de la Bletterie (*Vie de Jovien*, tom. ii. p. 1-138).

<sup>21</sup> Ammianus [l. c.] very justly remarks, "Coactus dissimulare pro tempore iræ sufflabatur internâ." The elaborate irony of Julian at length bursts forth into serious and direct invective.

<sup>22</sup> Ipse autem Antiochiam egressurus, Heliopoliten quendam Alexandrum Syriacæ jurisdictioni præfecit, turbulentum et sævum; dicebatque non illum meruisse, sed Antiochensibus avaris et contumeliosis hujusmodi judicem convenire.—Ammian. xxiii. 2. Libanius (Epist. 722, p. 346, 347 [edit. Wolf. Amst. 1738]), who confesses to Julian himself that he had shared the general discontent, pretends that Alexander was a useful though harsh reformer of the manners and religion of Antioch.

<sup>23</sup> Julian, in *Misopogon*, p. 364. Ammian. xxiii. 2, and Valesius ad loc. Libanius, in a professed oration, invites him to return to his loyal and penitent city of Antioch.

<sup>24</sup> Libanius, *Orat. Parent.* c. vii. p. 230, 231.

his impatience to embrace and reward the Syrian sophist, who had preserved in a degenerate age the Grecian purity of taste, of manners, and of religion. The emperor's prepossession was increased and justified by the discreet pride of his favorite. Instead of pressing, with the foremost of the crowd, into the palace of Constantinople, Libanius calmly expected his arrival at Antioch, withdrew from court on the first symptoms of coldness and indifference, required a formal invitation for each visit, and taught his sovereign an important lesson, that he might command the obedience of a subject, but that he must deserve the attachment of a friend. The sophists of every age, despising, or affecting to despise, the accidental distinctions of birth and fortune,<sup>25</sup> reserve their esteem for the superior qualities of the mind, with which they themselves are so plentifully endowed. Julian might disdain the acclamations of a venal court who adored the imperial purple; but he was deeply flattered by the praise, the admonition, the freedom, and the envy of an independent philosopher, who refused his favors, loved his person, celebrated his fame, and protected his memory. The voluminous writings of Libanius still exist; for the most part they are the vain and idle compositions of an orator who cultivated the science of words—the productions of a recluse student—whose mind, regardless of his contemporaries, was incessantly fixed on the Trojan war and the Athenian commonwealth. Yet the sophist of Antioch sometimes descended from this imaginary elevation; he entertained a various and elaborate correspondence;<sup>26</sup> he praised the virtues of his own times; he boldly arraigned the abuses of public and private life; and he eloquently pleaded the cause of Antioch against the just re-

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<sup>25</sup> Eunapius reports that Libanius refused the honorary rank of *Prætorian præfect*, as less illustrious than the title of sophist (in *Vit. Sophist.* p. 135 [p. 175, edit. *Comm.*]). The critics have observed a similar sentiment in one of the epistles (xviii. [p. 7] edit. Wolf of Libanius himself.

<sup>26</sup> Near two thousand of his letters—a mode of composition in which Libanius was thought to excel—are still extant, and already published. The critics may praise their subtle and elegant brevity; yet Dr. Bentley (*Dissertation upon Phalaris*, p. 487) might justly though quaintly observe that “you feel, by the emptiness and deadness of them, that you converse with some dreaming pedant, with his elbow on his desk.”



sentment of Julian and Theodosius. It is the common calamity of old age<sup>27</sup> to lose whatever might have rendered it desirable; but Libanius experienced the peculiar misfortune of surviving the religion and the sciences to which he had consecrated his genius. The friend of Julian was an indignant spectator of the triumph of Christianity, and his bigotry, which darkened the prospect of the visible world, did not inspire Libanius with any lively hopes of celestial glory and happiness.<sup>28</sup>

The martial impatience of Julian urged him to take the field in the beginning of the spring, and he dismissed, with contempt and reproach, the senate of Antioch, who accompanied the emperor beyond the limits of their own territory, to which he was resolved never to return. After a laborious march of two days,<sup>29</sup> he halted on the third at Berœa, or Aleppo, where he had the mortification of finding a senate almost entirely Christian, who received with cold and formal demonstrations of respect the eloquent sermon of the apostle of paganism. The son of one of the most illustrious citizens of Berœa, who had embraced, either from interest or conscience, the religion of the emperor, was disinherited by his angry parent. The father and the son were invited to the imperial table. Julian, placing himself between them, attempted, without success, to inculcate the lesson and example of toleration; supported, with affected calmness, the indiscreet zeal of the aged Christian,

March of  
Julian to the  
Euphrates.  
A.D. 363.  
March 5.

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<sup>27</sup> His birth is assigned to the year 314. He mentions [Ep. 866] the seventy-sixth year of his age (A.D. 390), and seems to allude to some events of a still later date.

<sup>28</sup> Libanius has composed the vain, prolix, but curious narrative of his own life (tom. ii. p. 1-84, edit. Morell.), of which Eunapius (p. 130-135) has left a concise and unfavorable account. Among the moderns, Tillemont (*Hist. des Empereurs*, tom. iv. p. 571-576), Fabricius (*Biblioth. Græc.* tom. vii. p. 376-414), and Lardner (*Heathen Testimonies*, tom. iv. p. 127-163) have illustrated the character and writings of this famous sophist.

<sup>29</sup> From Antioch to Litarbi, on the territory of Chalcis, the road, over hills and through morasses, was extremely bad; and the loose stones were cemented only with sand (Julian. *Epist.* xxvii.). It is singular enough that the Romans should have neglected the great communication between Antioch and the Euphrates. See Wesseling, *Itinerar.* p. 190. Bergier, *Hist. des Grands Chemins*, tom. ii. p. 100.

who seemed to forget the sentiments of nature and the duty of a subject; and at length, turning towards the afflicted youth, "Since you have lost a father," said he, "for my sake, it is incumbent on me to supply his place."<sup>30</sup> The emperor was received in a manner much more agreeable to his wishes at Batnæ,<sup>a</sup> a small town pleasantly seated in a grove of cypresses, about twenty miles from the city of Hierapolis. The solemn rites of sacrifice were decently prepared by the inhabitants of Batnæ, who seemed attached to the worship of their tutelary deities, Apollo and Jupiter; but the serious piety of Julian was offended by the tumult of their applause, and he too clearly discerned that the smoke which arose from their altars was the incense of flattery rather than of devotion. The ancient and magnificent temple, which had sanctified for so many ages the city of Hierapolis,<sup>31</sup> no longer subsisted, and the consecrated wealth, which afforded a liberal maintenance to more than three hundred priests, might hasten its downfall. Yet Julian enjoyed the satisfaction of embracing a philosopher and a friend, whose religious firmness had withstood the pressing and repeated solicitations of Constantius and Gallus, as often as those princes lodged at his house in their passage through Hierapolis. In the hurry of military preparation, and the careless confidence of a familiar correspondence, the zeal of Julian appears to have been lively and uniform. He had now undertaken an important and difficult war, and the anxiety of the event rendered him still more attentive to observe and register the most trifling presages from which, according to

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<sup>30</sup> Julian alludes to this incident (Epist. xxvii.), which is more distinctly related by Theodoret (l. iii. c. 22). The intolerant spirit of the father is applauded by Tillemont (Hist. des Empereurs, tom. iv. p. 534), and even by La Bletterie (Vie de Julien, p. 413).

<sup>31</sup> See the curious treatise De Deâ Syriâ, inserted among the works of Lucian (tom. iii. p. 451-490, edit. Reitz.). The singular appellation of *Ninus vetus* (Amman. xiv. 8) might induce a suspicion that Hierapolis had been the royal seat of the Assyrians.

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<sup>a</sup> This name, of Syriac origin, is found in the Arabic, and means a place in a valley where waters meet. Julian says the name of the city is barbaric, the situation Greek (βαρβαρικὸν ὄνομα τοῦτο, χωρίον ἐστὶν Ἑλληνικόν). The geographer Abulfeda (Tab. Syriæ, p. 129, edit. Koehler) speaks of it in a manner to justify the praises of Julian.—St. Martin, Notes to Le Beau, iii. 56.—M.

the rules of divination, any knowledge of futurity could be derived.<sup>32</sup> He informed Libanius of his progress as far as Hierapolis by an elegant epistle,<sup>33</sup> which displays the facility of his genius and his tender friendship for the sophist of Antioch.

Hierapolis,<sup>a</sup> situate almost on the banks of the Euphrates,<sup>34</sup> had been appointed for the general rendezvous of the Roman troops, who immediately passed the great river on a bridge of boats which was previously constructed.<sup>35</sup>

His design  
of invading  
Persia.

If the inclinations of Julian had been similar to those of his predecessor, he might have wasted the active and important season of the year in the circus of Samosata or in the churches of Edessa. But as the warlike emperor, instead of Constantius, had chosen Alexander for his model, he ad-

vanced without delay to Carrhæ,<sup>36</sup> a very ancient city of Mesopotamia, at the distance of fourscore miles from Hierapolis. The Temple of the Moon attracted the devotion of Julian, but the halt of a few days was principally employed in completing the immense preparations of the Persian war. The secret of the expedition had hitherto remained in his own breast; but as Carrhæ is the point of

March 19.—S.

<sup>32</sup> Julian (Epist. xxviii. [xxvii.]) kept a regular account of all the fortunate omens; but he suppresses the inauspicious signs, which Ammianus (xxiii. 2) has carefully recorded.

<sup>33</sup> Julian, Epist. xxvii. p. 399–402.

<sup>34</sup> I take the earliest opportunity of acknowledging my obligations to M. d'Anville for his recent geography of the Euphrates and Tigris (Paris, 1780, in 4to), which particularly illustrates the expedition of Julian.

<sup>35</sup> There are three passages within a few miles of each other: 1, Zeugma, celebrated by the ancients; 2, Bir, frequented by the moderns; and, 3, the bridge of Menbigz [Manbedj] or Hierapolis, at the distance of four parasangs from the city.

<sup>36</sup> Haran, or Carrhæ, was the ancient residence of the Sabæans and of Abraham. See the Index Geographicus of Schultens (ad calcem Vit. Saladin.), a work from which I have obtained much *Oriental* knowledge concerning the ancient and modern geography of Syria and the adjacent countries.

<sup>a</sup> Hierapolis was not situate almost upon the banks of the Euphrates, but twenty-four Roman miles from the river, according to the Peutinger Table. Hierapolis was also called Bambyce, which is only the Hellenized form of its Syrian name, Mabog, which the Arabs called Manbedj.—Smith's Dict. of Greek and Rom. Geography, vol. i. p. 1064; St. Martin, Notes on Le Beau, vol. iii. p. 58.—S.

separation of the two great roads, he could no longer conceal whether it was his design to attack the dominions of Sapor on the side of the Tigris or on that of the Euphrates. The emperor detached an army of thirty thousand men, under the command of his kinsman Procopius, and of Sebastian, who had been Duke of Egypt. They were ordered to direct their march towards Nisibis, and to secure the frontier from the desultory incursions of the enemy before they attempted the passage of the Tigris. Their subsequent operations were left to the discretion of the generals; but Julian expected that, after wasting with fire and sword the fertile districts of Media and Adiabene, they might arrive under the walls of Ctesiphon about the same time that he himself, advancing with equal steps along the banks of the Euphrates, should besiege the capital of the Persian monarchy. The success of this well-concerted plan depended, in a great measure, on the powerful and ready assistance of the King of Armenia,

Disaffection  
of the King  
of Armenia.

who, without exposing the safety of his own dominions, might detach an army of four thousand horse and twenty thousand foot to the assistance of the Romans.<sup>37</sup> But the feeble Arsaces Tiranus,<sup>38</sup> King of Armenia, had degenerated still more shamefully than his father Chosroes from the manly virtues of the great Tiridates; and, as the pusillanimous monarch was averse to any enterprise of danger and glory, he could disguise his timid indolence by the more decent excuses of religion and gratitude. He expressed a pious attachment to the memory of Constantius, from whose hands he had received in marriage Olympias, the daughter of the præfect Ablavius; and the alliance of a female who had been educated as the destined wife

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<sup>37</sup> See Xenophon, *Cyropæd.* l. iii. [c. 1, § 34] p. 189, edit. Hutchinson. Artavasdes might have supplied Marc Antony with 16,000 horse, armed and disciplined after the Parthian manner (Plutarch, in *M. Antonio* [c. 50], tom. v. p. 117).

<sup>38</sup> Moses of Chorene (*Hist. Armeniac.* l. iii. c. 11, p. 241 [edit. Whiston, Lond. 1736]) fixes his accession (A.D. 354) to the 17th year of Constantius.<sup>a</sup>

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<sup>a</sup> According to the Armenian historians Faustus of Byzantium and Mesrob (the biographer of the patriarch Narses), Tiranus, or Diran, the son of Chosroes, had ceased to reign twenty-five years before, in A.D. 338, and was succeeded by his son Arsaces. (See note, p. 353.) *St. Martin*, vol. ii. p. 208 seq.—S.



of the Emperor Constans exalted the dignity of a barbarian king.<sup>39</sup> Tiranus professed the Christian religion; he reigned over a nation of Christians; and he was restrained by every principle of conscience and interest from contributing to the victory which would consummate the ruin of the Church. The alienated mind of Tiranus was exasperated by the indiscretion of Julian, who treated the King of Armenia as *his* slave, and as the enemy of the gods. The haughty and threatening style of the imperial mandates<sup>40</sup> awakened the secret indignation of a prince who, in the humiliating state of dependence, was still conscious of his royal descent from the Arsacides, the lords of the East and the rivals of the Roman power.

The military dispositions of Julian were skilfully contrived to deceive the spies and to divert the attention of Sapor. The  
 Military preparations. legions appeared to direct their march towards Nisibis and the Tigris. On a sudden they wheeled to the right, traversed the level and naked plain of Carrhæ, and reached, on the third day, the banks of the Euphrates, where  
 March 27. the strong town of Nicephorium, or Callinicum, had been founded by the Macedonian kings. From thence the emperor pursued his march, above ninety miles, along the winding stream of the Euphrates, till at length,  
 Beginning of April. about one month after his departure from Antioch, he discovered the towers of Circesium,\* the extreme limit of the Roman dominions. The army of Julian, the most numerous that any of the Cæsars had ever led against Persia, consisted of sixty-five thousand effective and well-dis-

<sup>39</sup> Ammian. xx. 11. Athanasius (tom. i. p. 856) says, in general terms, that Constantius gave his brother's widow *τοῖς βαρβάρους*, an expression more suitable to a Roman than a Christian.

<sup>40</sup> Ammianus (xxiii. 2) uses a word much too soft for the occasion, *monuerat*. Muratori (Fabricius, Bibliothec. Græc. tom. vii. p. 86) has published an epistle from Julian to the satrap Arsaces—fierce, vulgar, and (though it might deceive Sozomen, l. vi. c. 5 [c. 1]), most probably spurious. La Bletterie (Hist. de Jovien, tom. ii. p. 339) translates and rejects it.<sup>b</sup>

\* On the position of Circesium, see note, vol. i. p. 683.—M.

<sup>b</sup> St. Martin considers it genuine: the Armenian writers mention such a letter, vol. iii. p. 37.—M.

ciplined soldiers. The veteran bands of cavalry and infantry, of Romans and barbarians, had been selected from the different provinces, and a just pre-eminence of loyalty and valor was claimed by the hardy Gauls who guarded the throne and person of their beloved prince. A formidable body of Scythian auxiliaries had been transported from another climate, and almost from another world, to invade a distant country of whose name and situation they were ignorant. The love of rapine and war allured to the imperial standard several tribes of Saracens, or roving Arabs, whose service Julian had commanded, while he sternly refused the payment of the accustomed subsidies. The broad channel of the Euphrates<sup>41</sup> was crowded by a fleet of eleven hundred ships, destined to attend the motions and to satisfy the wants of the Roman army. The military strength of the fleet was composed of fifty armed galleys, and these were accompanied by an equal number of flat-bottomed boats, which might occasionally be connected into the form of temporary bridges. The rest of the ships, partly constructed of timber and partly covered with raw hides, were laden with an almost inexhaustible supply of arms and engines, of utensils and provisions. The vigilant humanity of Julian had embarked a very large magazine of vinegar and biscuit for the use of the soldiers, but he prohibited the indulgence of wine, and rigorously stopped a long string of superfluous camels that attempted to follow the rear of the army. The river Chaboras falls into the Euphrates at Circesium,<sup>42</sup> and, as soon as the trumpet gave the signal of march, the Romans passed the little stream which separated two mighty and hostile empires. The custom of an-

Julian enters  
the Persian  
territories.  
April 7.

<sup>41</sup> *Latissimum flumen Euphraten artabat.*—Ammian. xxiii. 3. Somewhat higher, at the fords of Thapsacus, the river is four stadia, or 800 yards, almost half an English mile, broad (Xenophon, *Anabasis*, l. i. [c. 4, § 11] p. 41, edit. Hutchinson, with Foster's Observations, p. 29, etc., in the second volume of Spelman's translation). If the breadth of the Euphrates at Bir and Zeugma is no more than 130 yards (*Voyages de Niebuhr*, tom. ii. p. 335), the enormous difference must chiefly arise from the depth of the channel.

<sup>42</sup> *Munimentum tutissimum et fabrè politum, cujus mœnia Abora* (the Orientals aspirate Chaboras or Chabour) *et Euphrates ambiunt flumina, velut spatium insulare fingentes.*—Ammian. xxiii. 5.

cient discipline required a military oration, and Julian embraced every opportunity of displaying his eloquence. He animated the impatient and attentive legions by the example of the inflexible courage and glorious triumphs of their ancestors. He excited their resentment by a lively picture of the insolence of the Persians; and he exhorted them to imitate his firm resolution, either to extirpate that perfidious nation, or to devote his life in the cause of the republic. The eloquence of Julian was enforced by a donative of one hundred and thirty pieces of silver to every soldier; and the bridge of the Chaboras was instantly cut away, to convince the troops that they must place their hopes of safety in the success of their arms. Yet the prudence of the emperor induced him to secure a remote frontier, perpetually exposed to the inroads of the hostile Arabs. A detachment of four thousand men was left at Circesium, which completed, to the number of ten thousand, the regular garrison of that important fortress.<sup>43</sup>

From the moment that the Romans entered the enemy's country<sup>44</sup>—the country of an active and artful enemy—the order of march was disposed in three columns.<sup>45</sup> The strength of the infantry, and consequently of the whole army, was placed in the centre, under the peculiar command of their master-general, Victor. On the right, the brave Nevitta led a column of several legions along the banks of the Euphrates, and almost always in sight of the fleet. The left flank of the army was protected by the column of cavalry. Hormisdas and Arinthæus were appointed generals of the horse, and the singular adventures of Hormisdas<sup>46</sup>

His march  
over the des-  
ert of Meso-  
potamia.

<sup>43</sup> The enterprise and armament of Julian are described by himself (Epist. xxvii.), Ammianus Marcellinus (xxiii. 3, 4, 5), Libanius (Orat. Parent. c. 108, 109, p. 332, 333), Zosimus (l. iii. [c. 11] p. 160, 161, 162), Sozomen (l. vi. c. 1), and John Malala (tom. ii. p. 17 [edit. Ox.; p. 328, edit. Bonn]).

<sup>44</sup> Before he enters Persia, Ammianus copiously describes (xxiii. 6, p. 396-419, edit. Gronov. in 4to) the eighteen great satrapies or provinces (as far as the Seric or Chinese frontiers) which were subject to the Sassanides.

<sup>45</sup> Ammianus (xxiv. 1) and Zosimus (l. iii. [c. 14] p. 162, 163) have accurately expressed the order of march.

<sup>46</sup> The adventures of Hormisdas are related with some mixture of fable (Zosimus, l. ii. [c. 27] p. 100-102; Tillemont, Hist. des Empereurs, tom. iv. p. 198).

are not undeserving of our notice. He was a Persian prince, of the royal race of the Sassanides, who, in the troubles of the minority of Sapor, had escaped from prison to the hospitable court of the great Constantine. Hormisdas at first excited the compassion, and at length acquired the esteem, of his new masters. His valor and fidelity raised him to the military honors of the Roman service; and, though a Christian, he might indulge the secret satisfaction of convincing his ungrateful country that an oppressed subject may prove the most dangerous enemy. Such was the disposition of the three principal columns. The front and flanks of the army were covered by Lucilianus with a flying detachment of fifteen hundred light-armed soldiers, whose active vigilance observed the most distant signs, and conveyed the earliest notice of any hostile approach. Dagalaiphus, and Secundinus, Duke of Osrhoene, conducted the troops of the rear-guard; the baggage securely proceeded in the intervals of the columns; and the ranks, from a motive either of use or ostentation, were formed in such open order that the whole line of march extended almost ten miles. The ordinary post of Julian was at the head of the centre column, but, as he preferred the duties of a general to the state of a monarch, he rapidly moved, with a small escort of light-cavalry, to the front, the rear, the flanks, wherever his presence could animate or protect the march of the Roman army. The country which they traversed from the Chaboras to the cultivated lands of Assyria may be considered as a part of the desert of Arabia, a dry and barren waste, which could never be improved by the most powerful arts of human industry. Julian marched over the same ground which had been trodden above seven hundred years before by the footsteps of the younger Cyrus, and which is described by one of the companions of his expedition, the sage and heroic Xenophon.\*

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It is almost impossible that he should be the brother (*frater germanus*) of an *eldest* and *posthumous* child; nor do I recollect that Ammianus ever gives him that title.<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup> See the first book of the *Anabasis* [c. 5], p. 45, 46. This pleasing work is

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<sup>a</sup> St. Martin conceives that he was an elder brother by another mother who had several children (ii. 24).—M.



"The country was a plain throughout, as even as the sea, and full of wormwood; and if any other kind of shrubs or reeds grew there, they had all an aromatic smell; but no trees could be seen. Bustards and ostriches, antelopes and wild asses, "appeared to be the only inhabitants of the desert, and the fatigues of the march were alleviated by the amusements of the chase." The loose sand of the desert was frequently raised by the wind into clouds of dust, and a great number of the soldiers of Julian, with their tents, were suddenly thrown to the ground by the violence of an unexpected hurricane.

The sandy plains of Mesopotamia were abandoned to the antelopes and wild asses of the desert, but a variety of populous towns and villages were pleasantly situated on the banks of the Euphrates and in the islands which are occasionally formed by that river. The city of Anah, or Anatho,<sup>48</sup> the actual residence of an Arabian emir, is composed of two long streets, which enclose, within a natural fortification, a small island in the midst, and two fruitful spots on either side, of the Euphrates. The warlike inhabitants of Anatho showed a disposition to stop the march of a Roman emperor, till they were diverted from such fatal presumption by the mild exhortations of Prince Hormisdas and the approaching terrors of the fleet and army. They implored and experienced the clemency of Julian, who transplanted the people to an advantageous settlement near Chalcis, in Syria, and admitted

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original and authentic. Yet Xenophon's memory, perhaps many years after the expedition, has sometimes betrayed him; and the distances which he marks are often larger than either a soldier or a geographer will allow.

<sup>48</sup> Mr. Spelman, the English translator of the *Anabasis* (vol. i. p. 51), confounds the antelope with the roebuck, and the wild ass with the zebra.

<sup>49</sup> See *Voyages de Tavernier*, part i. l. iii. p. 316, and more especially *Viaggi di Pietro della Valle*, tom. i. lett. xvii. p. 671, etc. He was ignorant of the old name and condition of Anah.<sup>a</sup> Our blind travellers *seldom* possess any previous knowledge of the countries which they visit. Shaw and Tournefort deserve an honorable exception.

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<sup>a</sup> Anah was an important position for commerce in ancient times, and probably on the line of a caravan route. It is mentioned in an ancient Assyrian inscription under the name of Anat, where it is described as standing in the middle of the Euphrates.—Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 355. Zosimus (iii. c. 14) does not mention Anah, but speaks of a town in this neighborhood called *Phathusa*, which is, however, probably the same place.—S.

Pusæus, the governor, to an honorable rank in his service and friendship. But the impregnable fortress of Thilutha could scorn the menace of a siege, and the emperor was obliged to content himself with an insulting promise that, when he had subdued the interior provinces of Persia, Thilutha would no longer refuse to grace the triumph of the conqueror. The inhabitants of the open towns, unable to resist and unwilling to yield, fled with precipitation; and their houses, filled with spoil and provisions, were occupied by the soldiers of Julian, who massacred, without remorse and without punishment, some defenceless women. During the march the Surenas,<sup>a</sup> or Persian general, and Malek Rodosaces, the renowned emir of the tribe of Gassan,<sup>50</sup> incessantly hovered round the army. Every straggler was intercepted, every detachment was attacked, and the valiant Hormisdas escaped with some difficulty from their hands. But the barbarians were finally repulsed, the country became every day less favorable to the operations of cavalry; and when the Romans arrived at Macepracta, they perceived the ruins of the wall which had been constructed by the ancient kings of Assyria to secure their dominions from the incursions of the Medes. These preliminaries of the expedition of Julian appear to have employed about fifteen days, and we may compute near three hundred miles from the fortress of Circesium to the wall of Macepracta.<sup>51 b</sup>

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<sup>50</sup> "Famosi nominis latro," says Ammianus—a high encomium for an Arab. The tribe of Gassan had settled on the edge of Syria, and reigned some time in Damascus, under a dynasty of thirty-one kings or emirs, from the time of Pompey to that of the caliph Omar. D'Herbelot, *Bibliothèque Orientale*, p. 360. Pococke, *Specimen Hist. Arabicæ*, p. 75–78. The name of Rodosaces does not appear in the list.<sup>c</sup>

<sup>51</sup> See Ammianus (xxiv. 1, 2), Libanius (*Orat. Parental.* c. 110, 111, p. 334), Zosimus (l. iii. [c. 15] p. 164–168).

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<sup>a</sup> This is not a title, but the name of a great Persian family. St. Martin, vol. iii. p. 79.—M.

<sup>b</sup> This Syriac or Chaldaic word has relation to its position; it easily bears the signification of the division of the waters. St. Martin considers it the Massice of Pliny, v. 21. St. Martin, vol. iii. p. 83.—M.

<sup>c</sup> Rodosaces-Malek is king. St. Martin considers that Gibbon has fallen into an error in bringing the tribe of Gassan to the Euphrates. In Ammianus it is Assan. St. Martin would read Massanitarum, the same with the Mauzanitæ of Malala.—M.

The fertile province of Assyria," which stretched beyond the Tigris, as far as the mountains of Media," extended about four hundred miles from the ancient wall of Macepracta to the territory of Basra, where the united streams of the Euphrates and Tigris discharge themselves into the Persian Gulf.<sup>52</sup> The whole country might have claimed the peculiar name of Mesopotamia, as the two rivers, which are never more distant than fifty, approach, between Bagdad and Babylon, within twenty-five miles of each other. A multitude of artificial canals, dug without much labor in a soft and yielding soil, connected the rivers and intersected the plain of Assyria. The uses of these artificial canals were various and important. They served to discharge the superfluous waters from one river into the other at the season of their respective inundations. Subdividing themselves into smaller and smaller branches, they refreshed the dry lands and supplied the deficiency of rain. They facilitated the intercourse of peace and commerce, and, as the dams could be speedily broken down, they armed the despair of the Assyrians with the means of opposing a sudden deluge to the progress of an invading army. To the soil and climate of Assyria nature had denied some of her choicest gifts—the vine, the olive, and the fig-tree;<sup>a</sup> but

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<sup>52</sup> The description of Assyria is furnished by Herodotus (l. i. c. 192, etc.), who sometimes writes for children and sometimes for philosophers; by Strabo (l. xvi. p. 1070–1082 [p. 736–746, edit. Casaub.]); and by Ammianus (l. xxiii. c. 6). The most useful of the modern travellers are Tavernier (part i. l. ii. p. 226–258), Otter (tom. ii. p. 35–69, and 189–224), and Niebuhr (tom. ii. p. 172–288). Yet I much regret that the *Irak Arabi* of Abulfeda has not been translated.

<sup>53</sup> Ammianus remarks that the primitive Assyria, which comprehended Ninus (Nineveh) and Arbela, had assumed the more recent and peculiar appellation of Adiabene; and he seems to fix Terebinth, Volagesia, and Apollonia as the *extreme* cities of the actual province of Assyria.

<sup>54</sup> The two rivers unite at Apamea, or Corna (one hundred miles from the Persian Gulf), into the broad stream of the Pasitigris, or Shat-ul-Arab. The Euphrates formerly reached the sea by a separate channel, which was obstructed and diverted by the citizens of Orchoe, about twenty miles to the southeast of modern Basra (D'Anville, in the *Mémoires de l'Acad. des Inscriptions*, tom. xxx. p. 170–191).

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<sup>a</sup> We are informed by Mr. Gibbon that nature has denied to the soil and climate of Assyria some of her choicest gifts—the vine, the olive, and the fig-tree. This might have been the case in the age of Ammianus Marcellinus, but it is not

the food which supports the life of man, and particularly wheat and barley, were produced with inexhaustible fertility, and the husbandman who committed his seed to the earth was frequently rewarded with an increase of two or even of three hundred. The face of the country was interspersed with groves of innumerable palm-trees,<sup>55</sup> and the diligent natives celebrated, either in verse or prose, the three hundred and sixty uses to which the trunk, the branches, the leaves, the juice, and the fruit were skilfully applied. Several manufactures, especially those of leather and linen, employed the industry of a numerous people, and afforded valuable materials for foreign trade, which appears, however, to have been conducted by the hands of strangers. Babylon had been converted into a royal park, but near the ruins of the ancient capital new cities had successively arisen; and the populousness of the country was displayed in the multitude of towns and villages, which were built of bricks dried in the sun and strongly cemented with bitumen, the natural and peculiar production of the Babylonian soil. While the successors of Cyrus reigned over Asia, the province of Assyria alone maintained, during a third part of the year, the luxurious plenty of the table and household of the Great King. Four considerable villages were assigned for the subsistence of his Indian dogs; eight hundred stallions and sixteen thousand mares were constantly kept, at the expense of the country, for the royal stables; and as the daily tribute which was paid to the satrap amounted to one English bushel of silver, we may compute the annual revenue of Assyria at more than twelve hundred thousand pounds sterling.<sup>56</sup>

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<sup>55</sup> The learned Kaempfer, as a botanist, an antiquary, and a traveller, has exhausted (*Amœnitat. Exoticæ, Fascicul. iv. p. 660-764*) the whole subject of palm-trees.

<sup>56</sup> Assyria yielded to the Persian satrap an *artaba* of silver each day. The well-known proportion of weights and measures (see Bishop Hooper's elaborate Inquiry), the specific gravity of water and silver, and the value of that metal will afford, after a short process, the annual revenue which I have stated. Yet the Great King received no more than 1000 Euboic, or Tyrian, talents (£252,000)

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so at the present day; and it is a curious fact that the grape, the olive, and the fig are the most common fruits in the province, and may be seen in every garden. Macdonald Kinneir, *Geogr. Mem. on Persia*, p. 239.—M.



The fields of Assyria were devoted by Julian to the calamities of war; and the philosopher retaliated on a guiltless people the acts of rapine and cruelty which had been committed by their haughty master in the Roman provinces. The trembling Assyrians summoned the rivers to their assistance; and completed with their own hands the ruin of their country. The roads were rendered impracticable; a flood of waters was poured into the camp; and, during several days, the troops of Julian were obliged to contend with the most discouraging hardships. But every obstacle was surmounted by the perseverance of the legionaries, who were inured to toil as well as to danger, and who felt themselves animated by the spirit of their leader. The damage was gradually repaired; the waters were restored to their proper channels; whole groves of palm-trees were cut down and placed along the broken parts of the road; and the army passed over the broad and deeper canals on bridges of floating rafts, which were supported by the help of bladders. Two cities of Assyria presumed to resist the arms of a Roman emperor; and they both paid the severe penalty of their rashness. At the distance of fifty miles from the royal residence of Ctesiphon, Perisabor,<sup>a</sup> or Anbar, held the second rank in the province—a city large, populous, and well-fortified, surrounded with a double wall, almost encompassed by a branch of the Euphrates, and defended by the valor of a numerous garrison. The exhortations of Hormisdas were repulsed with contempt; and the ears of the Persian prince were wounded by a just reproach that, unmindful of

Invasion of  
Assyria.  
A.D. 363.  
May.

Siege of  
Perisabor:

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from Assyria. The comparison of two passages in Herodotus (l. i. c. 192, l. iii. c. 89-96) reveals an important difference between the *gross* and the *net* revenue of Persia, the sums paid by the province and the gold or silver deposited in the royal treasure. The monarch might annually save three million six hundred thousand pounds of the seventeen or eighteen millions raised upon the people.

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<sup>a</sup> Libanius says that it was a great city of Assyria, called after the name of the reigning king: *ἦν πόλις Ἀσσυρίων μεγάλη τοῦ τότε βασιλεύοντος ἐπώνυμος*. The orator of Antioch is not mistaken. The Persians and Syrians called it Firuz-Shahpur, or Firuz-Shahbur, in Persian, the victory of Shahpur. It owed that name to Sapor the First. It was before called Anbar. St. Martin, vol. iii. p. 85.—M.

Its ruins are placed at Tell 'Akhar, between the left bank of the Euphrates and the Nahr I'sa. Chesney, Euphrat. Exped. vol. i. p. 438.—S.

his royal birth, he conducted an army of strangers against his king and country. The Assyrians maintained their loyalty by a skilful as well as vigorous defence, till, the lucky stroke of a battering-ram having opened a large breach by shattering one of the angles of the wall, they hastily retired into the fortifications of the interior citadel. The soldiers of Julian rushed impetuously into the town, and, after the full gratification of every military appetite, Perisabor was reduced to ashes; and the engines which assaulted the citadel were planted on the ruins of the smoking houses. The contest was continued by an incessant and mutual discharge of missile weapons; and the superiority which the Romans might derive from the mechanical powers of their balistæ and catapultæ was counterbalanced by the advantage of the ground on the side of the besieged. But as soon as an *Helepolis* had been constructed, which could engage on equal terms with the loftiest ramparts, the tremendous aspect of a moving turret that would leave no hope of resistance or of mercy terrified the defenders of the citadel into an humble submission; and the place was surrendered only two days after Julian first appeared under the walls of Perisabor. Two thousand five hundred persons, of both sexes, the feeble remnant of a flourishing people, were permitted to retire. The plentiful magazines of corn, of arms, and of splendid furniture were partly distributed among the troops and partly reserved for the public service; the useless stores were destroyed by fire or thrown into the stream of the Euphrates; and the fate of Amida was revenged by the total ruin of Perisabor.

The city, or rather fortress, of Maogamaleha, which was defended by sixteen large towers, a deep ditch, and two strong and solid walls of brick and bitumen, appears to have been constructed at the distance of eleven miles, as the safeguard of the capital of Persia. The emperor, apprehensive of leaving such an important fortress in his rear, immediately formed the siege of Maogamalcha; and the Roman army was distributed for that purpose into three divisions. Victor, at the head of the cavalry and of a detachment of heavy-armed foot, was ordered to clear the country as far

of Maoga-  
malcha.

as the banks of the Tigris and the suburbs of Ctesiphon. The conduct of the attack was assumed by Julian himself, who seemed to place his whole dependence in the military engines which he erected against the walls; while he secretly contrived a more efficacious method of introducing his troops into the heart of the city. Under the direction of Nevitta and Dagalaiphus, the trenches were opened at a considerable distance, and gradually prolonged as far as the edge of the ditch. The ditch was speedily filled with earth; and, by the incessant labor of the troops, a mine was carried under the foundations of the walls, and sustained at sufficient intervals by props of timber. Three chosen cohorts, advancing in a single file, silently explored the dark and dangerous passage, till their intrepid leader whispered back the intelligence that he was ready to issue from his confinement into the streets of the hostile city. Julian checked their ardor, that he might insure their success; and immediately diverted the attention of the garrison by the tumult and clamor of a general assault. The Persians, who from their walls contemptuously beheld the progress of an impotent attack, celebrated with songs of triumph the glory of Sapor; and ventured to assure the emperor that he might ascend the starry mansion of Ormusd before he could hope to take the impregnable city of Maogamalcha. The city was already taken. History has recorded the name of a private soldier, the first who ascended from the mine into a deserted tower. The passage was widened by his companions, who pressed forward with impatient valor. Fifteen hundred enemies were already in the midst of the city. The astonished garrison abandoned the walls, and their only hope of safety; the gates were instantly burst open; and the revenge of the soldier, unless it were suspended by lust or avarice, was satiated by an undistinguishing massacre. The governor, who had yielded on a promise of mercy, was burned alive, a few days afterwards, on a charge of having uttered some disrespectful words against the honor of Prince Hormisdas.<sup>a</sup> The

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<sup>a</sup> And as guilty of a double treachery, having first engaged to surrender the city, and afterwards valiantly defended it. Gibbon, perhaps, should have noticed this charge, though he may have rejected it as improbable. Compare Zosimus, iii. 23.  
—M.

fortifications were razed to the ground ; and not a vestige was left that the city of Maogamalcha had ever existed. The neighborhood of the capital of Persia was adorned with three stately palaces, laboriously enriched with every production that could gratify the luxury and pride of an Eastern monarch. The pleasant situation of the gardens along the banks of the Tigris was improved, according to the Persian taste, by the symmetry of flowers, fountains, and shady walks ; and spacious parks were enclosed for the reception of the bears, lions, and wild boars, which were maintained at a considerable expense for the pleasure of the royal chase. The park walls were broken down, the savage game was abandoned to the darts of the soldiers, and the palaces of Sapor were reduced to ashes, by the command of the Roman emperor. Julian, on this occasion, showed himself ignorant or careless of the laws of civility, which the prudence and refinement of polished ages have established between hostile princes. Yet these wanton ravages need not excite in our breasts any vehement emotions of pity or resentment. A simple, naked statue, finished by the hand of a Grecian artist, is of more genuine value than all these rude and costly monuments of barbaric labor ; and if we are more deeply affected by the ruin of a palace than by the conflagration of a cottage, our humanity must have formed a very erroneous estimate of the miseries of human life.<sup>57</sup>

Julian was an object of terror and hatred to the Persians ; and the painters of that nation represented the invader of their country under the emblem of a furious lion, who vomited from his mouth a consuming fire.<sup>58</sup>

To his friends and soldiers the philosophic hero appeared in a more amiable light ; and his virtues were never more conspicuously displayed than in the last and most active period of his life. He practised, without effort, and almost

Personal behavior of Julian.

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<sup>57</sup> The operations of the Assyrian war are circumstantially related by Ammianus (xxiv. 2, 3, 4, 5), Libanius (Orat. Parent. c. 112-123, p. 335-347), Zosimus (l. iii. [c. 18] p. 168-180), and Gregory Nazianzen (Orat. iv. p. 113, 144). The *military* criticisms of the saint are devoutly copied by Tillemont, his faithful slave.

<sup>58</sup> Libanius de ulciscendâ Juliani nece, c. 13, p. 162 [in Fabric. Bibl. Græc. vol. vii.].



without merit, the habitual qualities of temperance and sobriety. According to the dictates of that artificial wisdom which assumes an absolute dominion over the mind and body, he sternly refused himself the indulgence of the most natural appetites.<sup>59</sup> In the warm climate of Assyria, which solicited a luxurious people to the gratification of every sensual desire,<sup>60</sup> a youthful conqueror preserved his chastity pure and inviolate; nor was Julian ever tempted, even by a motive of curiosity, to visit his female captives of exquisite beauty,<sup>61</sup> who, instead of resisting his power, would have disputed with each other the honor of his embraces. With the same firmness that he resisted the allurements of love, he sustained the hardships of war. When the Romans marched through the flat and flooded country, their sovereign, on foot, at the head of his legions, shared their fatigues and animated their diligence. In every useful labor the hand of Julian was prompt and strenuous; and the imperial purple was wet and dirty as the coarse garment of the meanest soldier. The two sieges allowed him some remarkable opportunities of signalizing his personal valor, which, in the improved state of the military art, can seldom be exerted by a prudent general. The emperor stood before the citadel of Perisabor, insensible of his extreme danger, and encouraged his troops to burst open the gates of iron, till he was almost overwhelmed under a cloud of missile weapons and huge stones that were directed against his person. As he examined the exterior fortifications of Maogomalcha, two Persians, devoting themselves for their country, sud-

<sup>59</sup> The famous examples of Cyrus, Alexander, and Scipio were acts of justice. Julian's chastity was voluntary, and, in his opinion, meritorious.

<sup>60</sup> Sallust (ap. Vet. Scholiast. Juvenal. Satir. i. 104) observes that "nihil corrupti moribus." The matrons and virgins of Babylon freely mingled with the men in licentious banquets; and as they felt the intoxication of wine and love, they gradually, and almost completely, threw aside the encumbrance of dress—"ad ultimum ima corporum velamenta projiciunt."—Q. Curtius, v. 1.

<sup>61</sup> Ex virginibus autem, quæ speciosæ sunt captæ, ut in Perside, ubi feminarum pulchritudo excellit, nec contrectare aliquam voluit nec videre.—Ammian. xxiv. 4. The native race of Persians is small and ugly; but it has been improved by the perpetual mixture of Circassian blood (Herodot. i. iii. c. 97. Buffon, Hist. Naturelle, tom. iii. p. 420).

denly rushed upon him with drawn scimitars: the emperor dexterously received their blows on his uplifted shield; and, with a steady and well-aimed thrust, laid one of his adversaries dead at his feet. The esteem of a prince who possesses the virtues which he approves is the noblest recompense of a deserving subject; and the authority which Julian derived from his personal merit enabled him to revive and enforce the rigor of ancient discipline. He punished with death or ignominy the misbehavior of three troops of horse who, in a skirmish with the Surenas, had lost their honor and one of their standards; and he distinguished with *obsidional*<sup>62</sup> crowns the valor of the foremost soldiers who had ascended into the city of Maogamalcha. After the siege of Perisabor, the firmness of the emperor was exercised by the insolent avarice of the army, who loudly complained that their services were rewarded by a trifling donative of one hundred pieces of silver. His just indignation was expressed in the grave and manly language of a Roman. "Riches are the object of your desires; those riches are in the hands of the Persians; and the spoils of this fruitful country are proposed as the prize of your valor and discipline. Believe me," added Julian, "the Roman republic, which formerly possessed such immense treasures, is now reduced to want and wretchedness; since our princes have been persuaded, by weak and interested ministers, to purchase with gold the tranquillity of the barbarians. The revenue is exhausted; the cities are ruined; the provinces are dispeopled. For myself, the only inheritance that I have received from my royal ancestors is a soul incapable of fear; and as long as I am convinced that every real advantage is seated in the mind, I shall not blush to acknowledge an honorable poverty, which in the days of ancient virtue was considered as the glory of Fabricius. That glory and that virtue may be your own, if you will listen to the voice of Heaven and of your leader. But if you will rashly persist, if you are

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<sup>62</sup> *Obsidionalibus coronis donati.*—Ammian. xxiv. 4. Either Julian or his historian was an unskilful antiquary. He should have given *mural* crowns. The *obsidional* were the reward of a general who had delivered a besieged city (Aulus Gellius, Noct. Attic. v. 6).

determined to renew the shameful and mischievous examples of old seditions, proceed. As it becomes an emperor who has filled the first rank among men, I am prepared to die standing, and to despise a precarious life which every hour may depend on an accidental fever. If I have been found unworthy of the command, there are now among you (I speak it with pride and pleasure), there are many chiefs whose merit and experience are equal to the conduct of the most important war. Such has been the temper of my reign that I can retire, without regret and without apprehension, to the obscurity of a private station.”<sup>63</sup> The modest resolution of Julian was answered by the unanimous applause and cheerful obedience of the Romans, who declared their confidence of victory while they fought under the banners of their heroic prince. Their courage was kindled by his frequent and familiar asseverations (for such wishes were the oaths of Julian), “So may I reduce the Persians under the yoke!” “Thus may I restore the strength and splendor of the republic!” The love of fame was the ardent passion of his soul; but it was not before he trampled on the ruins of Maogamalcha that he allowed himself to say, “We have now provided some materials for the sophist of Antioch.”<sup>64</sup>

The successful valor of Julian had triumphed over all the obstacles that opposed his march to the gates of Ctesiphon.

But the reduction, or even the siege, of the capital of Persia was still at a distance; nor can the military conduct of the emperor be clearly apprehended without a knowledge of the country which was the theatre of his bold and skilful operations.<sup>65</sup> Twenty miles to the south of Bagdad, and on the eastern bank of the Tigris,

He transports  
his fleet from  
the Euphrates  
to the  
Tigris.

<sup>63</sup> I give this speech as original and genuine. Ammianus might hear, could transcribe, and was incapable of inventing it. I have used some slight freedoms, and conclude with the most forcible sentence.

<sup>64</sup> Ammian. xxiv. 3. Libanius, Orat. Parent. c. 122, p. 346.

<sup>65</sup> M. d'Anville (Mém. de l'Académie des Inscriptions, tom. xxviii. p. 246-259) has ascertained the true position and distance of Babylon, Seleucia, Ctesiphon, Bagdad, etc. The Roman traveller Pietro della Valle (tom. i. lett. xvii. p. 650-780) seems to be the most intelligent spectator of that famous province. He is a gentleman and a scholar, but intolerably vain and prolix.

the curiosity of travellers has observed some ruins of the palaces of Ctesiphon, which in the time of Julian was a great and populous city. The name and glory of the adjacent Seleucia were forever extinguished; and the only remaining quarter of that Greek colony had resumed, with the Assyrian language and manners, the primitive appellation of Coche. Coche was situate on the western side of the Tigris; but it was naturally considered as a suburb of Ctesiphon, with which we may suppose it to have been connected by a permanent bridge of boats. The united parts contributed to form the common epithet of Al Modain, THE CITIES, which the Orientals have bestowed on the winter residence of the Sassanides; and the whole circumference of the Persian capital was strongly fortified by the waters of the river, by lofty walls, and by impracticable morasses. Near the ruins of Seleucia the camp of Julian was fixed, and secured by a ditch and rampart against the sallies of the numerous and enterprising garrison of Coche. In this fruitful and pleasant country the Romans were plentifully supplied with water and forage; and several forts, which might have embarrassed the motions of the army, submitted, after some resistance, to the efforts of their valor. The fleet passed from the Euphrates into an artificial derivation of that river, which pours a copious and navigable stream into the Tigris at a small distance *below* the great city. If they had followed this royal canal, which bore the name of Nahar-Malcha,<sup>66</sup> the intermediate situation of Coche would have separated the fleet and army of Julian; and the rash attempt of steering against the current of the Tigris, and forcing their way through the midst of a hostile capital, must have been attended with the total destruction of the Roman navy. The prudence of the emperor foresaw the danger and provided the remedy. As he had minutely studied the operations of Trajan in the same country, he soon recollected that his warlike predecessor had dug a new and navigable canal, which,

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<sup>66</sup> The Royal Canal (*Nahar-Malcha*) might be successively restored, altered, divided, etc. (Cellarius, *Geograph. Antiq.* tom. ii. p. 453); and these changes may serve to explain the seeming contradictions of antiquity. In the time of Julian it must have fallen into the Euphrates *below* Ctesiphon.



leaving Coche on the right hand, conveyed the waters of the Nahar-Malcha into the river Tigris at some distance *above* the cities. From the information of the peasants, Julian ascertained the vestiges of this ancient work, which were almost obliterated by design or accident. By the indefatigable labor of the soldiers, a broad and deep channel was speedily prepared for the reception of the Euphrates. A strong dike was constructed to interrupt the ordinary current of the Nahar-Malcha; a flood of waters rushed impetuously into their new bed; and the Roman fleet, steering their triumphant course into the Tigris, derided the vain and ineffectual barriers which the Persians of Ctesiphon had erected to oppose their passage.

As it became necessary to transport the Roman army over the Tigris, another labor presented itself of less toil, but of more danger, than the preceding expedition. The stream was broad and rapid, the ascent steep and difficult; and the intrenchments which had been formed on the ridge of the opposite bank were lined with a numerous army of heavy cuirassiers, dexterous archers, and huge elephants, who (according to the extravagant hyperbole of Libanius) could trample with the same ease a field of corn or a legion of Romans.<sup>67</sup> In the presence of such an enemy, the construction of a bridge was impracticable; and the intrepid prince, who instantly seized the only possible expedient, concealed his design till the moment of execution from the knowledge of the barbarians, of his own troops, and even of his generals themselves. Under the specious pretence of examining the state of the magazines, fourscore vessels<sup>a</sup> were gradually unladen; and a select detachment, apparently destined for some secret expedition, was ordered to stand to their

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<sup>67</sup> Καὶ μεγέθειν ἐλεφάντων, οἷς ἴσον ἔργον διὰ σταχύων ἔλθειν καὶ φάλαγγος [Or. Parent. c. 125]. “Rien n'est beau que le vrai”—a maxim which should be inscribed on the desk of every rhetorician.

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<sup>a</sup> This is a mistake: each vessel (according to Zosimus two, according to Ammianus five) had eighty men. Amm. xxiv. 6, with Wagner's note. Gibbon must have read octogenas for octogenis. The five vessels selected for this service were remarkably large and strong provision-transports. The strength of the fleet remained with Julian to carry over the army.—M.

arms on the first signal. Julian disguised the silent anxiety of his own mind with smiles of confidence and joy; and amused the hostile nations with the spectacle of military games, which he insultingly celebrated under the walls of Coche. The day was consecrated to pleasure; but as soon as the hour of supper was past, the emperor summoned the generals to his tent, and acquainted them that he had fixed that night for the passage of the Tigris. They stood in silent and respectful astonishment; but when the venerable Sallust assumed the privilege of his age and experience, the rest of the chiefs supported with freedom the weight of his prudent remonstrances.<sup>68</sup> Julian contented himself with observing that conquest and safety depended on the attempt; that, instead of diminishing, the number of their enemies would be increased by successive reinforcements; and that a longer delay would neither contract the breadth of the stream nor level the height of the bank. The signal was instantly given, and obeyed: the most impatient of the legionaries leaped into five vessels that lay nearest to the bank; and as they plied their oars with intrepid diligence, they were lost after a few moments in the darkness of the night. A flame arose on the opposite side; and Julian, who too clearly understood that his foremost vessels in attempting to land had been fired by the enemy, dexterously converted their extreme danger into a presage of victory. "Our fellow-soldiers," he eagerly exclaimed, "are already masters of the bank: see, they make the appointed signal; let us hasten to emulate and assist their courage." The united and rapid motion of a great fleet broke the violence of the current, and they reached the eastern shore of the Tigris with sufficient speed to extinguish the flames and rescue their adventurous companions. The difficulties of a steep and lofty ascent were increased by the weight of armor and the darkness of the night. A shower of stones, darts, and fire was incessantly discharged on the heads of the assailants, who, after

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<sup>68</sup> Libanius alludes to the most powerful of the generals. I have ventured to name *Sallust*. Ammianus [xxiv. 6] says, of all the leaders, "quòd acri metù terrii duces concordì precatù fieri prohibere tentarent."

an arduous struggle, climbed the bank and stood victorious upon the rampart. As soon as they possessed a more equal field, Julian, who with his light infantry had led the attack,<sup>69</sup> darted through the ranks a skilful and experienced eye: his bravest soldiers, according to the precepts of Homer,<sup>70</sup> were distributed in the front and rear; and all the trumpets of the imperial army sounded to battle. The Romans, after sending up a military shout, advanced in measured steps to the animating notes of martial music, launched their formidable javelins, and rushed forward with drawn swords to deprive the barbarians, by a closer onset, of the advantage of their missile weapons. The whole engagement lasted above twelve hours, till the gradual retreat of the Persians was changed into a disorderly flight, of which the shameful example was given by the principal leaders and the Surenas himself. They were pursued to the gates of Ctesiphon; and the conquerors might have entered the dismayed city,<sup>71</sup> if their general, Victor, who was dangerously wounded with an arrow, had not conjured them to desist from a rash attempt which must be fatal if it were not successful. On *their* side, the Romans acknowledged the loss of only seventy-five men; while they affirmed that the barbarians had left on the field of battle two thousand five hundred, or even six thousand, of their bravest soldiers. The spoil was such as might be expected from the riches and luxury of an Oriental camp—large quantities of silver and gold, splendid arms and trappings, and beds and tables of massive silver.<sup>a</sup>

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<sup>69</sup> "Hinc Imperator . . ." (says Ammianus) "ipse cum levis armaturæ auxiliis per prima postremaque discurrens," etc. Yet Zosimus, his friend, does not allow him to pass the river till two days after the battle.

<sup>70</sup> "Secundum Homericam dispositionem." A similar disposition is ascribed to the wise Nestor in the fourth book of the *Iliad*; and Homer was never absent from the mind of Julian.

<sup>71</sup> "Persas terrore subito miscuerunt, versisque agminibus totius gentis, apertas Ctesiphontis portas victor miles intrâsset, ni major prædarum occasio fuisset, quam cura victoriæ" (Sextus Rufus de Provinciis, c. 28). Their avarice might dispose them to hear the advice of Victor.

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<sup>a</sup> The suburbs of Ctesiphon, according to a new fragment of Eunapius, were so full of provisions that the soldiers were in danger of suffering from excess. Mai, p. 260. Eunapius, p. 68, edit. Niebuhr. Julian exhibited warlike dances and games in his camp to recreate the soldiers. Ibid.—M.

The victorious emperor distributed, as the rewards of valor, some honorable gifts—civic and mural and naval crowns—which he, and perhaps he alone, esteemed more precious than the wealth of Asia. A solemn sacrifice was offered to the god of war, but the appearances of the victims threatened the most inauspicious events; and Julian soon discovered, by less ambiguous signs, that he had now reached the term of his prosperity.<sup>72</sup>

On the second day after the battle, the domestic guards, the Jovians and Herculians, and the remaining troops, which composed near two thirds of the whole army, were securely wafted over the Tigris.<sup>73</sup> While the Persians beheld from the walls of Ctesiphon the desolation of the adjacent country, Julian cast many an anxious look towards the North, in full expectation that, as he himself had victoriously penetrated to the capital of Sapor, the march and junction of his lieutenants, Sebastian and Procopius, would be executed with the same courage and diligence. His expectations were disappointed by the treachery of the Armenian king, who permitted, and most probably directed, the desertion of his auxiliary troops from the camp of the Romans,<sup>74</sup> and by the dissensions of the two generals, who were incapable of forming or executing any plan for the public service. When the emperor had relinquished the hope of this important reinforcement, he condescended to hold a council of war, and approved, after a full debate, the sentiment of

Situation and  
obstinacy of  
Julian.  
A.D. 363.  
June.

<sup>72</sup> The labor of the canal, the passage of the Tigris, and the victory are described by Ammianus (xxiv. 5, 6), Libanius (Orat. Parent. c. 124–128, p. 347–353), Greg. Nazianzen (Orat. iv. p. 115), Zosimus (l. iii. [c. 24, p. 159 seq.] p. 181–183), and Sextus Rufus (de Provinciis, c. 28).

<sup>73</sup> The fleet and army were formed in three divisions, of which the first only had passed during the night (Ammian. xxiv. 6). The *πᾶσα δορυφορία*, whom Zosimus transports on the third day (l. iii. [c. 26] p. 183), might consist of the protectors, among whom the historian Ammianus and the future emperor, Jovian, actually served; some *schools* of the *domestics*; and perhaps the Jovians and Herculians, who often did duty as guards.

<sup>74</sup> Moses of Chorene (Hist. Armen. l. iii. c. 15, p. 246) supplies us with a national tradition and a spurious letter. I have borrowed only the leading circumstance, which is consistent with truth, probability, and Libanius (Orat. Parent. c. 131, p. 355).



those generals who dissuaded the siege of Ctesiphon as a fruitless and pernicious undertaking. It is not easy for us to conceive by what arts of fortification a city thrice besieged and taken by the predecessors of Julian could be rendered impregnable against an army of sixty thousand Romans, commanded by a brave and experienced general, and abundantly supplied with ships, provisions, battering-engines, and military stores. But we may rest assured, from the love of glory and contempt of danger which formed the character of Julian, that he was not discouraged by any trivial or imaginary obstacles.<sup>75</sup> At the very time when he declined the siege of Ctesiphon, he rejected, with obstinacy and disdain, the most flattering offers of a negotiation of peace. Sapor, who had been so long accustomed to the tardy ostentation of Constantius, was surprised by the intrepid diligence of his successor. As far as the confines of India and Scythia, the satraps of the distant provinces were ordered to assemble their troops, and to march without delay to the assistance of their monarch. But their preparations were dilatory, their motions slow; and before Sapor could lead an army into the field, he received the melancholy intelligence of the devastation of Assyria, the ruin of his palaces, and the slaughter of his bravest troops, who defended the passage of the Tigris. The pride of royalty was humbled in the dust: he took his repasts on the ground; and the disorder of his hair expressed the grief and anxiety of his mind. Perhaps he would not have refused to purchase with one half of his kingdom the safety of the remainder; and he would have gladly subscribed himself, in a treaty of peace, the faithful and dependent ally of the Roman conqueror. Under the pretence of private business, a minister of rank and confidence was secretly despatched to embrace the knees of Hormisdas, and to request, in the language of a suppliant, that he might be introduced into the presence of the emperor. The Sassanian prince, whether he listened to the voice of pride or humanity,

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<sup>75</sup> *Civitas inexpugnabilis, facinus audax et importunum.*—Ammianus, xxiv. 7. His fellow-soldier, Eutropius, turns aside from the difficulty: “*Assyriamque populatus, castra apud Ctesiphontem stativa aliquandiu habuit: remeansque victor,*” etc., x. 16 [8]. Zosimus is artful or ignorant, and Socrates inaccurate

whether he consulted the sentiments of his birth or the duties of his situation, was equally inclined to promote a salutary measure which would terminate the calamities of Persia and secure the triumph of Rome. He was astonished by the inflexible firmness of a hero who remembered, most unfortunately for himself and for his country, that Alexander had uniformly rejected the propositions of Darius. But as Julian was sensible that the hope of a safe and honorable peace might cool the ardor of his troops, he earnestly requested that Hormisdas would privately dismiss the minister of Sapor, and conceal this dangerous temptation from the knowledge of the camp.<sup>76</sup>

The honor as well as interest of Julian forbade him to consume his time under the impregnable walls of Ctesiphon; and <sup>He burns his fleet,</sup> as often as he defied the barbarians who defended the city to meet him on the open plain, they prudently replied that if he desired to exercise his valor, he might seek the army of the Great King. He felt the insult, and he accepted the advice. Instead of confining his servile march to the banks of the Euphrates and Tigris, he resolved to imitate the adventurous spirit of Alexander, and boldly to advance into the inland provinces till he forced his rival to contend with him, perhaps in the plains of Arbela, for the empire of Asia. The magnanimity of Julian was applauded and betrayed by the arts of a noble Persian, who, in the cause of his country, had generously submitted to act a part full of danger, of falsehood, and of shame.<sup>77</sup> With a train of faithful followers, he deserted to the imperial camp; exposed, in a specious tale, the injuries which he had sustained; exaggerated the cruelty of Sapor, the discontent of the people, and the weakness of the monarchy; and confidently offered himself

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<sup>76</sup> Libanius, *Orat. Parent.* c. 130, p. 354, c. 139, p. 361. Socrates, l. iii. c. 21. The ecclesiastical historian imputes the refusal of peace to the advice of Maximus. Such advice was unworthy of a philosopher; but the philosopher was likewise a magician, who flattered the hopes and passions of his master.

<sup>77</sup> The arts of this new Zopyrus (Greg. Nazianzen, *Orat.* iv. p. 115, 116 [edit. Par. 1609]) may derive some credit from the testimony of two abbreviators (Sex-tus Rufus and Victor), and the casual hints of Libanius (*Orat. Parent.* c. 134, p. 357) and Ammianus (xxiv. 7). The course of genuine history is interrupted by a most unseasonable chasm in the text of Ammianus.

as the hostage and guide of the Roman march. The most rational grounds of suspicion were urged without effect by the wisdom and experience of Hormisdas; and the credulous Julian, receiving the traitor into his bosom, was persuaded to issue a hasty order which, in the opinion of mankind, appeared to arraign his prudence and to endanger his safety. He destroyed in a single hour the whole navy, which had been transported above five hundred miles at so great an expense of toil, of treasure, and of blood. Twelve, or, at the most, twenty-two, small vessels were saved to accompany, on carriages, the march of the army, and to form occasional bridges for the passage of the rivers. A supply of twenty days' provisions was reserved for the use of the soldiers; and the rest of the magazines, with a fleet of eleven hundred vessels which rode at anchor in the Tigris, were abandoned to the flames by the absolute command of the emperor. The Christian bishops, Gregory and Augustine, insult the madness of the Apostate, who executed with his own hands the sentence of divine justice. Their authority, of less weight, perhaps, in a military question, is confirmed by the cool judgment of an experienced soldier, who was himself spectator of the conflagration, and who could not disapprove the reluctant murmurs of the troops.<sup>78</sup> Yet there are not wanting some specious, and perhaps solid, reasons which might justify the resolution of Julian. The navigation of the Euphrates never ascended above Babylon, nor that of the Tigris above Opis.<sup>79</sup> The distance of the last-mentioned city from the Roman camp was not very considerable; and Julian must soon have renounced the vain and impracticable attempt of forcing upwards a great fleet against the stream of a rapid river<sup>80</sup>

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<sup>78</sup> See Ammianus (xxiv. 7), Libanius (Orat. Parentalis, c. 132, 133, p. 356, 357), Zosimus (l. iii. [c. 26] p. 183), Zonaras (tom. ii. l. xiii. [c. 13] p. 26), Gregory (Orat. iv. p. 116), and Augustine (de Civitate Dei, l. iv. c. 29, l. v. c. 21). Of these Libanius alone attempts a faint apology for his hero, who, according to Ammianus, pronounced his own condemnation by a tardy and ineffectual attempt to extinguish the flames.

<sup>79</sup> Consult Herodotus (l. i. c. 194), Strabo (l. xvi. p. 1074 [p. 739, edit. Casaub.]), and Tavernier (part i. l. ii. p. 152).

<sup>80</sup> A celeritate Tigris incipit vocari, ita appellant Medi sagittam.—Plin. Hist. Natur. vi. 31.

which in several places was embarrassed by natural or artificial cataracts.<sup>81</sup> The power of sails and oars was insufficient; it became necessary to tow the ships against the current of the river. The strength of twenty thousand soldiers was exhausted in this tedious and servile labor; and if the Romans continued to march along the banks of the Tigris, they could only expect to return home without achieving any enterprise worthy of the genius or fortune of their leader. If, on the contrary, it was advisable to advance into the inland country, the destruction of the fleet and magazines was the only measure which could save that valuable prize from the hands of the numerous and active troops which might suddenly be poured from the gates of Ctesiphon. Had the arms of Julian been victorious, we should now admire the conduct as well as the courage of a hero who, by depriving his soldiers of the hopes of a retreat, left them only the alternative of death or conquest.<sup>82</sup>

The cumbersome train of artillery and wagons which retards the operations of a modern army was in a great measure unknown in the camps of the Romans.<sup>83</sup> Yet in every age the subsistence of sixty thousand men must have been one of the most important cares of a prudent general; and that subsistence could only be drawn from his own or from the enemy's country. Had it been possible for Julian to maintain a bridge of communication on the Tigris, and to preserve the conquered places of Assyria, a desolated province could not afford any large or regular supplies in a season of the year when the lands were covered by the inundation of the Euphrates,<sup>84</sup> and the unwholesome air was

and marches  
against  
Sapor.

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<sup>81</sup> One of these dikes, which produces an artificial cascade or cataract, is described by Tavernier (part i. l. ii. p. 226) and Thévenot (part ii. l. i. p. 193). The Persians, or Assyrians, labored to interrupt the navigation of the river (Strabo, l. xvi. p. 1075 [p. 740]. D'Anville, *L'Euphrate et le Tigre*, p. 98, 99).

<sup>82</sup> Recollect the successful and applauded rashness of Agathocles and Cortez, who burned their ships on the coast of Africa and Mexico.

<sup>83</sup> See the judicious reflections of the author of the *Essai sur la Tactique*, tom. ii. p. 287-353, and the learned remarks of M. Guichardt, *Nouveaux Mémoires Militaires*, tom. i. p. 351-382, on the baggage and subsistence of the Roman armies.

<sup>84</sup> The Tigris rises to the south, the Euphrates to the north, of the Armenian



darkened with swarms of innumerable insects.<sup>85</sup> The appearance of the hostile country was far more inviting. The extensive region that lies between the river Tigris and the mountains of Media was filled with villages and towns; and the fertile soil, for the most part, was in a very improved state of cultivation. Julian might expect that a conqueror who possessed the two forcible instruments of persuasion, steel and gold, would easily procure a plentiful subsistence from the fears or avarice of the natives. But on the approach of the Romans this rich and smiling prospect was instantly blasted. Wherever they moved, the inhabitants deserted the open villages and took shelter in the fortified towns; the cattle was driven away; the grass and ripe corn were consumed with fire; and, as soon as the flames had subsided which interrupted the march of Julian, he beheld the melancholy face of a smoking and naked desert. This desperate but effectual method of defence can only be executed by the enthusiasm of a people who prefer their independence to their property; or by the rigor of an arbitrary government, which consults the public safety without submitting to their inclinations the liberty of choice. On the present occasion, the zeal and obedience of the Persians seconded the commands of Sapor; and the emperor was soon reduced to the scanty stock of provisions which continually wasted in his hands. Before they were entirely consumed he might still have reached the wealthy and unwarlike city of Ecbatana or Susa by the effort of a rapid and well-directed march;<sup>86</sup> but he was deprived of this last resource by

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mountains. The former overflows in March, the latter in July. These circumstances are well explained in the Geographical Dissertation of Foster, inserted in Spelman's Expedition of Cyrus, vol. ii. p. 26.

<sup>85</sup> Ammianus (xxiv. 8) describes, as he had felt, the inconvenience of the flood, the heat, and the insects. The lands of Assyria, oppressed by the Turks, and ravaged by the Kurds or Arabs, yield an increase of ten, fifteen, and twenty fold for the seed which is cast into the ground by the wretched and unskilful husbandmen. *Voyages de Niebuhr*, tom. ii. p. 279, 285.

<sup>86</sup> Isidore of Charax (*Mansion. Parthic.* p. 5, 6, in Hudson, *Geograph. Minor.* tom. ii.) reckons 129 schoeni from Seleucia, and Thévenot (part i. l. i. ii. p. 209-245) 128 hours of march from Bagdad to Ecbatana, or Hamadan. These measures cannot exceed an ordinary parasang, or three Roman miles.

his ignorance of the roads and by the perfidy of his guides. The Romans wandered several days in the country to the eastward of Bagdad; the Persian deserter, who had artfully led them into the snare, escaped from their resentment; and his followers, as soon as they were put to the torture, confessed the secret of the conspiracy. The visionary conquests of Hyrcania and India, which had so long amused, now tormented the mind of Julian. Conscious that his own imprudence was the cause of the public distress, he anxiously balanced the hopes of safety or success without obtaining a satisfactory answer either from gods or men. At length, as the only practicable measure, he embraced the resolution of directing his steps towards the banks of the Tigris, with the design of saving the army by a hasty march to the confines of Corduene, a fertile and friendly province which acknowledged the sovereignty of Rome. The desponding troops obeyed the signal of the retreat, only seventy days after they had passed the Chaboras with the sanguine expectation of subverting the throne of Persia.<sup>87</sup>

As long as the Romans seemed to advance into the country, their march was observed and insulted from a distance by several bodies of Persian cavalry, who, showing themselves, sometimes in loose and sometimes in closer order, faintly skirmished with the advanced guards. These detachments were, however, supported by a much greater force; and the heads of the columns were no sooner pointed towards the Tigris than a cloud of dust arose on the plain. The Romans, who now aspired only to the permission of a safe and speedy retreat, endeavored to persuade themselves that this formidable appearance was occasioned by a troop of wild asses, or perhaps by the approach of some friendly Arabs. They halted, pitched their tents, fortified their camp, passed the whole night in continual alarms; and discovered at the dawn of day that they were surrounded by an army of Persians.

<sup>87</sup> The march of Julian from Ctesiphon is circumstantially, but not clearly, described by Ammianus (xxiv. 7, 8), Libanius (Orat. Parent. c. 134, p. 357), and Zosimus (l. iii. [c. 26] p. 183). The two last seem ignorant that their conqueror was retreating; and Libanius absurdly confines him to the banks of the Tigris.

Retreat and  
distress of  
the Roman  
army.

This army, which might be considered only as the van of the barbarians, was soon followed by the main body of cuirassiers, archers, and elephants, commanded by Meranes,<sup>a</sup> a general of rank and reputation. He was accompanied by two of the king's sons and many of the principal satraps; and fame and expectation exaggerated the strength of the remaining powers, which slowly advanced under the conduct of Sapor himself. As the Romans continued their march, their long array, which was forced to bend or divide, according to the varieties of the ground, afforded frequent and favorable opportunities to their vigilant enemies. The Persians repeatedly charged with fury; they were repeatedly repulsed with firmness; and the action at Maronga, which almost deserved the name of a battle, was marked by a considerable loss of satraps and elephants, perhaps of equal value in the eyes of their monarch. These splendid advantages were not obtained without an adequate slaughter on the side of the Romans: several officers of distinction were either killed or wounded; and the emperor himself, who, on all occasions of danger, inspired and guided the valor of his troops, was obliged to expose his person and exert his abilities. The weight of offensive and defensive arms which still constituted the strength and safety of the Romans disabled them from making any long or effectual pursuit; and as the horsemen of the East were trained to dart their javelins and shoot their arrows at full speed and in every possible direction,<sup>ss</sup> the cavalry of Persia was never more formidable than in the moment of a rapid and disorderly flight. But the most certain and irreparable loss of the Romans was that of time. The hardy veterans, accustomed to the cold climate of Gaul and Germany, fainted under the sultry heat of an Assyrian sum-

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<sup>ss</sup> Chardin, the most judicious of modern travellers, describes (tom. iii. p. 57, 58, etc., edit. in 4to) the education and dexterity of the Persian horsemen. Brissotius (de Regno Persico, p. 650, 661, etc.) has collected the testimonies of antiquity.

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<sup>a</sup> We learn from Procopius (Bell. Pers. i. c. 13, p. 62, edit. Bonn.) that *Mirranes* was the title of a Persian dignitary; and it has been correctly observed by Lord Mahon that the Meranes of Ammianus (xxv. c. 1), mentioned above, is probably the same as the Mirranes of Procopius, and not the name of a general, as Gibbon supposed. See Lord Mahon, *Life of Belisarius*, p. 35.—S.

mer; their vigor was exhausted by the incessant repetition of march and combat; and the progress of the army was suspended by the precautions of a slow and dangerous retreat in the presence of an active enemy. Every day, every hour, as the supply diminished, the value and price of subsistence increased in the Roman camp.<sup>88</sup> Julian, who always contented himself with such food as a hungry soldier would have disdained, distributed, for the use of the troops, the provisions of the imperial household, and whatever could be spared from the sumpter-horses of the tribunes and generals. But this feeble relief served only to aggravate the sense of the public distress; and the Romans began to entertain the most gloomy apprehensions that, before they could reach the frontiers of the empire, they should all perish, either by famine or by the sword of the barbarians.<sup>89</sup>

While Julian struggled with the almost insuperable difficulties of his situation, the silent hours of the night were still devoted to study and contemplation. Whenever he closed his eyes in short and interrupted slumbers, his mind was agitated with painful anxiety: nor can it be thought surprising that the Genius of the empire should once more appear before him, covering with a funereal veil his head and his horn of abundance, and slowly retiring from the imperial tent. The monarch started from his couch, and, stepping forth to refresh his wearied spirits with the coolness of the midnight air, he beheld a fiery meteor, which shot athwart the sky, and suddenly vanished. Julian was convinced that he had seen the menacing countenance of the god of war.<sup>91</sup>

Julian is  
mortally  
wounded.

<sup>88</sup> In Mark Antony's retreat, an attic chœnix sold for fifty drachmæ, or, in other words, a pound of flour for twelve or fourteen shillings; barley bread was sold for its weight in silver. It is impossible to peruse the interesting narrative of Plutarch (tom. v. p. 102-116 [c. 45]) without perceiving that Mark Antony and Julian were pursued by the same enemies and involved in the same distress.

<sup>90</sup> Ammian. xxiv. 8, xxv. 1. Zosimus, l. iii. [c. 27 seq.] p. 184, 185, 186. Libanius, Orat. Parent. c. 134, 135, p. 357, 358, 359. The sophist of Antioch appears ignorant that the troops were hungry.

<sup>91</sup> Ammian. xxv. 2. Julian had sworn in a passion "*nunquam se Marti sacra facturum*" (xxiv. 6). Such whimsical quarrels were not uncommon between the gods and their insolent votaries; and even the prudent Augustus, after his fleet



The council which he summoned, of Tuscan Haruspices,<sup>92</sup> unanimously pronounced that he should abstain from action; but, on this occasion, necessity and reason were more prevalent than superstition; and the trumpets sounded at the break of day. The army marched through a hilly country; and the hills had been secretly occupied by the Persians. Julian led the van with the skill and attention of a consummate general; he was alarmed by the intelligence that his rear was suddenly attacked. The heat of the weather had tempted him to lay aside his cuirass; but he snatched a shield from one of his attendants, and hastened, with a sufficient reinforcement, to the relief of the rear-guard. A similar danger recalled the intrepid prince to the defence of the front; and, as he galloped between the columns, the centre of the left was attacked, and almost overpowered, by a furious charge of the Persian cavalry and elephants. This huge body was soon defeated by the well-timed evolution of the light-infantry, who aimed their weapons, with dexterity and effect, against the backs of the horsemen and the legs of the elephants. The barbarians fled; and Julian, who was foremost in every danger, animated the pursuit with his voice and gestures. His trembling guards, scattered and oppressed by the disorderly throng of friends and enemies, reminded their fearless sovereign that he was without armor; and conjured him to decline the fall of the impending ruin. As they exclaimed,<sup>93</sup> a cloud of darts and arrows was discharged from the flying squadrons; and a javelin, after razing the skin of his arm, transpierced the ribs, and fixed in the inferior part of the liver. Julian attempted to draw the deadly weapon from his side; but his fingers were cut by the sharpness of the steel, and he fell senseless from his horse. His

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had been twice shipwrecked, excluded Neptune from the honors of public processions. See Hume's Philosophical Reflections, Essays, vol. ii. p. 418.

<sup>92</sup> They still retained the monopoly of the vain but lucrative science which had been invented in Etruria, and professed to derive their knowledge of signs and omens from the ancient books of Tarquitius, a Tuscan sage.

<sup>93</sup> Clamabant hinc inde *candidati* (see the note of Valesius) quos disjecerat terror, ut fugientium molem tanquam ruinam male compositi culminis declinaret. —Ammian. xxv. 3.

guards flew to his relief; and the wounded emperor was gently raised from the ground, and conveyed out of the tumult of the battle into an adjacent tent. The report of the melancholy event passed from rank to rank; but the grief of the Romans inspired them with invincible valor and the desire of revenge. The bloody and obstinate conflict was maintained by the two armies till they were separated by the total darkness of the night. The Persians derived some honor from the advantage which they obtained against the left wing, where Anatolius, master of the offices, was slain, and the præfect Sallust very narrowly escaped. But the event of the day was adverse to the barbarians. They abandoned the field; their two generals, Meranes and Nohordates,<sup>94</sup> fifty nobles or satraps, and a multitude of their bravest soldiers [were slain];<sup>a</sup> and the success of the Romans, if Julian had survived, might have been improved into a decisive and useful victory.

The first words that Julian uttered, after his recovery from the fainting fit into which he had been thrown by loss of blood, were expressive of his martial spirit. He called for his horse and arms, and was impatient to rush into the battle. His remaining strength was exhausted by the painful effort; and the surgeons who examined his wound discovered the symptoms of approaching death. He employed the awful moments with the firm temper of a hero and a sage. The philosophers who had accompanied him in this fatal expedition compared the tent of Julian with the prison of Socrates; and the spectators whom duty or friendship or curiosity had assembled round his couch listened with respectful grief to the funeral oration of their dying emperor.<sup>95</sup>

The death of  
Julian.  
A.D. 363.  
June 26.

<sup>94</sup> Sapor himself declared to the Romans that it was his practice to comfort the families of his deceased satraps by sending them, as a present, the heads of the guards and officers who had not fallen by their master's side. Libanius de Nece Julian. Ulcis. c. xiii. p. 163.

<sup>95</sup> The character and situation of Julian might countenance the suspicion that he

<sup>a</sup> The words in brackets are not in the 4to edition; but it would seem that these words, or something equivalent, were accidentally omitted, as the text is nearly a translation of the following passage of Ammianus: "*Quinquaginta tum Persarum optimates et satrapæ cum plebe maxima ceciderunt, inter has turbas Merena et Nohodare, potissimis ducibus interfectis*" (l. xxv. c. 3).—S.

“Friends and fellow-soldiers, the seasonable period of my departure is now arrived, and I discharge, with the cheerfulness of a ready debtor, the demands of nature. I have learned from philosophy how much the soul is more excellent than the body, and that the separation of the nobler substance should be the subject of joy rather than of affliction. I have learned from religion that an early death has often been the reward of piety;<sup>96</sup> and I accept, as a favor of the gods, the mortal stroke that secures me from the danger of disgracing a character which has hitherto been supported by virtue and fortitude. I die without remorse, as I have lived without guilt. I am pleased to reflect on the innocence of my private life; and I can affirm with confidence that the supreme authority, that emanation of the Divine Power, has been preserved in my hands pure and immaculate. Detesting the corrupt and destructive maxims of despotism, I have considered the happiness of the people as the end of government. Submitting my actions to the laws of prudence, of justice, and of moderation, I have trusted the event to the care of Providence. Peace was the object of my counsels, as long as peace was consistent with the public welfare; but when the imperious voice of my country summoned me to arms, I exposed my person to the dangers of war, with the clear foreknowledge (which I had acquired from the art of divination) that I was destined to fall by the sword. I now offer my tribute of gratitude to the Eternal Being, who has not suffered me to perish by the cruelty of a tyrant, by the secret dagger of conspiracy, or by the slow tortures of lingering disease. He has given me, in the midst of an honorable career, a splendid and glorious departure from this world; and I hold it equally absurd, equally base, to solicit or to decline the stroke of fate. Thus much I have

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had previously composed the elaborate oration which Ammianus heard and has transcribed. The version of the Abbé de la Bletterie is faithful and elegant. I have followed him in expressing the Platonic idea of emanations, which is darkly insinuated in the original.

<sup>96</sup> Herodotus (l. i. c. 31) has displayed that doctrine in an agreeable tale. Yet the Jupiter (in the sixteenth book of the Iliad), who laments with tears of blood the death of Sarpedon, his son, had a very imperfect notion of happiness or glory beyond the grave.

attempted to say; but my strength fails me, and I feel the approach of death. I shall cautiously refrain from any word that may tend to influence your suffrages in the election of an emperor. My choice might be imprudent or injudicious; and if it should not be ratified by the consent of the army, it might be fatal to the person whom I should recommend. I shall only, as a good citizen, express my hopes that the Romans may be blessed with the government of a virtuous sovereign." After this discourse, which Julian pronounced in a firm and gentle tone of voice, he distributed, by a military testament,<sup>97</sup> the remains of his private fortune. And, making some inquiry why Anatolius was not present, he understood from the answer of Sallust that Anatolius was killed; and bewailed, with amiable inconsistency, the loss of his friend. At the same time, he reproved the immoderate grief of the spectators, and conjured them not to disgrace, by unmanly tears, the fate of a prince who in a few moments would be united with heaven and with the stars.<sup>98</sup> The spectators were silent; and Julian entered into a metaphysical argument with the philosophers Priscus and Maximus on the nature of the soul. The efforts which he made of mind as well as body most probably hastened his death. His wound began to bleed with fresh violence; his respiration was embarrassed by the swelling of the veins; he called for a draught of cold water, and, as soon as he had drunk it, expired without pain about the hour of midnight. Such was the end of that extraordinary man, in the thirty-second year of his age, after a reign of one year and about eight months from the death of Constantius. In his last moments he displayed, perhaps with some ostentation, the love of virtue and of fame, which had been the ruling passions of his life.<sup>99</sup>

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<sup>97</sup> The soldiers who made their verbal or nuncupatory testaments upon actual service (*in procinctu*) were exempted from the formalities of the Roman law. See Heineccius (*Antiquit. Jur. Roman. tom. i. p. 504*) and Montesquieu (*Esprit des Loix, l. xxvii.*).

<sup>98</sup> This union of the human soul with the divine ethereal substance of the universe is the ancient doctrine of Pythagoras and Plato, but it seems to exclude any personal or conscious immortality. See Warburton's learned and rational observations. *Divine Legation, vol. ii. p. 199-216.*

<sup>99</sup> The whole relation of the death of Julian is given by Ammianus (xxv. 3), and



The triumph of Christianity and the calamities of the empire may, in some measure, be ascribed to Julian himself, who had neglected to secure the future execution of his designs by the timely and judicious nomination of an associate and successor. But the royal race of Constantius Chlorus was reduced to his own person; and if he entertained any serious thoughts of investing with the purple the most worthy among the Romans, he was diverted from his resolution by the difficulty of the choice, the jealousy of power, the fear of ingratitude, and the natural presumption of health, of youth, and of prosperity. His unexpected death left the empire without a master and without an heir, in a state of perplexity and danger which, in the space of fourscore years, had never been experienced since the election of Diocletian. In a government which had almost forgotten the distinction of pure and noble blood, the superiority of birth was of little moment. The claims of official rank were accidental and precarious; and the candidates who might aspire to ascend the vacant throne could be supported only by the consciousness of personal merit or by the hopes of popular favor. But the situation of a famished army, encompassed on all sides by a host of barbarians, shortened the moments of grief and deliberation. In this scene of terror and distress, the body of the deceased prince, according to his own directions, was decently embalmed; and at the dawn of day the generals

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intelligent spectator. Libanius, who turns with horror from the scene, has supplied some circumstances (Orat. Parental. c. 136-140, p. 359-362). The calumnies of Gregory, and the legends of more recent saints, may now be *silently* despised.\*

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\* A very remarkable fragment of Eunapius describes, not without spirit, the struggle between the terror of the army, on account of their perilous situation, and their grief for the death of Julian: "Even the vulgar felt that they would soon provide a general, but such a general as Julian they would never find, even though a god in the form of man—*πλαστός θεός*. Julian, who, with a mind equal to the divinity, triumphed over the evil propensities of human nature; . . . who held commerce with immaterial beings while yet in the material body; who condescended to rule because a ruler was necessary to the welfare of mankind."—Mai, Nov. Coll. ii. 261. Eunapius, edit. Niebuhr, p. 69. The *πλαστός θεός*, to which Julian is thus advantageously compared, is manifestly, as M. Mai observes, a bitter sneer at the incarnate Deity of the Christians. The fragment is followed by an indignant comment by some Christian writer. Ibid.—M.

convened a military senate, at which the commanders of the legions and the officers both of cavalry and infantry were invited to assist. Three or four hours of the night had not passed away without some secret cabals; and when the election of an emperor was proposed, the spirit of faction began to agitate the assembly. Victor and Arinthæus collected the remains of the court of Constantius; the friends of Julian attached themselves to the Gallic chiefs Dagalaiphus and Nevitta; and the most fatal consequences might be apprehended from the discord of two factions so opposite in their character and interest, in their maxims of government, and perhaps in their religious principles. The superior virtues of Sallust could alone reconcile their divisions and unite their suffrages; and the venerable præfect would immediately have been declared the successor of Julian if he himself, with sincere and modest firmness, had not alleged his age and infirmities so unequal to the weight of the diadem. The generals, who were surprised and perplexed by his refusal, showed some disposition to adopt the salutary advice of an inferior officer,<sup>100</sup> that they should act as they would have acted in the absence of the emperor; that they should exert their abilities to extricate the army from the present distress; and, if they were fortunate enough to reach the confines of Mesopotamia, they should proceed with united and deliberate counsels in the election of a lawful sovereign. While they debated, a few voices saluted Jovian, who was no more than *first*<sup>101</sup> of the domestics, with the names of Emperor and Augustus. The tumultuary acclamation<sup>a</sup> was instantly repeated by the guards who surrounded the tent, and passed in a few minutes to the extremities of the line. The new prince, astonished with his

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<sup>100</sup> "Honoratior aliquis miles;" perhaps Ammianus himself. The modest and judicious historian describes the scene of the election, at which he was undoubtedly present (xxv. 5).

<sup>101</sup> The *primus* or *primicerius* enjoyed the dignity of a senator; and, though only a tribune, he ranked with the military dukes. Cod. Theodosian. l. vi. tit. xxiv. [leg. 11]. These privileges are perhaps more recent than the time of Jovian.

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<sup>a</sup> The soldiers supposed that the acclamations proclaimed the name of Julian (restored, as they fondly thought, to health), not that of Jovian. Amm. in loc.—M.

own fortune, was hastily invested with the imperial ornaments, and received an oath of fidelity from the generals whose favor and protection he so lately solicited. The strongest recommendation of Jovian was the merit of his father, Count Varonian, who enjoyed in honorable retirement the fruit of his long services. In the obscure freedom of a private station, the son indulged his taste for wine and women; yet he supported with credit the character of a Christian<sup>102</sup> and a soldier. Without being conspicuous for any of the ambitious qualifications which excite the admiration and envy of mankind, the comely person of Jovian, his cheerful temper, and familiar wit had gained the affection of his fellow-soldiers; and the generals of both parties acquiesced in a popular election which had not been conducted by the arts of their enemies. The pride of this unexpected elevation was moderated by the just apprehension that the same day might terminate the life and reign of the new emperor. The pressing voice of necessity was obeyed without delay; and the first orders issued by Jovian, a few hours after his predecessor had expired, were to prosecute a march which could alone extricate the Romans from their actual distress.<sup>103</sup>

The esteem of an enemy is most sincerely expressed by his fears; and the degree of fear may be accurately measured by the joy with which he celebrates his deliverance. The welcome news of the death of Julian, which a deserter revealed to the camp of Sapor, inspired the desponding monarch with a sudden confidence of victory. He immediately detached the royal cavalry, perhaps

Danger and  
difficulty of  
the retreat.  
June 27—  
July 1.

<sup>102</sup> The ecclesiastical historians Socrates (l. iii. c. 22), Sozomen (l. vi. c. 3), and Theodoret (l. iv. c. 1) ascribe to Jovian the merit of a confessor under the preceding reign, and piously suppose that he refused the purple till the whole army unanimously exclaimed that they were Christians. Ammianus, calmly pursuing his narrative, overthrows the legend by a single sentence: "Hostiis pro Joviano extisque inspectis, pronuntiatum est," etc. (xxv. 6).

<sup>103</sup> Ammianus (xxv. 10) has drawn from the life an impartial portrait of Jovian, to which the younger Victor has added some remarkable strokes. The Abbé de la Bletterie (*Histoire de Jovien*, tom. i. p. 1-238) has composed an elaborate history of his short reign—a work remarkably distinguished by elegance of style, critical disquisition, and religious prejudice.

the ten thousand *Immortals*,<sup>104</sup> to second and support the pursuit, and discharged the whole weight of his united forces on the rear-guard of the Romans. The rear-guard was thrown into disorder; the renowned legions which derived their title from Diocletian and his warlike colleague were broken and trampled down by the elephants; and three tribunes lost their lives in attempting to stop the flight of their soldiers. The battle was at length restored by the persevering valor of the Romans; the Persians were repulsed with a great slaughter of men and elephants; and the army, after marching and fighting a long summer's day, arrived in the evening at Samara, on the banks of the Tigris, about one hundred miles above Ctesiphon.<sup>105</sup> On the ensuing day the barbarians, instead of harassing the march, attacked the camp of Jovian, which had been seated in a deep and sequestered valley. From the hills the archers of Persia insulted and annoyed the wearied legionaries; and a body of cavalry, which had penetrated with desperate courage through the Prætorian gate, was cut in pieces, after a doubtful conflict, near the imperial tent. In the succeeding night the camp of Carhe was protected by the lofty dikes of the river; and the Roman army, though incessantly exposed to the vexatious pursuit of the Saracens, pitched their tents near the city of Dura<sup>106</sup> four days after the

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<sup>104</sup> *Regius equitatus*. It appears from Procopius that the Immortals, so famous under Cyrus and his successors, were revived, if we may use that improper word, by the Sassanides. Brisson. *de Regno Persico*, p. 268, etc.

<sup>105</sup> The obscure villages of the inland country are irrecoverably lost, nor can we name the field of battle where Julian fell; but M. d'Anville has demonstrated the precise situation of Sumere, Carhe, and Dura, along the banks of the Tigris (*Géographie Ancienne*, tom. ii. p. 248; *L'Euphrate et le Tigre*, p. 95, 97). In the ninth century, Sumere, or Samara, became, with a slight change of name, the royal residence of the caliphs of the House of Abbas.<sup>a</sup>

<sup>106</sup> Dura was a fortified place in the wars of Antiochus against the rebels of Media and Persia (*Polybius*, l. v. c. 48, 52, p. 548, 552, edit. Casaubon, in 8vo).<sup>b</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Samara, still called Samarian, was the capital of Motassem Billah, the eighth caliph of the Abbasside dynasty. It is now a poor place inhabited by Arabs, consisting of a few falling houses surrounded by a mud wall. Rich, *Residence in Koordistan*, vol. ii. p. 150; Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 471.—S.

<sup>b</sup> Dura, which still preserves its ancient name, is a considerable town situated in a plain on the left bank of the Tigris. This plain appears to be the same as the plain of Dura mentioned in the history of Nebuchadnezzar (*Daniel* iii. 1).



death of Julian. The Tigris was still on their left; their hopes and provisions were almost consumed; and the impatient soldiers, who had fondly persuaded themselves that the frontiers of the empire were not far distant, requested their new sovereign that they might be permitted to hazard the passage of the river. With the assistance of his wisest officers, Jovian endeavored to check their rashness by representing that, if they possessed sufficient skill and vigor to stem the torrent of a deep and rapid stream, they would only deliver themselves naked and defenceless to the barbarians, who had occupied the opposite banks. Yielding at length to their clamorous importunities, he consented, with reluctance, that five hundred Gauls and Germans, accustomed from their infancy to the waters of the Rhine and Danube, should attempt the bold adventure, which might serve either as an encouragement or as a warning for the rest of the army. In the silence of the night they swam the Tigris, surprised an unguarded post of the enemy, and displayed at the dawn of day the signal of their resolution and fortune. The success of this trial disposed the emperor to listen to the promises of his architects, who proposed to construct a floating bridge of the inflated skins of sheep, oxen, and goats, covered with a floor of earth and fascines.<sup>107</sup> Two important days were spent in the ineffectual labor; and the Romans, who already endured the miseries of famine, cast a look of despair on the Tigris and upon the barbarians, whose numbers and obstinacy increased with the distress of the imperial army.<sup>108</sup>

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<sup>107</sup> A similar expedient was proposed to the leaders of the ten thousand, and wisely rejected. Xenophon, *Anabasis*, l. iii. [c. v. § 9–11] p. 255, 256, 257. It appears from our modern travellers that rafts floating on bladders perform the trade and navigation of the Tigris.

<sup>108</sup> The first military acts of the reign of Jovian are related by Ammianus (xxv. 6), Libanius (*Orat. Parent.* c. 143, p. 364), and Zosim<sup>us</sup> (l. iii. [c. 30] p. 189, 190, 191). Though we may distrust the fairness of Libanius, the ocular testimony of Eutropius (“uno a Persis atque altero prælio victus,” x. 17 [9]) must incline us to suspect that Ammianus has been too jealous of the honor of the Roman arms.

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See Rich, *Residence in Koordistan*, vol. ii. p. 148; Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 469. Dura on the Tigris must not be confounded with Dura in the north of Mesopotamia, at no great distance from Circesium and the Euphrates, where, according to Zosimus (iii. 14), the sepulchral monument to Gordian was erected. See vol. i. p. 326.—S.

In this hopeless situation, the fainting spirits of the Romans were revived by the sound of peace. The transient presumption of Sapor had vanished. He observed, with serious concern, that, in the repetition of doubtful combats, he had lost his most faithful and intrepid nobles, his bravest troops, and the greatest part of his train of elephants; and the experienced monarch feared to provoke the resistance of despair, the vicissitudes of fortune, and the unexhausted powers of the Roman empire, which might soon advance to relieve, or to revenge, the successor of Julian. The Surenas himself, accompanied by another satrap, appeared in the camp of Jovian,<sup>109</sup> and declared that the clemency of his sovereign was not averse to signify the conditions on which he would consent to spare and to dismiss the Cæsar with the relics of his captive army. The hopes of safety subdued the firmness of the Romans. The emperor was compelled, by the advice of his council and the cries of the soldiers, to embrace the offer of peace; and the præfect Sallust was immediately sent, with the general Arinthæus, to understand the pleasure of the Great King. The crafty Persian delayed, under various pretences, the conclusion of the agreement; started difficulties, required explanations, suggested expedients, receded from his concessions, increased his demands, and wasted four days in the arts of negotiation, till he had consumed the stock of provisions which yet remained in the camp of the Romans. Had Jovian been capable of executing a bold and prudent measure, he would have continued his march with unremitting diligence; the progress of the treaty would have suspended the attacks of the barbarians; and, before the expiration of the fourth day, he might have safely reached the fruitful province of Corduene, at the distance only of one hundred miles.<sup>110</sup>

<sup>109</sup> Sextus Rufus (de Provinciis, c. 29) embraces a poor subterfuge of national vanity. "Tanta reverentia nominis Romani fuit, ut a Persis *primus* de pace sermo haberetur."

<sup>110</sup> It is presumptuous to controvert the opinion of Ammianus, a soldier and a spectator. Yet it is difficult to understand *how* the mountains of Corduene could extend over the plain of Assyria as low as the conflux of the Tigris and the Great Zab, or *how* an army of sixty thousand men could march one hundred miles in four days.

The irresolute emperor, instead of breaking through the toils of the enemy, expected his fate with patient resignation; and accepted the humiliating conditions of peace which it was no longer in his power to refuse. The five provinces beyond the Tigris, which had been ceded by the grandfather of Sapor, were restored to the Persian monarchy. He acquired, by a single article, the impregnable city of Nisibis, which had sustained, in three successive sieges, the effort of his arms. Singara, and the castle of the Moors, one of the strongest places of Mesopotamia, were likewise dismembered from the empire. It was considered as an indulgence that the inhabitants of those fortresses were permitted to retire with their effects; but the conqueror rigorously insisted that the Romans should forever abandon the king and kingdom of Armenia. A peace, or rather a long truce, of thirty years was stipulated between the hostile nations; the faith of the treaty was ratified by solemn oaths and religious ceremonies; and hostages of distinguished rank were reciprocally delivered to secure the performance of the conditions.<sup>111</sup>

The sophist of Antioch, who saw with indignation the sceptre of his hero in the feeble hand of a Christian successor, professes to admire the moderation of Sapor in contenting himself with so small a portion of the Roman empire. If he had stretched as far as the Euphrates the claims of his ambition, he might have been secure, says Libanius, of not meeting with a refusal. If he had fixed as the boundary of Persia the Orontes, the Cydnus, the Sangarius, or even the Thracian Bosphorus, flatterers would not have been wanting in the court of Jovian to convince the timid monarch that his remaining provinces would still afford the most ample gratifications of power and luxury.<sup>112</sup> With-

The weakness and disgrace of Jovian.

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<sup>111</sup> The treaty of Dura is recorded with grief or indignation by Ammianus (xxv. 7), Libanius (Orat. Parent. c. 142, p. 364), Zosimus (l. iii. [c. 31] p. 190, 191), Gregory Nazianzen (Orat. iv. p. 117, 118, who imputes the distress to Julian, the deliverance to Jovian), and Eutropius (x. 17 [9]). The last-mentioned writer, who was present in a military station, styles this peace "*necessariam quidem sed ignobilem*."

<sup>112</sup> Libanius, Orat. Parent. c. 143, p. 364, 365.

out adopting in its full force this malicious insinuation, we must acknowledge that the conclusion of so ignominious a treaty was facilitated by the private ambition of Jovian. The obscure domestic, exalted to the throne by fortune rather than by merit, was impatient to escape from the hands of the Persians, that he might prevent the designs of Procopius, who commanded the army of Mesopotamia, and establish his doubtful reign over the legions and provinces which were still ignorant of the hasty and tumultuous choice of the camp beyond the Tigris.<sup>113</sup> In the neighborhood of the same river, at no very considerable distance from the fatal station of Dura,<sup>114</sup> the ten thousand Greeks, without generals or guides or provisions, were abandoned, above twelve hundred miles from their native country, to the resentment of a victorious monarch. The difference of *their* conduct and success depended much more on their character than on their situation. Instead of tamely resigning themselves to the secret deliberations and private views of a single person, the united councils of the Greeks were inspired by the generous enthusiasm of a popular assembly, where the mind of each citizen is filled with the love of glory, the pride of freedom, and the contempt of death. Conscious of their superiority over the barbarians in arms and discipline, they disdained to yield, they refused to capitulate: every obstacle was surmounted by their patience, courage, and military skill; and the memorable retreat of the ten thousand exposed and insulted the weakness of the Persian monarchy.<sup>115</sup>

<sup>113</sup> Conditionibus . . . dispendiosis Romanæ republicæ impositis . . . quibus cupidior regni quam gloriæ Jovianus, imperio rudis, adquevit.—Sextus Rufus de Provinciis, c. 29. La Bletterie has expressed, in a long, direct oration, these specious considerations of public and private interest (Hist. de Jovien, tom. i. p. 39, etc.).

<sup>114</sup> The generals were murdered on the banks of the Zabatus (Anabasis, l. ii. [c. v. § 1] p. 156, l. iii. [c. iii. § 6] p. 226), or Great Zab, a river of Assyria, 400 feet broad, which falls into the Tigris fourteen hours below Mosul. The error of the Greeks bestowed on the Great and Lesser Zab the names of the *Wolf* (Lycus) and the *Goat* (Capros). They created these animals to attend the *Tiger* of the East.

<sup>115</sup> The *Cyropædia* is vague and languid; the *Anabasis* circumstantial and animated. Such is the eternal difference between fiction and truth



As the price of his disgraceful concessions, the emperor might perhaps have stipulated that the camp of the hungry Romans should be plentifully supplied,<sup>116</sup> and that they should be permitted to pass the Tigris on the bridge which was constructed by the hands of the Persians. But if Jovian presumed to solicit those equitable terms, they were sternly refused by the haughty tyrant of the East, whose clemency had pardoned the invaders of his country. The Saracens sometimes intercepted the stragglers of the march; but the generals and troops of Sapor respected the cessation of arms, and Jovian was suffered to explore the most convenient place for the passage of the river. The small vessels which had been saved from the conflagration of the fleet performed the most essential service. They first conveyed the emperor and his favorites, and afterwards transported, in many successive voyages, a great part of the army. But, as every man was anxious for his personal safety and apprehensive of being left on the hostile shore, the soldiers, who were too impatient to wait the slow returns of the boats, boldly ventured themselves on light hurdles or inflated skins, and drawing after them their horses, attempted, with various success, to swim across the river. Many of these daring adventurers were swallowed by the waves; many others, who were carried along by the violence of the stream, fell an easy prey to the avarice or cruelty of the wild Arabs; and the loss which the army sustained in the passage of the Tigris was not inferior to the carnage of a day of battle. As soon as the Romans had landed on the western bank, they were delivered from the hostile pursuit of the barbarians; but in a laborious march of two hundred miles over the plains of Mesopotamia they endured the last extremities of thirst and hunger. They were obliged to traverse a sandy desert, which, in the extent of seventy miles, did not afford a single blade of sweet grass nor a single spring of fresh water, and the rest of the inhospitable

<sup>116</sup> According to Rufinus, an immediate supply of provisions was stipulated by the treaty, and Theodoret affirms that the obligation was faithfully discharged by the Persians. Such a fact is probable, but undoubtedly false. See Tillemont, *Hist. des Empereurs*, tom. iv. p. 702.

waste was untrodden by the footsteps either of friends or enemies. Whenever a small measure of flour could be discovered in the camp, twenty pounds weight were greedily purchased with ten pieces of gold,<sup>117</sup> the beasts of burden were slaughtered and devoured, and the desert was strewn with the arms and baggage of the Roman soldiers, whose tattered garments and meagre countenances displayed their past sufferings and actual misery. A small convoy of provisions advanced to meet the army as far as the castle of Ur; and the supply was the more grateful, since it declared the fidelity of Sebastian and Procopius. At Thilsaphata<sup>118</sup> the emperor most graciously received the generals of Mesopotamia, and the remains of a once flourishing army at length reposed themselves under the walls of Nisibis. The messengers of Jovian had already proclaimed, in the language of flattery, his election, his treaty, and his return, and the new prince had taken the most effectual measures to secure the allegiance of the armies and provinces of Europe by placing the military command in the hands of those officers who, from motives of interest or inclination, would firmly support the cause of their benefactor.<sup>119</sup>

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<sup>117</sup> We may recollect some lines of Lucan (*Pharsal.* iv. 95), who describes a similar distress of Cæsar's army in Spain:

Sæva fames aderat ———  
 Miles eget: toto censû non prodigus emit  
 Exiguam Cererem. Proh luci pallida tabes!  
 Non deest prolato jejunnus venditor auro.

See Guichardt (*Nouveaux Mémoires Militaires*, tom. i. p. 379–382). His analysis of the two campaigns in Spain and Africa is the noblest monument that has ever been raised to the fame of Cæsar.

<sup>118</sup> M. d'Anville (see his *Maps*, and *L'Euphrate et le Tigre*, p. 92, 93) traces their march, and assigns the true position of Hatra, Ur, and Thilsaphata, which Ammianus has mentioned.<sup>a</sup> He does not complain of the Samiel, the deadly hot wind, which Thévenot (*Voyages*, part ii. l. i. p. 192) so much dreaded.

<sup>119</sup> The retreat of Jovian is described by Ammianus (xxv. 9), Libanius (*Orat.* Parent. c. 143, p. 365), and Zosimus (l. iii. [c. 33] p. 194).

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<sup>a</sup> Hatra or Atra, of which there are very extensive ruins, is now called *Al-Hathr*. The town was probably very ancient, but the ruins seem to belong to the Sassanian period, or, at all events, are not earlier than the Parthian dynasty. See Lynch, in *Journal of Geograph. Society*, vol. ix. p. 467; Ainsworth, *Researches*, vol. ii. ch. 35; Layard, *Nineveh and its Remains*, vol. i. p. 108. The position of Ur and Thilsaphata is uncertain.—S.

The friends of Julian had confidently announced the success of his expedition. They entertained a fond persuasion that the temples of the gods would be enriched with the spoils of the East; that Persia would be reduced to the humble state of a tributary province, governed by the laws and magistrates of Rome; that the barbarians would adopt the dress and manners and language of their conquerors; and that the youth of Ecbatana and Susa would study the art of rhetoric under Grecian masters.<sup>120</sup> The progress of the arms of Julian interrupted his communication with the empire, and, from the moment that he passed the Tigris, his affectionate subjects were ignorant of the fate and fortunes of their prince. Their contemplation of fancied triumphs was disturbed by the melancholy rumor of his death, and they persisted to doubt, after they could no longer deny, the truth of that fatal event.<sup>121</sup> The messengers of Jovian promulgated the specious tale of a prudent and necessary peace; the voice of fame, louder and more sincere, revealed the disgrace of the emperor and the conditions of the ignominious treaty. The minds of the people were filled with astonishment and grief, with indignation and terror, when they were informed that the unworthy successor of Julian relinquished the five provinces which had been acquired by the victory of Galerius, and that he shamefully surrendered to the barbarians the important city of Nisibis, the firmest bulwark of the provinces of the East.<sup>122</sup> The deep and dangerous question, how far the public faith should be observed when it becomes incompatible with the public safety, was

Universal  
clamor  
against the  
treaty of  
peace.

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<sup>120</sup> Libanius (*Orat. Parent. c. 145, p. 366*). Such were the natural hopes and wishes of a rhetorician.

<sup>121</sup> The people of Carrhæ, a city devoted to paganism, buried the inauspicious messenger under a pile of stones (*Zosimus, l. iii. [c. 34] p. 196*). Libanius, when he received the fatal intelligence, cast his eye on his sword; but he recollected that Plato had condemned suicide, and that he must live to compose the Panegyric of Julian (*Libanius de Vitâ suâ, tom. ii. p. 45, 46 [edit. Morell. Paris, 1627]*).

<sup>122</sup> Ammianus and Eutropius may be admitted as fair and credible witnesses of the public language and opinions. The people of Antioch reviled an ignominious peace which exposed them to the Persians on a naked and defenceless frontier (*Excerpt. Valesiana, p. 845, ex Johanne Antiocheno*).

freely agitated in popular conversation, and some hopes were entertained that the emperor would redeem his pusillanimous behavior by a splendid act of patriotic perfidy. The inflexible spirit of the Roman senate had always disclaimed the unequal conditions which were extorted from the distress of her captive armies; and, if it were necessary to satisfy the national honor by delivering the guilty general into the hands of the barbarians, the greatest part of the subjects of Jovian would have cheerfully acquiesced in the precedent of ancient times.<sup>123</sup>

But the emperor, whatever might be the limits of his constitutional authority, was the absolute master of the laws and arms of the State; and the same motives which had forced him to subscribe, now pressed him to execute the treaty of peace. He was impatient to secure an empire at the expense of a few provinces, and the respectable names of religion and honor concealed the personal fears and the ambition of Jovian. Notwithstanding the dutiful solicitations of the inhabitants, decency as well as prudence forbade the emperor to lodge in the palace of Nisibis; but the next morning after his arrival, Bineses, the ambassador of Persia, entered the place, displayed from the citadel the standard of the Great King, and proclaimed, in his name, the cruel alternative of exile or servitude. The principal citizens of Nisibis, who till that fatal moment had confided in the protection of their sovereign, threw themselves at his feet. They conjured him not to abandon, or at least not to deliver, a faithful colony to the rage of a barbarian tyrant exasperated by the three successive defeats which he had experienced under the walls of Nisibis. They still possessed arms and courage to repel the invaders of their country; they requested only the permission of using them in their own defence, and, as soon as they had asserted their independence,

Jovian evacuates Nisibis, and restores the five provinces to the Persians. August.

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<sup>123</sup> The Abbé de la Bletterie (Hist. de Jovien, tom. i. p. 212-227), though a severe casuist, has pronounced that Jovian was not bound to execute his promise; since he *could not* dismember the empire, nor alienate, without their consent, the allegiance of his people. I have never found much delight or instruction in such political metaphysics.



they should implore the favor of being again admitted into the rank of his subjects. Their arguments, their eloquence, their tears, were ineffectual. Jovian alleged, with some confusion, the sanctity of oaths; and as the reluctance with which he accepted the present of a crown of gold convinced the citizens of their hopeless condition, the advocate Sylvanus was provoked to exclaim, "O emperor! may you thus be crowned by all the cities of your dominions!" Jovian, who in a few weeks had assumed the habits of a prince,<sup>124</sup> was displeased with freedom and offended with truth; and as he reasonably supposed that the discontent of the people might incline them to submit to the Persian government, he published an edict, under pain of death, that they should leave the city within the term of three days. Ammianus has delineated in lively colors the scene of universal despair, which he seems to have viewed with an eye of compassion.<sup>125</sup> The martial youth deserted, with indignant grief, the walls which they had so gloriously defended; the disconsolate mourner dropped a last tear over the tomb of a son or husband, which must soon be profaned by the rude hand of a barbarian master; and the aged citizen kissed the threshold and clung to the doors of the house where he had passed the cheerful and careless hours of infancy. The highways were crowded with a trembling multitude; the distinctions of rank and sex and age were lost in the general calamity. Every one strove to bear away some fragment from the wreck of his fortunes; and as they could not command the immediate service of an adequate number of horses or wagons, they were obliged to leave behind them the greatest part of their valuable effects. The savage insensibility of Jovian appears to have aggravated the hardships of these unhappy fugitives. They were seated, however, in a new-built quarter of Amida; and that rising city, with the reinforcement of a very considerable colony, soon recovered its former splendor and

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<sup>124</sup> At Nisibis he performed a *royal* act. A brave officer, his namesake, who had been thought worthy of the purple, was dragged from supper, thrown into a well, and stoned to death without any form of trial or evidence of guilt. Ammianus, xxv. 8.

<sup>125</sup> See xxv. 9, and Zosimus, l. iii. [c. 33] p. 194, 195.

became the capital of Mesopotamia.<sup>126</sup> Similar orders were despatched by the emperor for the evacuation of Singara and the castle of the Moors, and for the restitution of the five provinces beyond the Tigris. Sapor enjoyed the glory and the fruits of his victory; and this ignominious peace has justly been considered as a memorable era in the decline and fall of the Roman empire. The predecessors of Jovian had sometimes relinquished the dominion of distant and unprofitable provinces; but, since the foundation of the city, the genius of Rome, the god Terminus, who guarded the boundaries of the republic, had never retired before the sword of a victorious enemy.<sup>127</sup>

After Jovian had performed those engagements which the voice of his people might have tempted him to violate, he hastened away from the scene of his disgrace, and proceeded with his whole court to enjoy the luxury of Antioch.<sup>128</sup> Without consulting the dictates of religious zeal, he was prompted, by humanity and gratitude, to bestow the last honors on the remains of his deceased sovereign;<sup>129</sup> and Procopius, who sincerely bewailed the loss of his kinsman, was removed from the command of the army, under the decent pretence of conducting the funeral. The corpse of Julian was transported from Nisibis to Tarsus, in a slow march of fifteen days, and, as it passed through the cities of the East, was saluted by the hostile factions with mournful lamentations and clamorous insults. The pagans already placed their beloved hero in the rank of those gods whose worship he had restored,

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<sup>126</sup> Chron. Paschal. p. 300 [tom. i. p. 554, edit. Bonn]. The ecclesiastical Notitiæ may be consulted.

<sup>127</sup> Zosimus, l. iii. [c. 32] p. 192, 193. Sextus Rufus de Provinciis, c. 29. Augustin. de Civitat. Dei, l. iv. c. 29. This general position must be applied and interpreted with some caution.

<sup>128</sup> Ammianus, xxv. 10. Zosimus, l. iii. [c. 34] p. 196. He might be "edax, et vino Venerique indulgens." But I agree with La Bletterie (tom. i. p. 148-154) in rejecting the foolish report of a Bacchanalian riot (ap. Suidam) celebrated at Antioch by the emperor, his wife, and a troop of concubines.

<sup>129</sup> The Abbé de la Bletterie (tom. i. p. 156, 209) handsomely exposes the brutal bigotry of Baronius, who would have thrown Julian to the dogs, "ne cespitiâ quidem sepulturâ dignus."

while the invectives of the Christians pursued the soul of the Apostate to hell, and his body to the grave.<sup>130</sup> One party lamented the approaching ruin of their altars, the other celebrated the marvellous deliverance of the Church. The Christians applauded, in lofty and ambiguous strains, the stroke of divine vengeance which had been so long suspended over the guilty head of Julian. They acknowledged that the death of the tyrant, at the instant he expired beyond the Tigris, was *revealed* to the saints of Egypt, Syria, and Cappadocia;<sup>131</sup> and instead of suffering him to fall by the Persian darts, their indiscretion ascribed the heroic deed to the obscure hand of some mortal or immortal champion of the faith.<sup>132</sup> Such imprudent declarations were eagerly adopted by the malice or credulity of their adversaries,<sup>133</sup> who darkly insinuated or confidently asserted that the governors of the Church had instigated and directed the fanaticism of a domestic assassin.<sup>134</sup> Above sixteen years after the death of Julian; the charge was solemnly and vehemently urged in a public oration addressed by Libanius to the emperor Theodosius. His suspicions are unsupported by fact or ar-

<sup>130</sup> Compare the sophist and the saint (Libanius, Monod. tom. ii. p. 251, and Orat. Parent. c. 145, p. 367; c. 156, p. 377, with Gregory Nazianzen, Orat. iv. p. 125-132). The Christian orator faintly mutters some exhortations to modesty and forgiveness; but he is well satisfied that the real sufferings of Julian will far exceed the fabulous torments of Ixion or Tantalus.

<sup>131</sup> Tillemont (Hist. des Empereurs, tom. iv. p. 549) has collected these visions. Some saint or angel was observed to be absent in the night on a secret expedition, etc.

<sup>132</sup> Sozomen (l. vi. 2) applauds the Greek doctrine of *tyrannicide*; but the whole passage, which a Jesuit might have translated, is prudently suppressed by the president Cousin.

<sup>133</sup> Immediately after the death of Julian, an uncertain rumor was scattered, "*telo cecidisse Romano*." It was carried by some deserters to the Persian camp; and the Romans were reproached as the assassins of the emperor by Sapor and his subjects (Ammian. xxv. 6; Libanius de Ulciscendâ Juliani Nece, c. xiii. p. 162, 163). It was urged, as a decisive proof, that no Persian had appeared to claim the promised reward (Liban. Orat. Parent. c. 141, p. 363). But the flying horseman who darted the fatal javelin might be ignorant of its effect, or he might be slain in the same action. Ammianus neither feels nor inspires a suspicion.

<sup>134</sup> "*Ὅστις ἐντολήν πληρῶν τῷ σφῶν αὐτῶν ἀρχοντι*." This dark and ambiguous expression may point to Athanasius, the first without a rival of the Christian clergy (Libanius de Ulcis. Jul. Nece, c. 5, p. 149. La Bletterie, Hist. de Jovien, tom. i. p. 179).

gument, and we can only esteem the generous zeal of the sophist of Antioch for the cold and neglected ashes of his friend.<sup>135</sup>

It was an ancient custom in the funerals as well as in the triumphs of the Romans that the voice of praise should be corrected by that of satire and ridicule, and that, in the midst of the splendid pageants which displayed the glory of the living or of the dead, their imperfections should not be concealed from the eyes of the world.<sup>136</sup> This custom was practised in the funeral of Julian. The comedians, who resented his contempt and aversion for the theatre, exhibited, with the applause of a Christian audience, the lively and exaggerated representation of the faults and follies of the deceased emperor. His various character and singular manners afforded an ample scope for pleasantry and ridicule.<sup>137</sup> In the exercise of his uncommon talents he often descended below the majesty of his rank. Alexander was transformed into Diogenes—the philosopher was degraded into a priest. The purity of his virtue was sullied by excessive vanity; his superstition disturbed the peace and endangered the safety of a mighty empire; and his irregular sallies were the less entitled to indulgence, as they appeared to be the laborious efforts of art, or even of affectation. The remains of Julian were interred at Tarsus, in Cilicia; but his stately tomb, which arose in that city on the banks of the cold and limpid Cydnus,<sup>138</sup> was displeasing to the faithful friends who loved and revered the

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<sup>135</sup> The orator (Fabricius, *Biblioth. Græc.* tom. vii. p. 145–179) scatters suspicions, demands an inquiry, and insinuates that proofs might still be obtained. He ascribes the success of the Huns to the criminal neglect of revenging Julian's death.

<sup>136</sup> At the funeral of Vespasian, the comedian who personated that frugal emperor anxiously inquired how much it cost. —Fourscore thousand pounds (centies). —Give me the tenth part of the sum, and throw my body into the Tiber. Sueton. in Vespasian. c. 19, with the notes of Casaubon and Gronovius.

<sup>137</sup> Gregory (*Orat.* iv. p. 119, 120 [edit. Paris, 1609; *Orat.* v. c. 16, 18, p. 157 seq. edit. Bened. 1778]) compares this supposed ignominy and ridicule to the funeral honors of Constantius, whose body was chanted over Mount Taurus by a choir of angels.

<sup>138</sup> Quintus Curtius, l. iii. c. 4. The luxury of his descriptions has been often censured. Yet it was almost the duty of the historian to describe a river whose waters had nearly proved fatal to Alexander.



memory of that extraordinary man. The philosopher expressed a very reasonable wish that the disciple of Plato might have reposed amidst the groves of the Academy,<sup>139</sup> while the soldier exclaimed, in bolder accents, that the ashes of Julian should have been mingled with those of Cæsar in the Field of Mars, and among the ancient monuments of Roman virtue.<sup>140</sup> The history of princes does not very frequently renew the example of a similar competition.

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<sup>139</sup> Libanius, Orat. Parent. c. 156, p. 377. Yet he acknowledges with gratitude the liberality of the two royal brothers in decorating the tomb of Julian (de Ulcis. Jul. Nece, c. 7, p. 152).

<sup>140</sup> Cujus suprema et cineres, si qui tunc justè consuleret, non Cydnus videre deberet, quamvis gratissimus amnis et liquidus: sed ad perpetuandam gloriam recte factorum præterlambere Tiberis, intersecans urbem æternam, divorumque veterum monumenta præstringens.—Ammian. xxv. 10.











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